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ABSTRACT

This is a report of oversight hearings held in Washington, D.C., on January 23 and 24 and February 5, 6, and 7, 1980, to provide the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee of Education and Labor, with a general picture of the current state of American secondary education. The focus of the first two hearings is an overview of secondary education. The February hearings address crucial problems in secondary education and schools that have successfully dealt with the common problems. Aspects of secondary education discussed include student achievement, curriculum, school discipline, teacher concerns, how secondary schools can be effective, and how schools can prepare for the future. Testimony includes statements and prepared statements, letters, supplemental material, etc., from thirty individuals representing the National Institute of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, National Education Association, Council for Basic Education, National Training Laboratories, National Association of Secondary School Principals, and various high schools, school districts, colleges, and universities. (YLB)

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# OVERSIGHT HEARINGS ON AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

## HEARINGS

BEFORE THE

## SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

OF THE

## COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

NINETY-SIXTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

HEARINGS HELD IN WASHINGTON, D.C., ON JANUARY 23, 24; FEBRUARY 5 6, AND 7, 1980

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U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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# OVERSIGHT HEARINGS ON AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

## General Overview

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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 23, 1980

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY,
AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:30 a.m., in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. George Miller presiding.

Members present: Representatives Miller, Kildee, Hawkins, Buchanan, and Erdahl.

Staff present: John F. Jennings, counsel; Nancy L. Kober, staff assistant; and Richard D. DiEugenio, minority legislative associate.

Mr. MILLER. The Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education will convene for the purposes of holding the first in a series of oversight hearings on American secondary education.

I can think of no better way for the subcommittee to open the 2d session of the 96th Congress and begin the eighties than to take a good, hard look at what is happening in our junior and senior high schools.

While these hearings are not tied to any particular piece of legislation, they should provide us with a solid base of information for all of our legislative endeavors for this year and possibly also in the coming years.

The chairman has convened these hearings for several reasons: First, because we feel that secondary education has been relatively overlooked by the Federal Government. As testimony in the subsequent days will show, the overwhelming amount of Federal money allocated for elementary and secondary education is actually spent in elementary schools.

Second, several recent studies have indicated that most of our education problems, such as declining student achievement, discipline, and student and teacher dissatisfaction become more acute at the secondary level.

Third, we sense a general feeling throughout the country that our secondary schools are not doing their job, and yet there is disagreement about what that job should be.

We have set aside today and tomorrow to obtain a general picture of the present state of American secondary education.

Then during the first week in February, the subcommitee will examine some crucial topics in secondary education, including student achievement, curriculum, discipline, and teacher concerns. We will also be hearing testimony about secondary schools that have successfully dealt with the common problems.

We have high hopes these hearings will produce information that is useful not only to the subcommittee but to all persons concerned with secondary education.

At this time, I would like to inform the audience that Chairman Perkins, who originally was scheduled to chair these hearings today, has become ill and has gon homethis morning, and I am Congressman George Miller, and I will be chairing these hearings this morning and attending the rest in this series.

I personally feel these are a very important set of hearings for the purposes of gathering together the information and the facts about our secondary education system, and to match those facts against which I think are some popularly held notions in this country, certainly in the district that I represent, that somehow the secondary education system is deteriorating, that it is failing to meet the needs of our young people, that it is failing to excite and cause teachers to do the job for which they were educated. It will be interesting to see whether or not fact and notions here are the same or otherwise.

So I would like to call on Dr. Marie Eldridge, the administrator for the National Center for Education Statistics.

Welcome, Doctor, to the committee. You have a prepared statement, I believe. That will be entered into the record in its entirety. You feel free to proceed through the statement or the rest of your presentation, however you feel comfortable.

[The prepared statement of Mrs. Eldridge follows:]

**PREPARED TESTIMONY OF MARIE D. ELDRIDGE, ADMINISTRATOR, NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS, ACCOMPANIED BY NANCY DEARMAN, EDITOR, THE CONDITION OF EDUCATION**

I am very pleased to have the opportunity to provide this subcommittee with a statistical overview of secondary education as we see it today, the changes that have taken place recently, and projected patterns as we can best predict them.

School Organization

When we speak of the secondary education system in this country we must put aside the stereotypes of the American High School. It is widely recognized that students outside the traditional high school age have access to facilities and services provided by public and private secondary institutions. However, this morning I will concentrate on those services directed to the traditional age group.

When we focus on the education that takes place in grades 9 through 12 we find that there are 47 different grade configurations operating in today's public school system. Table 1 and Figure 1 show the distribution of the school types currently in operation. Only forty percent of students in those grades attend a traditional, 9 through 12 high school. There have been some noteworthy changes in grade configuration since 1969 (Table 2). The number of middle schools, as defined by grades 6 through 8, has more than doubled, while the number of junior high schools has decreased by 17%. The number of schools with grades 8 through 12 has become relatively insignificant - for every two in 1969 we now have one, and there has been a minor decline in the number of grade 10 through 12 schools.

Table 1. -- Number of Public Schools Ending in Grades 9-12 and Average School Size: 1977-78

| Lowest grade in the School | Total Schools | Number of Schools: Highest grade 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 | Average School Size: Highest grade 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| TOTAL | 22,448 | 4,800 | 175 | 84 | 17,389 | | | | |
| Prekindergarten | 77 | 16 | 0 | 1 | 60 | 306 | -- | 24 | 721 |
| Kindergarten | 665 | 91 | 17 | 13 | 544 | 516 | 50 | 135 | 477 |
| 1st. grade | 533 | 117 | 17 | 7 | 392 | 368 | 43 | 31 | 746 |
| 2nd. grade | 43 | 3 | 1 | 4 | 35 | 488 | 16 | 20 | 1,769 |
| 3rd. grade | 12 | 4 | 0 | 0 | 8 | 725 | | -- | 275 |
| 4th. grade | 25 | 11 | 0 | 1 | 12 | 492 | -- | 26 | 621 |
| 5th. grade | 46 | 13 | 1 | 3 | 29 | 894 | 14 | 430 | 520 |
| 6th. grade | 268 | 135 | 3 | 0 | 127 | 917 | 1,420 | -- | 554 |
| 7th. grade | 8,139 | 4,081 | 13 | 14 | 4,031 | 815 | 490 | 363 | 450 |
| 8th. grade | 662 | 246 | 12 | 8 | 396 | 846 | 661 | 80 | 634 |
| 9th. grade | 8,755 | 83 | 99 | 21 | 8,552 | 569 | 1,071 | 813 | 889 |
| 10th. grade | 3,034 | 0 | 11 | 7 | 3,016 | -- | 1,281 | 699 | 1,193 |
| 11th. grade | 183 | 0 | 0 | 2 | 181 | -- | -- | 271 | 940 |
| 12th. grade | 6 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 6 | -- | -- | -- | 895 |

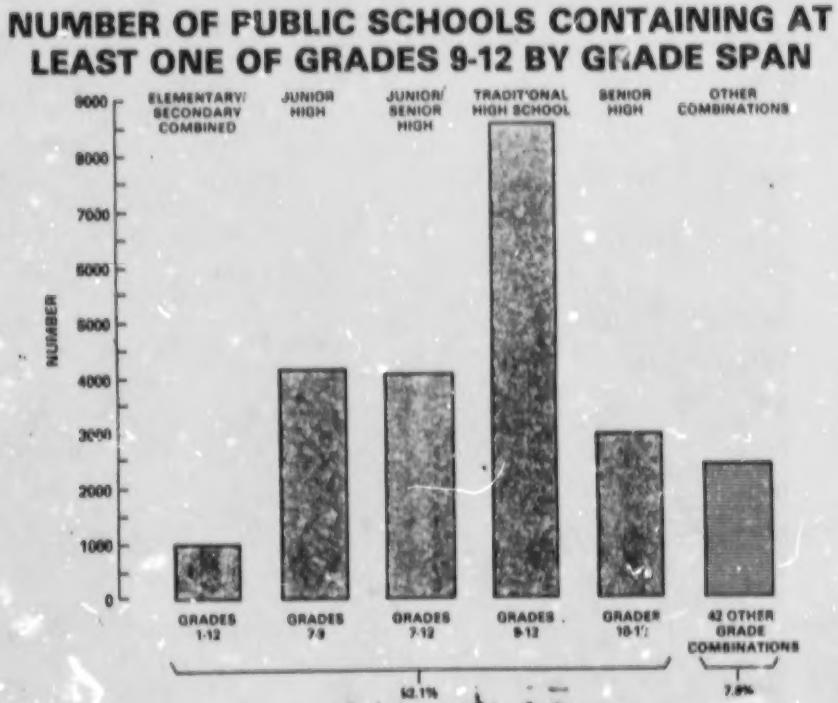
SOURCE: PRELIMINARY DATA FROM THE NCES COMMON CORE OF DATA (CCD), 1977-78.

Table 2. -- Number of, and Average Enrollments in Public Schools with Selected Grade Spans: 1969 and 1977.

| Grade Spans | 1969 | 1977 | Percent change 1969-1977 | Average enrollment 1969 | Average enrollment 1977 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Grades: | | | | | |
| 6-8 (Middle Schools) | 1334 | 3760 | 182 | 609 | 634 |
| 7-8 | 2436 | 2713 | 11 | 480 | 529 |
| All Schools with a Grade 9-12 | 22519 | 22450 | 0 | 770 | 802 |
| 7-9 | 4898 | 4081 | -17 | 852 | 816 |
| 7-12 | 4865 | 4031 | -17 | 468 | 451 |
| 8-12 | 784 | 396 | -49 | 642 | 634 |
| 9-12 | 7616 | 8552 | 12 | 698 | 889 |
| 10-12 | 3150 | 3016 | -4 | 1180 | 1193 |
| Other spans | 1206 | 2374 | 97 | (NA) | 640 |

Note: The 1977 public school figures were estimated from unpublished data.

Figure 1.


NUMBER OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS CONTAINING AT LEAST ONE OF GRADES 9-12 BY GRADE SPAN
NUMBER
9000
8000
7000
6000
5000
4000
3000
2000
1000
0
ELEMENTARY/ SECONDARY COMBINED
JUNIOR HIGH
JUNIOR/ SENIOR HIGH
TRADITIONAL HIGH SCHOOL
SENIOR HIGH
OTHER COMBINATIONS
GRADES 1-12
GRADES 7-9
GRADES 7-12
GRADES 9-12
GRADES 10-12
42 OTHER GRADE COMBINATIONS
92.1%
7.8%

As enrollments have declined, the number of schools tend to decline. The pinch for students is first felt in the lower grades, and the school districts have to adjust to make effective use of their plant. A building no longer needed for an elementary school can accommodate a 6 through 8 middle school. It cannot accommodate a ninth grade as easily because of the special curricular and physical education requirements. More middle schools reduce the need for junior high schools which can thereafter send their ninth grade students to an expanded high school. The result is an increase in the number of high schools and high schools with larger average enrollments.

Private schools are not structured in the same pattern as public institutions, but rather are classified as elementary, secondary, combined, or other. Table 3 shows that approximately 10% of the schools that provide education to grades 9 through 12 are private. Of these 80% are church affiliated. Sixty-three percent are Catholic. The next largest church-affiliated group is the Lutherans with 3% of the schools. All other church-affiliated comprise 16%. The Catholic Church has traditionally been most active in providing church-affiliated schools. Such schools are naturally concentrated in areas with a high proportion of Catholic population. The data do not include the recently established private, church-affiliated schools, generally referred to as "Christian" schools. Definitional problems have not been resolved sufficiently to identify these schools or their characteristics.

Enrollments

American youth have been attending high school in steadily increasing proportions (Figure 2). In the 1920's one-third of those between 14 and 17 were in high school (Table 4). By 1929 one-half of them were in attendance, by 1954 the figure reached 80%, and by 1979 94%, or 15 of the 16 million people in this age group, were in high school. These percentages vary by State and are, to a large extent, consistent with the compulsory school attendance laws. Forty states set the age at 16, 7 require attendance until age 17 or 18, and three

Table 3.-- Number of Schools and Public Membership for Public and Private Schools Which Offer Secondary Level Education: 1978-1979

| Type of School | ALL SCHOOLS | | | PRIVATE SCHOOLS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | | | AFFILIATED | | | |
| | TOTAL | PUBLIC | PRIVATE | TOTAL | CATHOLIC | LUTHERAN | OTHER | NOT AFFILIATED |
| **Total Schools with Secondary Education** | | | | | | | | |
| Schools | | | | | | | | |
| Number | 32,624 | 25,522 | 7,123 | 7,123 | 1,860 | 142 | 2,446 | 2,675 |
| Percent | 100 | 78.2 | 21.8 | 100 | 26.1 | 2.0 | 34.3 | 37.6 |
| Enrollment | | | | | | | | |
| Number (in thousands) | 20,123 | 18,040 | 2,083 | 2,083 | 940 | 39 | 526 | 578 |
| Percent | 100 | 89.6 | 10.4 | 100 | 45.1 | 1.9 | 25.3 | 27.7 |
| **Secondary Schools** | | | | | | | | |
| Schools | | | | | | | | |
| Number | 23,021 | 20,559 | 2,462 | 2,462 | 1,538 | 74 | 382 | 468 |
| Percent | 100 | 89.3 | 10.7 | 100 | 62.5 | 3.0 | 15.5 | 19.0 |
| Enrollment | | | | | | | | |
| Number (in thousands) | 17,959 | 16,900 | 1,059 | 1,059 | 864 | 26 | 73 | 96 |
| Percent | 100 | 94.1 | 5.9 | 100 | 81.6 | 2.4 | 6.9 | 9.1 |
| **Combined Schools** | | | | | | | | |
| Schools | | | | | | | | |
| Number | 5,977 | 2,526 | 3,451 | 3,451 | 139 | 53 | 1,997 | 1,262 |
| Percent | 100 | 42.3 | 57.7 | 100 | 4.0 | 1.5 | 57.9 | 36.6 |
| Enrollment | | | | | | | | |
| Number (in thousands) | 1,914 | 989 | 925 | 925 | 58 | 12 | 448 | 407 |
| Percent | 100 | 51.7 | 48.3 | 100 | 6.3 | 1.3 | 48.4 | 44.0 |
| **Other Schools** | | | | | | | | |
| Schools | | | | | | | | |
| Number | 3,647 | 2,437 | 1,210 | 1,210 | 183 | 15 | 67 | 945 |
| Percent | 100 | 66.8 | 33.2 | 100 | 15.1 | 1.3 | 5.5 | 78.1 |
| Enrollment | | | | | | | | |
| Number (in thousands) | 250 | 151 | 99 | 99 | 18 | 1 | 5 | 75 |
| Percent | 100 | 60.4 | 39.6 | 100 | 18.2 | 1.0 | 5.0 | 75.8 |

**Table 4 .—Enrollment in grades 9-12 in public and nonpublic schools compared with population 14-17 years of age: United States, 1889-90 to fall 1977**

| School year | Enrollment, grades 9-12[1] | | | Population 14-17 years of age[2] | Total number enrolled per 100 persons 14-17 years of age |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All schools | Public schools | Nonpublic schools | | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1889-90 | 359,949 | [3]202,963 | [3]94,931 | 5,354,653 | 6.7 |
| 1899-1900 | 699,403 | [3]519,251 | [3]110,797 | 6,152,231 | 11.4 |
| 1909-10 | 1,115,398 | [3]915,061 | [3]117,400 | 7,220,298 | 15.4 |
| 1919-20 | 2,500,176 | [3]2,200,389 | [3]213,920 | 7,735,841 | 32.3 |
| 1929-30 | 4,804,255 | [3]4,399,422 | [3,4]341,158 | 9,341,221 | 51.4 |
| 1939-40 | 7,123,009 | 6,635,337 | 487,672 | 9,720,419 | 73.3 |
| 1941-42 | 6,933,265 | 6,420,544 | 512,721 | 9,749,000 | 71.1 |
| 1943-44 | 6,030,617 | 5,584,656 | 445,961 | 9,449,000 | 63.8 |
| 1945-46 | 6,237,133 | 5,664,528 | 572,605 | 9,056,000 | 68.9 |
| 1947-48 | 6,305,168 | 5,675,937 | 629,231 | 8,841,000 | 71.3 |
| 1949-50 | 6,453,009 | 5,757,810 | 695,199 | 8,404,768 | 76.8 |
| 1951-52 | 6,596,351 | 5,917,384 | 678,967 | 8,516,000 | 77.5 |
| 1953-54 | 7,108,973 | 6,330,565 | 778,408 | 8,861,000 | 80.2 |
| 1955-56 | 7,774,975 | 6,917,790 | 857,185 | 9,207,000 | 84.4 |
| 1957-58 | 8,869,186 | 7,905,469 | 963,717 | 10,139,000 | 87.5 |
| 1959-60 | 9,599,810 | 8,531,454 | 1,068,356 | 11,154,879 | 86.1 |
| 1961-62 | 10,768,972 | 9,616,755 | 1,152,217 | 12,046,000 | 89.4 |
| Fall 1963 | 12,256,496 | 10,935,536 | 1,319,960 | 13,492,000 | 90.8 |
| Fall 1965 | 13,020,823 | 11,657,808 | 1,363,015 | 14,145,000 | 92.1 |
| Fall 1969 | 14,418,301 | 13,084,301 | [5]1,334,000 | 15,550,000 | 92.7 |
| Fall 1971 | 15,226,000 | 13,886,000 | [5]1,340,000 | 16,279,000 | 93.5 |
| Fall 1973 | 15,476,526 | 14,141,526 | [5]1,335,000 | 16,745,000 | 92.4 |
| Fall 1975 | 15,804,098 | 14,369,098 | [5]1,435,000 | 16,932,000 | 93.3 |
| Fall 1977[6] | 15,800,000 | 14 365,000 | [6]1,435,000 | 16,781,000 | 94.2 |

[1] Unless otherwise indicated, includes enrollment in subcollegiate departments of institutions of higher education and in residential schools for exceptional children. Beginning in 1949-50, also includes Federal schools.

[2] Includes all persons residing in the United States, but excludes Armed Forces overseas. Data from the decennial censuses have been used when appropriate. Other figures are Bureau of the Census estimates as of July 1 preceding the opening of the school year.

[3] Excludes enrollment in subcollegiate departments of institutions of higher education and in residential schools for exceptional children.

[4] Data for 1927-28.

[5] Estimated.

[6] Preliminary data.

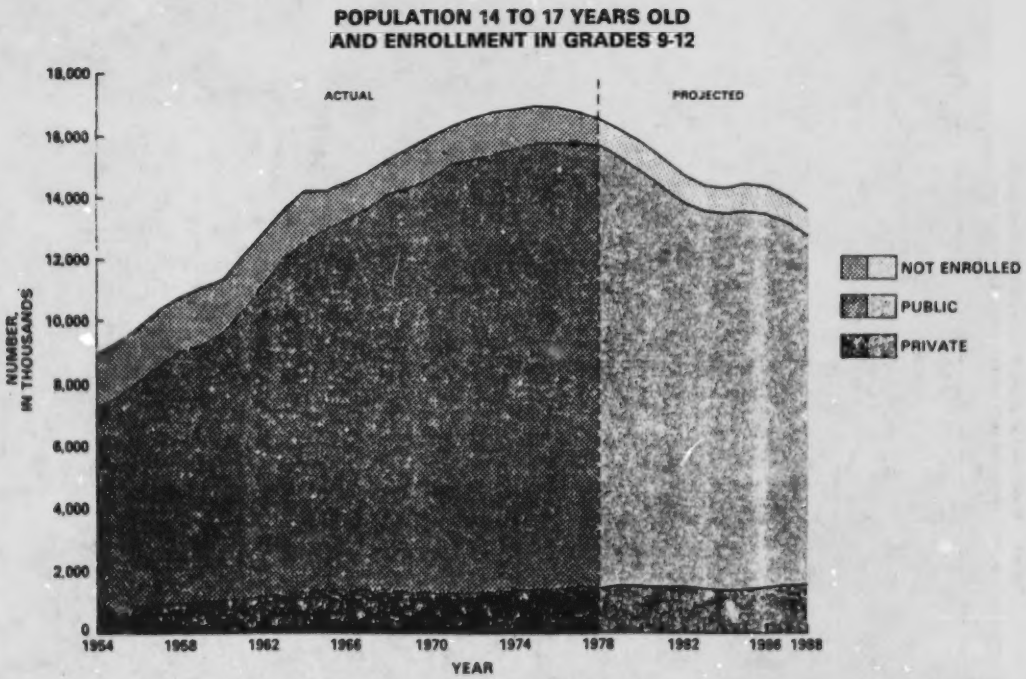
NOTE.—Beginning in 1959-60, includes Alaska and Hawaii.

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, *Statistics of State School Systems; Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools; Statistics of Nonpublic Elementary and Secondary Schools;* and unpublished data.

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 47.

About 94 percent of the persons of high school age are enrolled in school. Public high schools enroll about 91 percent of the students; nonpublic high schools, about 9 percent.

Figure 2.


POPULATION 14 TO 17 YEARS OLD
AND ENROLLMENT IN GRADES 9-12
ACTUAL
PROJECTED
NUMBER, IN THOUSANDS
18,000
16,000
14,000
12,000
10,000
8,000
6,000
4,000
2,000
0
1954
1958
1962
1966
1970
1974
1978
1982
1986
1988
YEAR
NOT ENROLLED
PUBLIC
PRIVATE

states permit withdrawal prior to age 16, one of which, Mississippi, requires attendance only until the age of 13 (Table 5).

Our projections through 1988, based on assumptions of no major changes in social policies, indicate that public enrollments will continue to decline in grades 9 through 12, as a result of the reduced birth rates in the 1960's. Private school enrollment will be quite stable with some modest, irregular growth from 1.4 to 1.6 million in ten years, an increase of 14%.

Completions and Attainments

At the turn of the century, there were 6.4 high school graduates per 100 persons age 17 (Table 6 and Figure 3). By 1954, there were 60 graduates per 100 people age 17. By 1977, the comparable figure was 75%. While this is a reasonable index of the trend of high school completion, it does not reflect the total proportion of our population completing high school. For persons age 22, the percentage of high school completion has risen to 85%. The additions come from persons who graduate after 17, receive a GED, get a delayed diploma, go to night school, or enter college without a high school diploma.

The proportion of 17-year-olds who actually graduate from high school peaked at slightly more than 75% in 1969, and has not changed appreciably since that year, nor does NCES project it to change.

There have been many attempts to devise measures of effectiveness of our high schools but none is completely satisfactory. We can consider the proportion of high school graduates going on to college. The figure increased during the 1960's and early 1970's. The participation rates for blacks and females are rising but we cannot attribute this solely to increased effectiveness of high schools. Other factors, such as the



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Table 5 —Age ranges for compulsory school attendance, by State: 1977

| State | Compulsory attendance age range[1] | State | Compulsory attendance age range[1] |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Alabama | between 7 and 16 | New Jersey | between 6 and 16 |
| Alaska | between 7 and 16 | New Mexico | attained 6 and until attaining 17 |
| Arizona | between 8 and 16 | New York | from 6 to 16 |
| Arkansas | between 7 and 15 (both inclusive) | North Carolina | between 7 and 16 |
| California | between 6 and 16 | North Dakota | of 7 to 16 |
| Colorado | of 7 and under 16 | Ohio | between 6 and 19 |
| Connecticut | over 7 and under 16 | Oklahoma | between 8 and 16 |
| Delaware | between 6 and 16 | Oregon | between 7 and 18 |
| District of Columbia | between 7 and 16 | Pennsylvania | not later than 8, until 17 |
| Florida | attained 7 but not 16 | Rhode Island | completed 7 years of life, not completed 16 years of life |
| Georgia | between 7th and 16th birthdays | South Carolina | of 7 to 16 |
| Hawaii | at least 6 and not 18 | South Dakota | of 7 and not exceeding 16 |
| Idaho | of 7 but not 16 | Tennessee | between 7 and 16 |
| Illinois | between 7 and 16 | Texas | as much as 7, not more than 17 |
| Indiana | not less than 7, not more than 16 | Utah | between 6 and 18 |
| Iowa | over 7 and under 16 | Vermont | between 7 and 16 |
| Kansas | of 7 and under 16 | Virginia | reached 6th birthday, not passed the 17th birthday |
| Kentucky | of 7 and under 16 | Washington | child 8 and under 18 |
| Louisiana | between 7 and 15 | West Virginia | begin with the 7th birthday, continue to the 18th birthday |
| Maine | between 7th and 18th anniversaries | Wisconsin | between 6 and 18 |
| Maryland | between 6 and 16 | Wyoming | between 7 and 16 inclusive |
| Massachusetts[1] | between 6 and 16 | | |
| Michigan | between 6 and 16 | Outlying areas: | |
| Minnesota | between 7 and 18 | | |
| Mississippi | from 7 to 13 | Puerto Rico | between 8 and 14 |
| Missouri | between 7 and 16 | Virgin Islands | school year nearest 6th birthday until expiration of the school year nearest 18th birthday |
| Montana | is 7, not yet reached 18th birthday | | |
| Nebraska | not less than 7 nor more than 16 | | |
| Nevada | between 7 and 17 | | |
| New Hampshire | between 6 and 16 | | |

[1] Many States have special provisions for children who have completed a certain level of education (usually 8th grade or higher) and who are employed.

[1] Lower and upper levels established by the State Board of Education.

SOURCE: Identified by the National Center for Education Statistics from State laws.

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 43.

Most States require school attendance between the ages of 7 and 16.

**Table 6 .--Number of high school graduates compared with population 17 years of age: United States, 1869-70 to 1976-77**

| School year | Population 17 years old[1] | High school graduates[2] | | | Number graduated per 100 persons 17 years of age |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total | Boys | Girls | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1869-70 | 815,000 | 16,000 | 7,064 | 8,936 | 2.0 |
| 1879-80 | 946,036 | 23,634 | 10,605 | 13,029 | 2.5 |
| 1889-90 | 1,259,177 | 43,731 | 18,649 | 25,182 | 3.5 |
| 1899-1900 | 1,489,146 | 94,983 | 38,075 | 56,908 | 6.4 |
| 1909-10 | 1,786,240 | 156,429 | 63,676 | 92,753 | 8.8 |
| 1919-20 | 1,855,173 | 311,266 | 123,684 | 187,582 | 16.8 |
| 1929-30 | 2,295,872 | 666,904 | 300,376 | 366,528 | 29.0 |
| 1939-40 | 2,403,074 | 1,221,475 | 578,718 | 642,757 | 50.8 |
| 1941-42 | 2,425,574 | 1,242,375 | 576,717 | 665,658 | 51.2 |
| 1943-44 | 2,410,389 | 1,019,233 | 423,971 | 595,262 | 42.3 |
| 1945-46 | 2,254,738 | 1,080,033 | 466,926 | 613,107 | 47.9 |
| 1947-48 | 2,202,927 | 1,189,909 | 562,863 | 627,046 | 54.0 |
| 1949-50 | 2,034,450 | 1,199,700 | 570,700 | 629,000 | 59.0 |
| 1951-52 | 2,040,900 | 1,196,500 | 569,200 | 627,300 | 58.6 |
| 1953-54 | 2,128,600 | 1,276,100 | 612,500 | 663,600 | 60.0 |
| 1955-56 | 2,270,000 | 1,414,800 | 679,500 | 735,300 | 62.3 |
| 1957-58 | 2,324,000 | 1,505,900 | 725,500 | 780,400 | 64.8 |
| 1959-60 | 2,862,000 | 1,864,000 | 898,000 | 966,000 | 65.1 |
| 1961-62 | 2,768,000 | 1,925,000 | 941,000 | 984,000 | 69.5 |
| 1963-64 | 3,001,000 | 2,290,000 | 1,121,000 | 1,169,000 | 76.3 |
| 1965-66 | 3,515,000 | 2,632,000 | 1,308,000 | 1,324,000 | 74.9 |
| 1967-68 | 3,921,000 | 2,702,000 | 1,341,000 | 1,361,000 | 76.7 |
| 1969-70 | 3,825,343 | 2,896,000 | 1,433,000 | 1,463,000 | 75.7 |
| 1971-72 | 3,957,000 | 3,008,000 | 1,490,000 | 1,518,000 | 76.0 |
| 1973-74 | 4,096,000 | 3,080,000 | 1,515,000 | 1,565,000 | 75.2 |
| 1975-76 | 4,215,000 | 3,154,000 | 1,554,000 | 1,600,000 | 74.8 |
| 1976-77[3] | 4,208,000 | 3,154,000 | 1,546,000 | 1,608,000 | 75.0 |

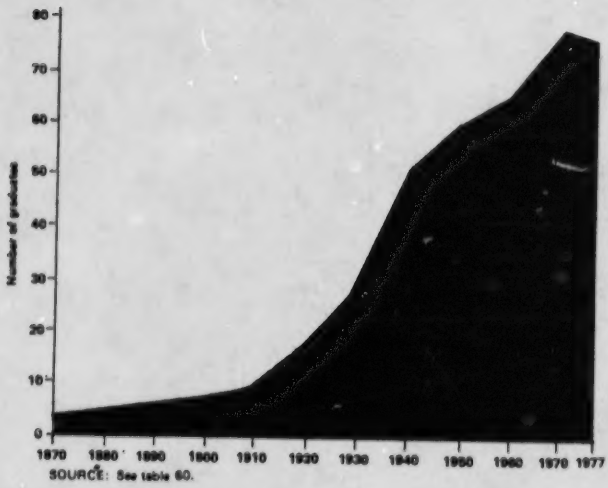
[1] Data from Bureau of the Census.
[2] Includes graduates of public and nonpublic schools.
[3] Revised since originally published.
[4] Preliminary data.

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, *Statistics of State School Systems; Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, Fall 1977; Statistics of Nonpublic Elementary and Secondary Schools;* and unpublished data.

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 63.

About three-fourths of our young people receive a high school diploma after completing a regular day school program. The percent graduating has changed very little over the past 15 years.

Figure 3.--Number of high school graduates for each 100 persons 17 years of age: United States, 1869-70 to 1976-77




Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 64.

After climbing steadily for many years, the number of high school graduates has stabilized at about 75 percent of the population in the appropriate age group.

emergence of the community college, increased financial aid, reduced employment opportunities, or perhaps even the lowering of college admission standards, may contribute substantially to the [illegible] proportions entering college.

Having stated those caveats, let us look at the data (Table 7). In 1954, 51% of the high school graduates entered college. In 1977, when the higher retention rates in high school provided us with a larger base of students eligible for college admission, 59% entered. In terms of numbers of students, this increase in the proportion of high school graduates going to college represented a threefold increase in the total number of entering freshmen. In 1954, of the 1.3 million seniors graduating, approximately 650,000 entered college. In 1977, of the 3.2 million seniors, approximately 2 million entered college. Again I would like to stress that the increased rate of going on to college does not provide hard evidence that the high schools are more effective.

We read of more and more emphasis on graduation requirements. Recently New Jersey Education Commissioner Fred C. Burke recommended, and the Board of Education approved, the introduction of more stringent high school requirements. Higher Education Chancellor T. Edward Hollander reports that 80% of the students in New Jersey colleges have had some form of remedial education and that at least half of the freshmen being admitted will need some form of tutoring to avoid failing. New Jersey is but one example of a general recognition that high schools must turn out graduates better prepared for college study. At the same time the high schools must address the educational needs of the 40% who are not going on to college. The transition from youth to adulthood is accelerated for this group.

The need for better preparation for the transition from high school to work or high school

**Table 7.—Estimated retention rates,[1] 5th grade through college entrance, in public and nonpublic schools: United States, 1924-32 to 1969-77**

| School year pupils entered 5th grade | Retention per 1,000 pupils who entered 5th grade | | | | | | | | High school graduation | | First-time college students |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 5th grade | 6th grade | 7th grade | 8th grade | 9th grade | 10th grade | 11th grade | 12th grade | Number | Year of graduation | |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| 1924-25 | 1,000 | 911 | 798 | 741 | 612 | 470 | 384 | 344 | 302 | 1932 | 118 |
| 1926-27 | 1,000 | 919 | 824 | 754 | 677 | 552 | 453 | 400 | 333 | 1934 | 129 |
| 1928-29 | 1,000 | 919 | 847 | 805 | 736 | 624 | 498 | 432 | 378 | 1936 | 137 |
| 1930-31 | 1,000 | 943 | 872 | 824 | 770 | 652 | 529 | 463 | 417 | 1938 | 148 |
| 1932-33 | 1,000 | 935 | 889 | 831 | 786 | 664 | 570 | 510 | 455 | 1940 | 160 |
| 1934-35 | 1,000 | 953 | 892 | 842 | 803 | 711 | 610 | 512 | 467 | 1942 | 129 |
| 1936-37 | 1,000 | 954 | 896 | 849 | 839 | 704 | 58[illegible] | 426 | 393 | 1944 | 121 |
| 1938-39 | 1,000 | 955 | 908 | 853 | 796 | 655 | 532 | 444 | 419 | 1946 | ([2]) |
| 1940-41 | 1,000 | 968 | 910 | 836 | 781 | 697 | 566 | 507 | 481 | 1948 | ([2]) |
| 1942-43 | 1,000 | 954 | 909 | 847 | 807 | 713 | 604 | 539 | 505 | 1950 | 206 |
| 1944-45 | 1,000 | 952 | 929 | 858 | 848 | 748 | 650 | 549 | 522 | 1952 | 234 |
| 1946-47 | 1,000 | 954 | 945 | 919 | 872 | 775 | 641 | 583 | 553 | 1954 | 293 |
| 1948-49 | 1,000 | 964 | 958 | 929 | 863 | 795 | 706 | 619 | 581 | 1956 | 301 |
| 1950-51 | 1,000 | 961 | 968 | 921 | 886 | 809 | 709 | 632 | 582 | 1958 | 308 |
| 1952-53 | 1,000 | 974 | 965 | 936 | 904 | 835 | 746 | 667 | 621 | 1960 | 339 |
| 1954-55 | 1,000 | 980 | 979 | 948 | 915 | 855 | 759 | 684 | 642 | 1962 | 343 |
| 1956-57 | 1,000 | 985 | 984 | 948 | 930 | 871 | 790 | 728 | 676 | 1964 | 362 |
| Fall 1958 | 1,000 | 983 | 979 | 961 | 946 | 908 | 842 | 761 | 732 | 1966 | 384 |
| Fall 1960 | 1,000 | 980 | 973 | 967 | 952 | 913 | 858 | 787 | 749 | 1968 | 452 |
| Fall 1962 | 1,000 | 987 | 977 | 967 | 959 | 928 | 860 | 790 | [illegible] | 1970 | 461 |
| Fall 1964 | 1,000 | 988 | 985 | 975 | 975 | 942 | 865 | 791 | 748 | 1972 | 433 |
| Fall 1966 | 1,000 | 989 | 986 | 985 | 985 | 959 | 871 | 783 | 744 | 1974 | 448 |
| Fall 1968 | 1,000 | 992 | 992 | 991 | 983 | 958 | 869 | 786 | 749 | 1976 | 435 |
| Fall 1969 | 1,000 | 992 | 986 | 986 | 984 | 959 | 876 | 789 | 744 | 1977 | 439 |

[1] Rates for the 5th grade through high school graduation are based on enrollments in successive grades in successive years in public elementary and secondary schools and are adjusted to include estimates for nonpublic schools. Rates for first-time college enrollment include full-time and part-time students enrolled in programs creditable toward a bachelor's degree.

[2] Data not available.

NOTE.—Beginning with the class in the 5th grade in 1958, data are based on fall enrollment and exclude ungraded pupils. The net effect of these changes is to increase high school graduation and college entrance rates slightly.

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, *Biennial Survey of Education in the United States; Statistics of State School Systems; Fall Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools;* and unpublished data.

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 15.

About three-fourths of the young people today receive a high school diploma after completing a regular day school program. About three-fifths of the high school graduates enroll in a program of study leading toward a bachelor's degree.

to college was identified by the NCES National Longitudinal Study of the High School Class of 1972 (Figure 4). In 1976, this cohort was asked to evaluate the training and counseling they had received during high school. Less than 13% agreed with the statement that their schools had provided counseling that helped find employment or helped to continue education. Twenty-eight percent agreed that the schools did not offer enough practical work experience and should have placed more emphasis on vocational and technical programs.

Over the last 10 years the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) has reported general achievement declines for 17-year-olds. The most recent assessment in mathematics, conducted in 1978, showed that 17-year-olds had an average performance 4 percentage points lower than 17-year-olds in 1973. In 1969-70, and in 1972-73, NAEP assessed the progress in science among 17-year-olds in school and found that in three years the mean change in assessment scores was a 3.2 percentage point decline. Similarly, NAEP assessments in reading in 1970-71 and 1974-75 showed a minor, but measurable decline of 0.1 percentage points.

The impact of high school may also be seen in measures of income of persons 25 years or older (Table 8). In 1978 the male high school graduate without college training had a median annual income 16% higher than his non-graduating counterpart, and 29% higher than the male who had not attended high school at all. Among the women, the high school graduate earned 22% more than the non-graduating female, and her median income was 30% higher than the woman with no high school work.

Minorities

According to the Census Bureau, 98.5% of 14 and 15 year olds were enrolled in school in October 1977, with negligible differences among whites, blacks and Hispanics (Table 9).

The number of dropouts (persons who are not enrolled in school and are not high school graduates) first becomes significant at age 16 (Table 10). For the 16- and 17-year-

**Chart .4**
**Attitudes of Young Adults Toward High School**

More young adults saw a greater need for basic high school academic training 4 years after high school graduation than they had seen immediately prior to graduation.

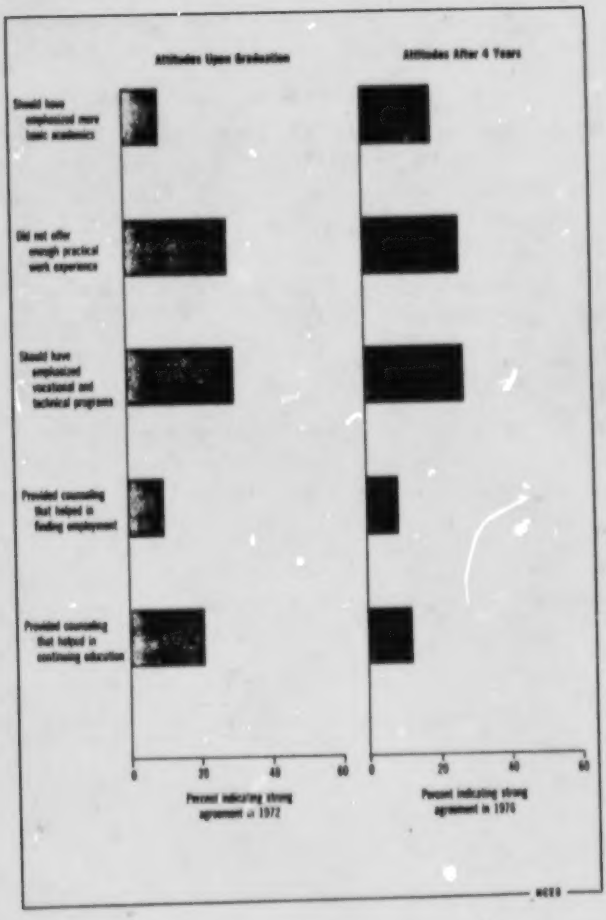


Table 8

Annual median income (current dollars) of year-round full-time workers, 25 years old and over, by sex and educational attainment: 1969 and 1978

| Year and sex | Elementary: Less than 8 years | Elementary: 8 years | High school: 1 to 3 years | High school: 4 years | College: 1 to 3 years | College: 4 years | College: 5 or more years |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | Median income | | | | |
| Males | | | | | | | |
| 1969... | $ 5,769 | $ 7,147 | $ 7,958 | $ 9,100 | $10,311 | $12,960 | $13,788 |
| 1978... | 10,747 | 12,695 | 14,199 | 16,396 | 17,411 | 20,941 | 23,570 |
| Females | | | | | | | |
| 1969... | $ 3,603 | $ 3,971 | $ 4,427 | $ 5,200 | $ 6,137 | $ 7,396 | $ 9,262 |
| 1968... | 6,648 | 7,489 | 7,996 | 9,769 | 10,634 | 12,347 | 15,310 |
| | | | Median income as a percent of high school graduates' median income | | | | |
| Males | | | | | | | |
| 1969... | 63.4 | 78.5 | 87.5 | 100.0 | 113.3 | 142.4 | 151.5 |
| 1978... | 63.9 | 79.1 | 86.6 | 100.0 | 106.2 | 127.7 | 143.8 |
| Females | | | | | | | |
| 1969... | 68.2 | 75.2 | 83.8 | 100.0 | 116.2 | 140.1 | 175.4 |
| 1978... | 68.1 | 76.7 | 81.9 | 100.0 | 108.9 | 126.4 | 156.7 |
| | | | Females' median income as a percent of males' median income | | | | |
| 1969... | 62.5 | 55.6 | 55.6 | 58.0 | 59.5 | 57.1 | 67.2 |
| 1978... | 63.5 | 59.0 | 56.3 | 59.6 | 61.1 | 59.0 | 64.9 |

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Consumer Income, Series P-20, No. 120, 1979.

To be published in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education Report, forthcoming 1980 edition.

The income gap between workers at the lowest and highest educational attainment levels narrowed slightly over the past decade, primarily due to a closing of the gap between high school graduates and those with more education.

Table 9.—Percent of the population 3 to 34 years old enrolled in school,[1] by race, sex, and age: United States, October 1977

| Sex and age | All races | White | Black | Spanish origin[2] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **BOTH SEXES** | | | | |
| Total, 3 to 34 years | 52.5 | 51.6 | 57.7 | 50.8 |
| 3 and 4 years | 32.0 | 31.1 | 33.2 | 19.8 |
| 5 and 6 years | 96.8 | 95.0 | 96.5 | 93.7 |
| 7 to 9 years | 99.5 | 99.5 | 99.3 | 99.0 |
| 10 to 13 years | 99.4 | 99.4 | 99.0 | 99.3 |
| 14 and 15 years | 98.5 | 98.5 | 98.8 | 97.8 |
| 16 and 17 years | 88.9 | 88.5 | 90.9 | 83.6 |
| 18 and 19 years | 46.2 | 45.5 | 49.3 | 40.6 |
| 20 and 21 years | 31.8 | 31.8 | 29.5 | 23.1 |
| 22 to 24 years | 16.5 | 16.3 | 15.2 | 10.8 |
| 25 to 29 years | 10.8 | 10.6 | 11.7 | 9.3 |
| 30 to 34 years | 6.9 | 6.6 | 9.0 | 6.0 |
| **MALE** | | | | |
| Total, 3 to 34 years | 54.3 | 53.3 | 60.3 | 54.7 |
| 3 and 4 years | 31.1 | 31.7 | 32.4 | 23.2 |
| 5 and 6 years | 94.7 | 94.3 | 96.0 | 91.4 |
| 7 to 9 years | 99.5 | 99.6 | 99.1 | 100.0 |
| 10 to 13 years | 99.2 | 99.3 | 99.6 | 98.7 |
| 14 and 15 years | 98.7 | 98.7 | 99.0 | 99.1 |
| 16 and 17 years | 90.0 | 89.5 | 92.5 | 89.4 |
| 18 and 19 years | 48.4 | 47.7 | 50.5 | 43.1 |
| 20 and 21 years | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| 22 to 24 years | 19.7 | 19.4 | 18.5 | 16.0 |
| 25 to 29 years | 12.0 | 11.8 | 12.1 | 13.1 |
| 30 to 34 years | 7.1 | 6.8 | 9.2 | 6.4 |
| **FEMALE** | | | | |
| Total, 3 to 34 years | 50.7 | 49.9 | 59.4 | 47.6 |
| 3 and 4 years | 32.0 | 30.5 | 38.1 | 15.8 |
| 5 and 6 years | 98.9 | 98.9 | 97.0 | 96.3 |
| 7 to 9 years | 99.5 | 99.5 | 99.4 | 97.9 |
| 10 to 13 years | 99.6 | 99.6 | 99.4 | 99.9 |
| 14 and 15 years | 98.3 | 98.4 | 98.5 | 95.9 |
| 16 and 17 years | 87.7 | 87.4 | 89.1 | 77.4 |
| 18 and 19 years | 44.0 | 43.4 | 46.3 | 38.5 |
| 20 and 21 years | 29.1 | 29.0 | 26.2 | 23.4 |
| 22 to 24 years | 13.6 | 13.3 | 12.6 | 6.2 |
| 25 to 29 years | 9.1 | 5.8 | 10.7 | 5.9 |
| 30 to 34 years | 6.7 | 6.3 | 8.9 | 5.8 |

[1] Includes enrollment in any type of graded public, parochial, or other private school in the regular school system. Includes nursery schools, kindergartens, elementary schools, high schools, colleges, universities, and professional schools. Attendance may be on either a full-time or part-time basis and during the day or night. Enrollments in "special" schools, such as trade schools or business colleges, are not included.

[2] Persons of Spanish origin may be of any race.

NOTE.—Data are based upon a sample survey of the civilian noninstitutional population.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 278.

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 9.

At age 14 to 17, blacks are somewhat more likely than whites to be enrolled in school, while persons of Spanish origin are least likely to be enrolled.

**Table 10.—Percent of high school dropouts among persons 14 to 34 years old, by age, race, and sex: United States, October 1970 and October 1977**

| Race and sex | Total, 14 to 34 years | 14 and 15 years | 16 and 17 years | 18 and 19 years | 20 and 21 years | 22 to 24 years | 25 to 29 years | 30 to 34 years |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| **October 1970** | | | | | | | | |
| All races: | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 17.0 | 1.8 | 8.0 | 16.2 | 16.8 | 18.7 | 22.5 | 26.5 |
| Male | 16.2 | 1.7 | 7.1 | 16.0 | 16.1 | 17.9 | 21.4 | 26.2 |
| Female | 17.7 | 1.9 | 8.9 | 16.3 | 16.9 | 19.4 | 23.6 | 26.8 |
| White: | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 15.2 | 1.7 | 7.3 | 14.1 | 14.6 | 16.3 | 19.9 | 24.6 |
| Male | 14.4 | 1.7 | 6.3 | 13.3 | 14.1 | 15.3 | 19.0 | 24.2 |
| Female | 16.0 | 1.8 | 8.4 | 14.8 | 15.1 | 17.2 | 20.7 | 24.9 |
| Black: | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 30.0 | 2.4 | 12.8 | 31.2 | 29.6 | 37.8 | 44.4 | 43.5 |
| Male | 30.4 | 2.0 | 13.3 | 36.4 | 29.6 | 39.5 | 43.1 | 45.9 |
| Female | 29.5 | 2.8 | 12.4 | 26.6 | 29.6 | 36.4 | 45.6 | 41.5 |
| **October 1977** | | | | | | | | |
| All races: | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 13.6 | 1.4 | 8.6 | 16.6 | 15.7 | 15.2 | 14.3 | 18.2 |
| Male | 13.2 | 1.3 | 8.3 | 17.7 | 16.9 | 15.1 | 12.7 | 17.4 |
| Female | 14.0 | 1.5 | 9.0 | 15.6 | 14.5 | 15.3 | 15.8 | 19.0 |
| White: | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 12.7 | 1.4 | 8.8 | 15.9 | 14.5 | 14.0 | 13.0 | 16.7 |
| Male | 12.4 | 1.3 | 8.6 | 17.0 | 15.8 | 14.5 | 11.2 | 16.2 |
| Female | 13.0 | 1.4 | 9.1 | 14.8 | 13.5 | 13.5 | 14.8 | 17.1 |
| Black: | | | | | | | | |
| Total | 20.4 | 1.2 | 7.6 | 21.9 | 24.5 | 25.0 | 24.2 | 32.1 |
| Male | 20.0 | 1.0 | 6.9 | 23.8 | 27.5 | 21.8 | 25.8 | 30.6 |
| Female | 20.8 | 1.5 | 8.4 | 20.3 | 22.0 | 27.5 | 22.9 | 33.3 |

NOTE.—Dropouts are persons who are not enrolled in school and who are not high school graduates. Data are based upon sample surveys of the civilian noninstitutional population.

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 222 and No. 321.

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 66.

Most dropouts occur after the age of 16, when school attendance is no longer required in most States.

olds, 8.6% reportedly dropped out. The rate for females was 9.0%, slightly higher than the 8.3% for males. The data show that blacks, in this age group, have a dropout rate of 7.6%, compared to 8.8% for whites. However, when we look at the next age group, 18 and 19, this pattern is reversed; the white rate is 15.9% and the black rate is 21.9%, indicating an accelerated dropout rate for the blacks.

As our enrollment figures showed, there has been an improvement in the retention rate. Among people age 14 to 34 years in 1970, 17.0% could be classified as dropouts. Just seven years later, in 1977, that percentage had dropped to 13.6%. Most dramatically, the overall figure for blacks has dropped from 30.0% in 1970 to 20.4% in 1977.

Dropouts cite a number of reasons for leaving school (Table 11). Among females age 18 to 21 in 1979, who had dropped out, pregnancy is an important reason, especially for black females, where 40% cite this as the main reason they left school. About one-third of the Hispanic and white females who drop out of school cite pregnancy or getting married as their reason. Over one-quarter of male dropouts leave because they simply do not like school. Forty percent of Hispanic males drop out for economic reasons (home responsibilities, work, financial difficulties). Expulsion or suspension and lack of ability or poor grades also are factors in dropping out of school.

In 1920, only 6% of all non-whites in the age group 25 to 29 had completed four years of high school (Table 12). These percentages have climbed to 12% in 1940, 23% in 1950, 39% in 1960; 58% in 1970, and 79% in 1978. As Figure 5 shows, there has been a narrowing of the gap between blacks and whites. In the upcoming decade we do not expect to see as rapid a rate of shrinkage in the gap as in the past decade. Separating out the blacks and Hispanics, their respective percentages were 75% and 58% in 1977. For Hispanics, there are also significant differences between males and females, with 62% of the males having completed four or more years of high school, but only 55% of the

Table 11.—Self-reported major reasons for dropping out of high school, 18-21 year olds who were not enrolled in school and who had completed less than 12 years of school, 1979, by sex and race-ethnicity. (Percentage distributions.)

| Main reason for leaving school | All persons | Female | | | Male | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Black | Hisp. | White | Black | Hisp. | White |
| Total | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Received degree, completed coursework | 3.9 | 2.8 | 1.4 | 5.9 | 3.8 | 6.6 | 2.3 |
| Getting married | 8.2 | 4.2 | 16.1 | 17.1 | 1.0 | 2.0 | 2.3 |
| Pregnancy | 9.7 | 40.4 | 16.8 | 14.5 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| Other reasons, didn't like school | 27.5 | 14.7 | 13.8 | 23.3 | 28.9 | 24.2 | 37.4 |
| Lack of ability, poor grades | 6.3 | 4.6 | 1.4 | 5.5 | 8.1 | 2.6 | 8.5 |
| Home responsibilities | 5.4 | 9.7 | 5.6 | 5.9 | 4.2 | 11.3 | 3.2 |
| Offered good work, chose to work | 10.6 | 3.9 | 7.4 | 6.3 | 13.5 | 18.9 | 14.9 |
| Financial difficulties, couldn't afford to attend | 4.8 | 2.3 | 9.8 | 3.2 | 7.5 | 10.7 | 4.4 |
| Entered military | 0.9 | 0.0 | 0.0 | 0.1 | 1.5 | 2.5 | 1.6 |
| Expelled or suspended | 6.2 | 4.8 | 0.9 | 1.1 | 13.5 | 6.0 | 10.4 |
| School too dangerous | 0.8 | 0.9 | 0.5 | 1.5 | 0.4 | 0.0 | 0.5 |
| Moved away from school | 2.8 | 0.0 | 6.2 | 3.6 | 2.1 | 3.0 | 2.2 |
| Other | 12.8 | 11.7 | 20.3 | 11.8 | 15.4 | 12.2 | 12.1 |

Source: Preliminary data from the Department of Labor's National Longitudinal Survey of Labor Force Behavior, Youth Survey, 1979.

**Table 12.–Level of school completed by persons age 25 and over and 25 to 29, by race: United States, 1910 to 1978**

| Race, age, and date | Percent, by level of school completed: Less than 5 years of elementary school | Percent, by level of school completed: 4 years of high school or more | Percent, by level of school completed: 4 or more years of college | Median school years completed |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| *All races:* | | | | |
| 25 and over: | | | | |
| 1910[1] | 23.8 | 13.5 | 2.7 | 8.1 |
| 1920[1] | 22.0 | 16.4 | 3.3 | 8.2 |
| 1930[1] | 17.5 | 19.1 | 3.9 | 8.4 |
| April 1940 | 13.5 | 24.1 | 4.6 | 8.6 |
| April 1950 | 10.8 | 33.4 | 6.0 | 9.3 |
| April 1960 | 8.3 | 41.1 | 7.7 | 10.5 |
| March 1970 | 5.3 | 55.2 | 11.0 | 12.2 |
| March 1975 | 4.2 | 62.6 | 13.9 | 12.3 |
| March 1978 | 3.6 | 65.9 | 15.7 | 12.4 |
| 25 to 29: | | | | |
| April 1940 | 5.9 | 37.8 | 5.8 | 10.4 |
| April 1950 | 4.8 | 51.7 | 7.7 | 12.1 |
| April 1960 | 2.8 | 60.7 | 11.1 | 12.3 |
| April 1970 | 1.1 | 75.4 | 16.4 | 12.6 |
| March 1975 | 1.0 | 83.2 | 22.0 | 12.8 |
| March 1978 | 0.9 | 85.3 | 23.3 | 12.9 |
| *White* | | | | |
| 25 and over: | | | | |
| April 1940 | 10.9 | 26.1 | 4.9 | 8.7 |
| April 1950 | 8.7 | 38.5 | 6.4 | 9.7 |
| April 1960 | 6.7 | 43.2 | 8.1 | 10.8 |
| March 1970 | 4.2 | 57.4 | 11.8 | 12.2 |
| March 1975 | 3.3 | 64.6 | 14.5 | 12.4 |
| March 1978 | 2.8 | 67.9 | 16.4 | 12.5 |
| 25 to 29: | | | | |
| 1920[1] | 12.9 | 22.0 | 4.5 | 8.5 |
| April 1940 | 3.4 | 41.2 | 6.4 | 10.7 |
| April 1960 | 3.2 | 65.2 | 8.1 | 12.2 |
| April 1980 | 2.2 | 83.7 | 11.8 | 12.3 |
| March 1970 | 0.9 | 77.8 | 17.3 | 12.6 |
| March 1975 | 1.0 | 84.5 | 22.9 | 12.8 |
| March 1978 | 0.8 | 86.3 | 24.5 | 12.9 |
| *Black and other races* | | | | |
| 25 and over: | | | | |
| April 1940 | 41.8 | 7.7 | 1.3 | 5.7 |
| April 1960 | 31.4 | 13.4 | 2.2 | 8.9 |
| April 1980 | 23.5 | 21.7 | 3.5 | 8.2 |
| March 1970 | 14.7 | 38.1 | 6.1 | 10.1 |
| March 1975 | 11.8 | 48.4 | 9.1 | 11.4 |
| March 1978 | 9.6 | 50.6 | 10.0 | 12.0 |
| 25 to 29: | | | | |
| 1920[1] | 44.6 | 6.3 | 1.2 | 5.4 |
| April 1940 | 26.7 | 12.1 | 1.6 | 7.1 |
| April 1950 | 15.4 | 23.4 | 2.8 | 8.7 |
| April 1960 | 7.2 | 38.6 | 5.4 | 10.8 |
| March 1970 | 2.2 | 58.4 | 10.0 | 12.2 |
| March 1975 | 0.7 | 73.8 | 16.2 | 12.6 |
| March 1978 | 1.3 | 78.5 | 15.3 | 12.7 |

[1] Estimates based on retrojection of 1940 census data on education by age.

NOTE.–Prior to 1950, data exclude Alaska and Hawaii. Data for 1975 and 1978 are for the noninstitutional population.

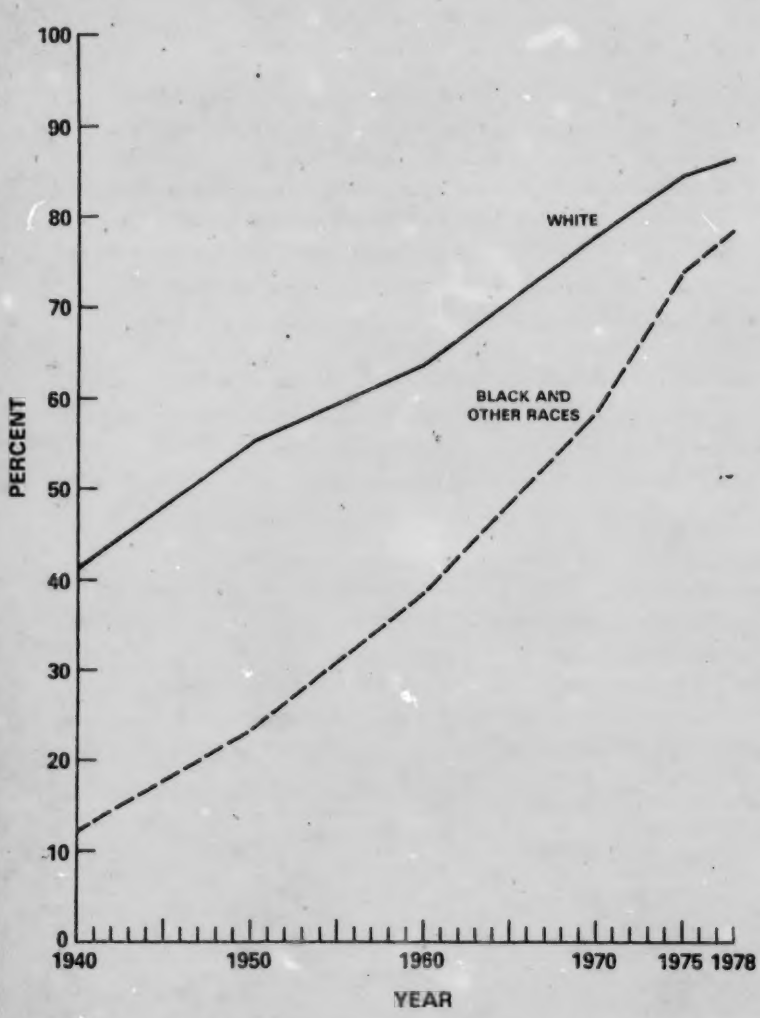
SOURCES: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *1960 Census of Population*, Vol. 1, Part 1; *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20; Series P-19, No. 4; and 1980 Census Monograph, *Education of the American Population*, by John K. Folger and Charles B. Nam.

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 16.

About two-thirds of the adults today have completed a high school education or the equivalent. This may be compared with about two-fifths in 1960 and one-fourth in 1940.

Figure 5.

**PERCENT OF PERSONS AGE 25 TO 29 COMPLETING 4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE**



females reaching the same educational level.

Another inter-racial comparison is grade attainment in relation to age (Table 13). In 1970, 5% of whites and 13% of blacks, age 14 to 17, were enrolled 2 or more grades below the traditional grade for their age cohort. By 1977, the white percentage had changed to 3%, and the black percentage made a significant drop to 7%. There are no comparable 1970 data for Hispanics, but in 1977 their comparable percentage was 9%.

One of the criticisms often levelled at the high school, perhaps unfairly, is that the student is not provided with systematic feedback about his own interests and abilities, job-related values, job knowledge, and generally useful skills (Figure 6). NAEP, in 1973-74, showed that within each racial group, out-of-school 17-year-olds performed far below 17-year-old students in these areas. On the other hand, a NAEP survey in 1978 showed that blacks did not have the same degree of consumer skills as whites. Black 17-year-olds in school scored 12.9% below average, while their white counterparts scored 2.5% above.

Teachers

We have already noted the decline in enrollments reflecting the decline in birth rates. For the first time in decades we see references to education as a declining enterprise. The secondary schools have been in this mode for the last three years. Since education is a labor-intensive industry, it is important to look at the teachers, their numbers and their employment prospects.

The impact of declining enrollments is greater at the secondary level than at the elementary level because of the traditional neighborhood character of the elementary school. Since no neighborhood wants its schools closed, the closings and consolidations have proven to be a slow process. As a result elementary teachers have often taught classes that were smaller than would otherwise be desirable. Secondary

**Table 13**
**Persons 14 to 17 years old enrolled 2 or more years below modal grade as a percent of all 14- to 17-year-olds enrolled, by race, region, and type of area: 1970 to 1977**

| Region and type of area | 1970 | | | 1971 | | | 1973 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Black | Total | White | Black | Total | White | Black |
| United States | 5.5 | 4.5 | 12.6 | 5.3 | 4.3 | 12.0 | 3.9 | 3.1 | 9.7 |
| Metropolitan area | 4.5 | 3.4 | 11.7 | 4.5 | 3.5 | 10.3 | 3.4 | 2.7 | 8.8 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 7.3 | 6.4 | 14.7 | 6.7 | 5.6 | 16.1 | 4.7 | 3.8 | 12.4 |
| Northeast | 4.7 | 4.1 | 8.0 | 4.6 | 4.1 | 8.9 | 3.7 | 2.8 | 11.4 |
| Metropolitan area | [illegible] | 4.1 | 9.1 | 4.5 | 3.7 | 9.3 | 3.7 | 2.5 | 11.6 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 4.5 | 4.1 | (1) | 4.8 | 4.9 | (1) | 3.7 | 3.7 | (1) |
| Central | 3.5 | 2.6 | 12.3 | 3.1 | 2.7 | 6.7 | 3.3 | 2.8 | 8.8 |
| Metropolitan area | 3.5 | 1.9 | 12.7 | 2.8 | 2.2 | 6.4 | 3.6 | 2.8 | 9.5 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 3.5 | 3.5 | (1) | 3.6 | 3.4 | (1) | 2.8 | 2.6 | (1) |
| South | 10.2 | 8.8 | 15.2 | 9.4 | 7.4 | 16.1 | 5.7 | 4.3 | 10.6 |
| Metropolitan area | 8.2 | 6.3 | 15.6 | 8.0 | 6.1 | 15.2 | 5.0 | 3.9 | 9.0 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 12.2 | 11.3 | 14.8 | 10.8 | 9.0 | 17.0 | 6.5 | 4.7 | 12.5 |
| West | 1.8 | 1.8 | 2.9 | 2.9 | 2.7 | 6.5 | 2.2 | 2.1 | 1.8 |
| Metropolitan area | 1.2 | 1.2 | 1.2 | 2.4 | 2.2 | 5.6 | 1.5 | 1.5 | 1.8 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 3.3 | 3.2 | (1) | 4.0 | 3.7 | (1) | 4.8 | 4.4 | (1) |

| Region and type of area | 1975 | | | 1977 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | White | Black | Total | White | Black |
| United States | 4.1 | 3.3 | 9.1 | 3.5 | 2.9 | 6.8 |
| Metropolitan area | 3.7 | 2.8 | 8.3 | 3.2 | 2.6 | 6.0 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 5.1 | 4.2 | 11.7 | 4.1 | 3.5 | 8.9 |
| Northeast | 3.3 | 2.8 | 6.7 | 3.6 | 3.2 | 6.1 |
| Metropolitan area | 3.1 | 2.5 | 6.3 | 3.6 | 3.1 | 5.9 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 4.0 | 3.9 | (1) | 3.7 | 3.6 | (1) |
| Central | 3.2 | 2.6 | 8.8 | 1.9 | 1.6 | 4.3 |
| Metropolitan area | 3.4 | 2.5 | 9.4 | 1.9 | 1.4 | 4.5 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 2.7 | 2.8 | (1) | 1.8 | 1.8 | (1) |
| South | 6.8 | 5.5 | 11.1 | 5.5 | 4.6 | 8.7 |
| Metropolitan area | 6.2 | 5.0 | 10.2 | 5.0 | 4.0 | 8.3 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 7.6 | 6.1 | 12.3 | 6.2 | 5.3 | 9.2 |
| West | 2.1 | 1.6 | 3.1 | 2.3 | 2.1 | 2.5 |
| Metropolitan area | 1.7 | 1.2 | 3.2 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.6 |
| Nonmetropolitan area | 3.1 | 2.8 | (1) | 3.0 | 2.5 | (1) |

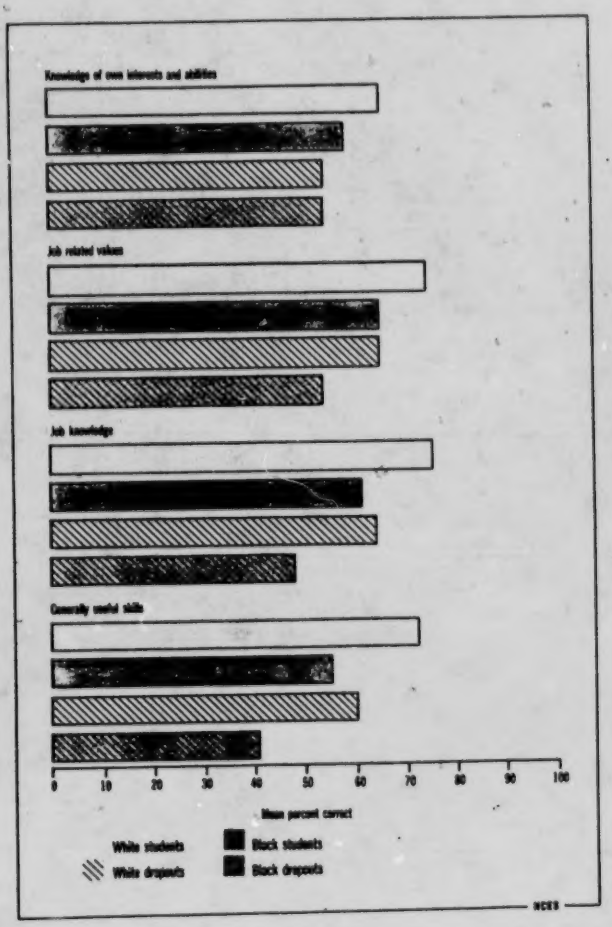
[1] Base less than 50,000.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, unpublished tabulations.

Published in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education Report, 1979 edition.

**Chart 6**
**Career Knowledge, Values, and Skills of 17-Year-Olds**

Within each racial group, out-of-school 17-year-olds performed far below 17-year-old students on career development exercises. However, white high school dropouts performed no worse than black high school students on the exercises measuring job-related values, specific job knowledge, and generally useful skills.



schools, on the other hand, have tended to have relatively large enrollments which could be consolidated by merging classes without closing schools. Therefore, enrollment decreases in secondary schools are more likely to be accompanied by corresponding decreases in the number of teachers employed in these schools.

The number of public secondary teachers peaked at 1,024,000 in 1977, 2 years after the peak in public secondary enrollment (Table 14). From 1968 to 1977, there was a 19% increase in the number of teachers. The declines since 1977 have been minor. However, a significant drop is anticipated starting in 1980, when the total number of secondary teachers in public schools is expected to be less than a million for the first time since 1974. In the private sector, the relationship between enrollments and teachers is expected to remain stable.

Looking at the pupil-teacher ratio in the public sector, we find a pattern of constant decline which is expected to continue (Table 15). In 1977, the pupil-teacher ratio was 18.2. In 1968, the ratio was 20.4, 12% higher than in 1977. In 1978 the ratio declined 6% in one year to a level of 17.2. We do not anticipate similar dramatic declines in this ratio; however, convergence to the current private school ratio of 16.5 might be expected around the mid 1980's.

The demand for teachers, except in highly specialized areas, has been declining and and is projected to continue to decrease through the early 80's. In the early 1970's when the demand for additional teachers was decreasing, the supply of new teachers boomed from 233,000 in 1968 to 317,000 in 1972. This resulted in a large surplus of teachers. In the mid 1970's, as the surplus of teachers grew, the job market for college graduates in general tightened. And in the mid 1970's, budgetary constraints began to be imposed more severely on school systems. One reaction to these budgetary constraints was to hire beginning teachers or teachers with few

Table 14.

Table --Classroom teachers in regular elementary and secondary day schools, with alternative projections, by control and level of institution: United States, fall 1968 to 1988

(In Thousands)

| Year (fall) | Public and nonpublic | | | Public | | | Nonpublic | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | K-12 | Elementary | Secondary | K-12 | Elementary | Secondary | K-12 | Elementary | Secondary |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) | (6) | (7) | (8) | (9) | (10) |
| 1968 | 2,161 | 1,223 | 938 | 1,936 | 1,076 | 860 | 225 | 147 | 78 |
| 1969 | 2,245 | 1,260 | 985 | 2,014 | 1,108 | 906 | 231 1/ | 152 | 79 |
| 1970 | 2,288 | 1,281 | 1,007 | 2,055 | 1,128 | 927 | 233 | 153 | 80 |
| 1971 | 2,293 | 1,262 | 1,031 | 2,063 | 1,111 1/ | 952 | 230 1/ | 151 | 79 |
| 1972 | 2,332 | 1,291 | 1,041 | 2,103 | 1,140 1/ | 963 | 229 1/ | 151 | 78 |
| 1973 | 2,271 | 1,305 | 1,066 | 2,138 | 1,152 1/ | 986 1/ | 233 1/ | 153 | 80 |
| 1974 | 2,404 | 1,324 | 1,080 | 2,165 | 1,167 1/ | 998 1/ | 239 1/ | 157 | 82 |
| 1975 | 2,444 | 1,344 | 1,100 | 2,196 | 1,180 1/ | 1,016 | 248 | 164 | 84 |
| 1976 | 2,449 | 1,341 | 1,108 | 2,186 | 1,166 | 1,020 | 263 | 175 | 88 |
| 1977 | 2,470 | 1,359 | 1,111 | 2,209 | 1,185 | 1,024 1/ | 261 | 174 | 87 |
| 1978 | 2,460 | 1,352 | 1,108 | 2,199 | 1,178 | 1,021 | 261 | 174 | 87 |
| Intermediate alternative projection | | | | | | | | | |
| 1979 | 2,437 | 1,326 | 1,112 | 2,169 | 1,147 | 1,022 | 268 | 178 | 90 |
| 1980 | 2,413 | 1,324 | 1,089 | 2,141 | 1,144 | 998 | 271 | 180 | 91 |
| 1981 | 2,386 | 1,321 | 1,065 | 2,114 | 1,139 | 975 | 272 | 182 | 90 |
| 1982 | 2,357 | 1,311 | 1,046 | 2,091 | 1,135 | 955 | 266 | 175 | 91 |
| 1983 | 2,360 | 1,327 | 1,033 | 2,084 | 1,137 | 946 | 277 | 190 | 87 |
| 1984 | 2,370 | 1,347 | 1,023 | 2,090 | 1,150 | 940 | 280 | 197 | 83 |
| 1985 | 2,393 | 1,375 | 1,018 | 2,108 | 1,175 | 933 | 285 | 200 | 85 |
| 1986 | 2,426 | 1,418 | 1,009 | 2,135 | 1,216 | 919 | 292 | 202 | 90 |
| 1987 | 2,463 | 1,469 | 994 | 2,164 | 1,264 | 901 | 298 | 205 | 93 |
| 1988 | 2,501 | 1,529 | 971 | 2,194 | 1,318 | 876 | 306 | 211 | 95 |
| Low alternative projection | | | | | | | | | |
| 1979 | 2,413 | 1,301 | 1,112 | 2,148 | 1,126 | 1,022 | 266 | 176 | 90 |
| 1980 | 2,368 | 1,286 | 1,082 | 2,101 | 1,110 | 991 | 267 | 176 | 91 |
| 1981 | 2,322 | 1,269 | 1,053 | 2,057 | 1,094 | 963 | 265 | 175 | 90 |
| 1982 | 2,276 | 1,246 | 1,030 | 2,017 | 1,078 | 939 | 259 | 168 | 91 |
| 1983 | 2,260 | 1,248 | 1,012 | 1,993 | 1,068 | 925 | 267 | 180 | 87 |
| 1984 | 2,252 | 1,253 | 998 | 1,983 | 1,068 | 915 | 268 | 185 | 83 |
| 1985 | 2,256 | 1,266 | 989 | 1,984 | 1,080 | 904 | 272 | 187 | 85 |
| 1986 | 2,269 | 1,292 | 977 | 1,991 | 1,104 | 887 | 277 | 187 | 90 |
| 1987 | 2,284 | 1,324 | 960 | 2,001 | 1,134 | 867 | 283 | 190 | 93 |
| 1988 | 2,300 | 1,363 | 936 | 2,011 | 1,169 | 841 | 289 | 194 | 95 |

Table 15 --Pupil-teacher ratios in regular elementary and secondary day schools, with alternative projections, by control and level of institution: United States, fall 1968 to 1988

| Year (fall) | Public | | Nonpublic | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Elementary | Secondary | Elementary | Secondary |
| (1) | (2) | (3) | (4) | (5) |
| 1968 | 25.4 | 20.4 | 29.8 | 17.3 |
| 1969 | 24.8 | 20.0 | 27.8 1/ | 16.9 1/ |
| 1970 | 24.4 | 19.8 | 26.5 | 16.4 |
| 1971 | 24.9 | 19.3 | 25.5 1/ | 16.4 1/ |
| 1972 | 24.0 | 19.1 | 24.6 1/ | 16.4 1/ |
| 1973 | 22.9 | 19.3 | 23.6 1/ | 16.4 1/ |
| 1974 | 22.6 | 18.7 | 22.7 1/ | 16.4 1/ |
| 1975 | 21.7 | 18.8 | 21.7 1/ | 16.4 1/ |
| 1976 | 21.8 | 18.5 | 20.8 | 16.4 |
| 1977 | 21.1 | 18.2 | 20.5 | 16.4 |
| 1978 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.5 |
| **Intermediate alternative projection** | | | | |
| 1979 | 20.9 | 17.2 | 20.1 | 16.4 |
| 1980 | 20.7 | 17.1 | 19.9 | 16.4 |
| 1981 | 20.5 | 17.0 | 19.7 | 16.4 |
| 1982 | 20.2 | 16.9 | 19.5 | 16.4 |
| 1983 | 20.0 | 16.8 | 19.4 | 16.4 |
| 1984 | 19.8 | 16.7 | 19.2 | 16.4 |
| 1985 | 19.6 | 16.7 | 19.1 | 16.4 |
| 1986 | 19.3 | 16.6 | 19.0 | 16.4 |
| 1987 | 19.1 | 16.6 | 18.9 | 16.4 |
| 1988 | 18.[illegible] | 16.5 | 18.8 | 16.4 |
| **Low alternative projection** | | | | |
| 1979 | 20.5 | 17.2 | 19.8 | 16.4 |
| 1980 | 20.0 | 17.0 | 19.4 | 16.4 |
| 1981 | 19.6 | 16.8 | 19.0 | 16.4 |
| 1982 | 19.2 | 16.6 | 18.6 | 16.4 |
| 1983 | 18.7 | 16.4 | 18.3 | 16.4 |
| 1984 | 18.3 | 16.3 | 18.0 | 16.4 |
| 1985 | 17.8 | 16.1 | 17.8 | 16.4 |
| 1986 | 17.4 | 16.0 | 17.5 | 16.4 |
| 1987 | 16.9 | 15.9 | 17.3 | 16.4 |
| 1988 | 16.5 | 15.8 | 17.1 | 16.4 |
| **High alternative projection** | | | | |
| 1979 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |
| 1980 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |
| 1981 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |
| 1982 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |
| 1983 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |
| 1984 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |
| 1985 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |
| 1986 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |
| 1987 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |
| 1988 | 21.3 | 17.2 | 20.4 | 16.4 |

1/ Estimated.

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics publications: (a) Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, (b) Bulletin: Selected Public and Private elementary and Secondary Education Statistics, October 23, 1979, (c) Statistics of Nonpublic Elementary and Secondary Schools.

Taken from Projections of Education Statistics to 1988-89, forthcoming.

years of experience, since years of teaching experience is often a key element in determining teacher's salaries. The interaction of these factors resulted in a reduced turnover rate for experienced teachers. This occurred because opportunities in other fields were limited by a tight job market and the ability of experienced teachers to return to the profession was limited by the scarcity of teaching jobs, the oversupply of teachers, and the reluctance on the part of school systems to hire experienced teachers.

At first glance, with fewer teachers leaving the profession, it seems reasonable that the average age of the teaching force would increase. However, the table below, based on unpublished sample data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, indicates that just the opposite has occurred.

Percent of Teachers by Age

| | 24 and under | 25-34 | 35-44 | 45-54 | 55 and over |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1968 | 16.4 | 26.2 | 22.4 | 17.1 | 18.0 |
| 1969 | 17.5 | 26.6 | 22.3 | 17.3 | 16.2 |
| 1970 | 17.3 | 27.3 | 22.9 | 27.0 | 15.5 |
| 1971 | 16.9 | 30.9 | 22.2 | 16.1 | 14.1 |
| 1972 | 16.4 | 34.5 | 21.4 | 15.1 | 12.7 |
| 1973 | 17.2 | 35.6 | 19.9 | 16.1 | 11.2 |
| 1974 | 14.7 | 38.4 | 20.9 | 17.1 | 8.9 |
| 1975 | 13.0 | 38.7 | 22.1 | 15.9 | 10.1 |
| 1976 | 11.8 | 38.4 | 23.0 | 16.4 | 10.3 |
| 1977 | 11.8 | 36.8 | 23.2 | 17.9 | 10.3 |
| 1978 | 9.8 | 40.9 | 22.5 | 16.9 | 10.2 |

This table shows that the proportion of teachers 55 years old and over has decreased about 8% from 1968 to 1978, while the proportion of teachers 34 years old and under has increased 8%. If we take 55 years old as a minimum retirement age, it means that 73% of the teaching force in 1978 were more than 10 years away from the minimum retirement age, compared to only 65% in 1968.

The significance of these figures is that without careful planning we could experience a "boom-bust" cycle in training of teacher personnel similar to recent aerospace industry experiences. As the demand in the near future continues to decline, not only may the younger teachers currently in the system be forced out, but fewer college students will aspire to teaching careers. This highlights the need for careful planning as well as full utilization of the current reserve pool of teachers.

Recent surveys by the Center indicate that while there are no overall shortages there are both subject matter and geographic maldistributions. Shortages have been identified in special education, bilingual education, and mathematics. These shortages are disproportionately high in the Southeast and relatively low in the North Atlantic Region.

The average annual salaries of classroom teachers have risen each year (Table 16), but in constant dollar terms they actually declined in 1973, and again in 1974, and are now barely back to the 1972 high. In terms of constant dollars, the 1977-78 mean salaries of instructional staff were 5.6% above the salary levels ten years before. Teachers working full-time in February 1978, who earned a bachelor's degree the prior year, received an average annual salary of $9,700 from full-time teaching jobs, 78% of the average annual starting salary of their contemporaries with bachelor's degrees (Figure 7). The beginning salaries of teachers were lower than beginning salaries for any other college graduates of that year, except for social workers.

Finance

School finance at the elementary/secondary level is no longer the province of a small number of State and local officials; it increasingly involves a wide range of complex issues attracting greater participation and interest of other professionals, the Federal

Table 16.--Estimated average annual salary of classroom teachers in public elementary and secondary schools: United States, 1955-56 to 1977-78

| School year | Average salary (in dollars) | | | Average salary index (1955-56 = 100.0) | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All teachers | Elementary teachers | Secondary teachers | All teachers | Elementary teachers | Secondary teachers |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 |
| 1955-56 | $4,058 | $3,852 | $4,409 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| 1956-57 | 4,239 | 4,044 | 4,581 | 104.5 | 105.0 | 103.9 |
| 1957-58 | 4,571 | 4,373 | 4,894 | 112.7 | 113.5 | 111.0 |
| 1958-59 | 4,797 | 4,607 | 5,113 | 118.3 | 119.6 | 116.0 |
| 1959-60 | 4,985 | 4,819 | 5,276 | 123.2 | 125.0 | 119.7 |
| 1960-61 | 5,275 | 5,075 | 5,543 | 130.1 | 131.7 | 125.7 |
| 1961-62 | 5,515 | 5,340 | 5,775 | 136.0 | 138.6 | 131.0 |
| 1962-63 | 5,732 | 5,550 | 5,980 | 141.4 | 144.3 | 135.6 |
| 1963-64 | 5,986 | 5,805 | 6,266 | 147.6 | 150.7 | 142.1 |
| 1964-65 | 6,195 | 5,995 | 6,451 | 152.6 | 155.4 | 146.3 |
| 1965-66 | 6,485 | 6,279 | 6,761 | 159.9 | 163.0 | 153.3 |
| 1966-67 | 6,930 | 6,622 | 7,109 | 169.4 | 171.9 | 161.2 |
| 1967-68 | 7,423 | 7,308 | 7,692 | 183.1 | 187.1 | 174.5 |
| 1968-69 | 7,952 | 7,718 | 8,210 | 196.1 | 200.4 | 186.2 |
| 1969-70 | 8,636 | 8,412 | 8,891 | 212.9 | 218.4 | 201.7 |
| 1970-71 | 9,399 | 9,021 | 9,589 | 228.6 | 234.2 | 217.0 |
| 1971-72 | 9,705 | 9,434 | 10,031 | 239.3 | 244.7 | 227.5 |
| 1972-73 | 10,176 | 9,893 | 10,507 | 250.9 | 256.8 | 238.3 |
| 1973-74 | 10,778 | 10,507 | 11,077 | 265.8 | 272.8 | 251.2 |
| 1974-75 | 11,850 | 11,297 | 11,956 | 287.3 | 293.3 | 271.2 |
| 1975-76 | 12,600 | 12,301 | 12,950 | 310.7 | 319.3 | 293.7 |
| 1976-77 | 13,387 | 13,035 | 13,775 | 329.4 | 338.1 | 312.4 |
| 1977-78 | 14,344 | 13,903 | 14,680 | 351.3 | 360.9 | 333.0 |

SOURCE: National Education Association, annual *Estimates of School Statistics*. (Latest edition copyright © 1978 by the National Education Association. All rights reserved.)

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 57.

The average salary of classroom teachers increased by 92 percent between 1968 and 1978. During the same period the cost of living, as measured by the Consumer Price Index, rose 84 percent.

Figure 7.

## SALARY COMPARISONS OF TEACHERS AND OTHER WORKERS

Government, and the general public.

Historically the major source of financial support for education in this country has been the local government (Table 17). In the 1920's more than 80% of the revenue was generated at the local level, steadily declining to below 50% for the first time in 1975. During this period the infusion of funds from the State level grew dramatically; from 16% in 1920 to a high of 44% in 1976. Federal contributions, during the same period, rose from 0.3% in 1920 to between 8 and 9 percent since the mid 1960's. The Federal contribution more than doubled between 1964 and 1966, reflecting the passage of ESEA Title I.

In constant dollars, the average total per-pupil expenditure in the United States has gone from $395 in 1929-30 to $1,953 in 1977-78 (Table 18). Over approximately the same period, the total expenditures for the public schools has gone from $2 billion to $75 billion. In 1976-77, the average total expenditure per-pupil in the United States was $1,816. But this overall average masks a wide range among the States from the high of $3,890 in Alaska to $1,218 in Arkansas (Table 19). If we consider the Alaska expenditure extraordinary, the high among the contiguous 48 States is $2,645 in New York.

With regard to per-pupil expenditures, the data indicate that there are smaller differences between States than between districts within States (Figure 8). The differences between States are reduced somewhat when adjusted for differences in cost of living for the various States - but State differences do remain (Figure 9 and Table 20).

This area will be covered in significantly more detail in the study of State Financial Profiles currently underway in the Center.

Table 17.—Revenue receipts of public elementary and secondary schools from Federal, State, and local sources: United States, 1919-20 to 1976-77

| School year | Total | Federal | State | Local (including intermediate)[1] | School year | Total | Federal | State | Local (including intermediate)[1] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| | AMOUNT IN THOUSANDS OF DOLLARS | | | | | PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION | | | |
| 1919-20 | $ 970,120 | $ 2,476 | $ 160,086 | $ 807,561 | 1919-20 | 100.0 | 0.3 | 16.5 | 83.2 |
| 1929-30 | 2,086,567 | 7,334 | 353,670 | 1,727,563 | 1929-30 | 100.0 | .4 | 16.9 | 82.7 |
| 1939-40 | 2,260,527 | 39,610 | 684,354 | 1,536,363 | 1939-40 | 100.0 | 1.8 | 30.3 | 68.0 |
| 1941-42 | 2,416,560 | 34,309 | 709,983 | 1,672,281 | 1941-42 | 100.0 | 1.4 | 31.4 | 67.1 |
| 1943-44 | 2,604,322 | 35,886 | 859,183 | 1,709,253 | 1943-44 | 100.0 | 1.4 | 33.0 | 65.6 |
| 1945-46 | 3,059,845 | 41,376 | 1,062,057 | 1,956,409 | 1945-46 | 100.0 | 1.4 | 34.7 | 63.9 |
| 1947-48 | 4,311,834 | 120,270 | 1,676,362 | 2,514,902 | 1947-48 | 100.0 | 2.8 | 38.9 | 58.3 |
| 1949-50 | 5,437,044 | 185,848 | 2,135,689 | 3,115,507 | 1949-50 | 100.0 | 2.9 | 39.8 | 57.3 |
| 1951-52 | 6,423,816 | 227,711 | 2,478,595 | 3,717,507 | 1951-52 | 100.0 | 3.5 | 38.6 | 57.8 |
| 1953-54 | 7,866,852 | 355,237 | 2,944,103 | 4,567,512 | 1953-54 | 100.0 | 4.5 | 37.4 | 58.1 |
| 1955-56 | 9,685,677 | 441,442 | 3,828,895 | 5,416,380 | 1955-56 | 100.0 | 4.6 | 39.5 | 55.9 |
| 1957-58 | 12,181,513 | 486,484 | 4,800,368 | 6,894,661 | 1957-58 | 100.0 | 4.0 | 39.4 | 56.6 |
| 1959-60 | 14,746,618 | 651,539 | 5,768,047 | 8,326,932 | 1959-60 | 100.0 | 4.4 | 39.1 | 56.5 |
| 1961-62 | 17,527,707 | 760,975 | 6,789,190 | 9,977,542 | 1961-62 | 100.0 | 4.3 | 38.7 | 56.9 |
| 1963-64 | 20,544,182 | 896,956 | 8,078,014 | 11,569,212 | 1963-64 | 100.0 | 4.4 | 39.3 | 56.3 |
| 1965-66 | 25,356,858 | 1,996,964 | 9,920,215 | 13,439,686 | 1965-66 | 100.0 | 7.9 | 39.1 | 53.0 |
| 1967-68 | 31,903,064 | 2,626,469 | 12,275,536 | 16,821,063 | 1967-68 | 100.0 | 8.8 | 38.5 | 52.7 |
| 1969-70 | 40,266,923 | 3,219,557 | 16,062,776 | 20,984,590 | 1969-70 | 100.0 | 8.0 | 39.9 | 52.1 |
| 1971-72 | 50,003,645 | 4,467,969 | 19,133,256 | 26,402,420 | 1971-72 | 100.0 | 8.9 | 38.3 | 52.8 |
| 1973-74 | 58,230,892 | 4,930,351 | 24,113,409 | 29,187,132 | 1973-74 | 100.0 | 8.5 | 41.4 | 50.1 |
| 1975-76 | 70,802,904 | 6,210,343 | 31,065,354 | 33,527,107 | 1975-76 | 100.0 | 8.8 | 43.9 | 47.4 |
| 1976-77 | 78,322,832 | 6,629,496 | 32,688,903 | 38,004,134 | 1976-77 | 100.0 | 8.9 | 43.4 | 47.8 |

[1] Includes a relatively small amount from nongovernmental sources (gifts and tuition and transportation fees from patrons). These sources accounted for 0.4 percent of total revenue receipts in 1967-68.

NOTE.—Beginning in 1959-60, includes Alaska and Hawaii. Because of rounding, details may not add to totals.

SOURCES: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, *Statistics of State School Systems;* and *Revenues and Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Education.*

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 71.

The long-range trend is for public school systems to derive more revenue from Federal and State governments and a smaller proportion from local sources.

**Table 18.--Total and current expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in public elementary and secondary schools: United States, 1929-30 to 1977-78**

| School year | Unadjusted dollars | | Adjusted dollars (1977-78 purchasing power)[1] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total[2] | Current[3] | Total[2] | Current[3] |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| 1929-30 .... | $108 | $87 | $398 | $318 |
| 1931-32 .... | 97 | 81 | 421 | 351 |
| 1933-34 .... | 78 | 67 | 359 | 317 |
| 1935-36 .... | 88 | 74 | 401 | 337 |
| 1937-38 .... | 100 | 84 | 437 | 367 |
| 1939-40 .... | 108 | 88 | 476 | 394 |
| 1941-42 .... | 110 | 96 | 442 | 394 |
| 1943-44 .... | 126 | 117 | 576 | 538 |
| 1945-46 .... | 146 | 138 | 498 | 467 |
| 1947-48 .... | 203 | 179 | 545 | 481 |
| 1949-50 .... | 259 | 209 | 695 | 553 |
| 1951-52 .... | 313 | 244 | 748 | 581 |
| 1953-54 .... | 351 | 265 | 817 | 617 |
| 1955-56 .... | 388 | 294 | 904 | 685 |
| 1957-58 .... | 449 | 341 | 984 | 747 |
| 1959-60 .... | 472 | 375 | 1,006 | 799 |
| 1961-62 .... | 530 | 419 | 1,104 | 873 |
| 1963-64 .... | 559 | 480 | 1,135 | 974 |
| 1965-66 .... | 654 | 537 | 1,283 | 1,053 |
| 1967-68 .... | 786 | 658 | 1,447 | 1,211 |
| 1969-70 .... | 988 | 816 | 1,684 | 1,353 |
| 1971-72 .... | 1,128 | 990 | 1,717 | 1,507 |
| 1973-74 .... | 1,384 | 1,207 | 2,076 | 1,837 |
| 1975-76 .... | 1,689 | 1,509 | 1,918 | 1,704 |
| 1976-77 .... | 1,816 | 1,638 | 1,938 | 1,748 |
| 1977-78[4] ... | 1,953 | 1,739 | 1,953 | 1,739 |

[1] Based on the Consumer Price Index, prepared by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor.
[2] Includes current expenditures for day schools, capital outlay, and interest on school debt.
[3] Includes day school expenditures only; excludes current expenditures for other programs.
[4] Estimated.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, *Statistics of State School Systems; Revenues and Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, 1976-77; and Statistics of Public Elementary and Secondary Day Schools, Fall 1977.*

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 80.

Expressed in dollars of 1977-78 purchasing power, the current expenditure per pupil peaked at $1,837 in 1973-74. Over the next 4 years, there was a decrease of about 5 percent.

**Table 19.-Expenditure per pupil in average daily attendance in public elementary and secondary day schools, by State: 1976-77**

| State or other area | Expenditure per pupil | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total[1] | Current[2] | Capital outlay[3] | Interest on school debt |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |
| **United States** | **$1,816** | **$1,636** | **$131** | **$48** |
| Alabama | 1,327 | 1,230 | 87 | 10 |
| Alaska | 3,890 | 3,389 | 347 | 154 |
| Arizona | 1,944 | 1,572 | 311 | 61 |
| Arkansas | 1,218 | 1,090 | 97 | 31 |
| California | 1,902 | 1,668 | 108 | 26 |
| Colorado | 1,950 | 1,653 | 232 | 64 |
| Connecticut | 1,881 | 1,739 | 88 | 44 |
| Delaware | 2,108 | 1,924 | 94 | 90 |
| District of Columbia | 2,467 | 2,467 | ... | ... |
| Florida | 1,572 | 1,390 | 147 | 34 |
| Georgia | 1,467 | 1,299 | 148 | 20 |
| Hawaii | 2,079 | 1,835 | 240 | 4 |
| Idaho | 1,348 | 1,180 | 137 | 31 |
| Illinois | 2,075 | 1,759 | 257 | 60 |
| Indiana | 1,562 | 1,353 | 144 | 65 |
| Iowa | 1,820 | 1,677 | 111 | 32 |
| Kansas | 1,731 | 1,541 | 156 | 35 |
| Kentucky | 1,233 | 1,130 | 59 | 44 |
| Louisiana | 1,433 | 1,288 | 113 | 35 |
| Maine | 1,467 | 1,306 | 116 | 45 |
| Maryland | 2,181 | 1,900 | 237 | 45 |
| Massachusetts | 2,230 | 2,071 | 86 | 72 |
| Michigan | 2,036 | 1,814 | 137 | 84 |
| Minnesota | 2,013 | 1,805 | 149 | 59 |
| Mississippi | 1,226 | 1,128 | 85 | 12 |
| Missouri | 1,484 | 1,375 | 77 | 32 |
| Montana | 1,950 | 1,764 | 143 | 23 |
| Nebraska | 1,685 | 1,614 | 31 | 39 |
| Nevada | 1,707 | 1,449 | 160 | 99 |
| New Hampshire | 1,562 | 1,416 | 103 | 44 |
| New Jersey | 2,365 | 2,153 | 66 | 65 |
| New Mexico | 1,634 | 1,415 | 196 | 23 |
| New York | 2,645 | 2,496 | 69 | 80 |
| North Carolina | 1,389 | 1,246 | 130 | [4] 12 |
| North Dakota | 1,632 | 1,463 | 128 | 21 |
| Ohio | 1,554 | 1,435 | 85 | 34 |
| Oklahoma | 1,463 | 1,321 | 130 | 15 |
| Oregon | 2,195 | 1,920 | 235 | 40 |
| Pennsylvania | 2,074 | 1,852 | 127 | 95 |
| Rhode Island | 1,860 | 1,796 | 12 | 52 |
| South Carolina | 1,375 | 1,212 | 134 | 29 |
| South Dakota | 1,499 | 1,334 | 144 | 31 |
| Tennessee | 1,334 | 1,200 | 119 | 14 |
| Texas | 1,606 | 1,369 | 171 | 67 |
| Utah | 1,633 | 1,296 | 306 | 39 |
| Vermont | 1,631 | 1,535 | 50 | 46 |
| Virginia | 1,635 | 1,445 | 140 | 50 |
| Washington | 1,935 | 1,679 | 122 | 34 |
| West Virginia | 1,528 | 1,358 | 152 | 18 |
| Wisconsin | 1,917 | 1,776 | 94 | 47 |
| Wyoming | 2,220 | 1,784 | 368 | 68 |
| **Outlying areas:** | | | | |
| American Samoa | 773 | 773 | ... | ... |
| Canal Zone | 1,737 | 1,689 | 47 | ... |
| Guam | 1,957 | 1,679 | 277 | ... |
| Puerto Rico | 887 | 887 | ... | ... |
| Virgin Islands | 1,765 | 1,459 | 307 | ... |

[1] Includes current expenditures for day schools, capital outlay, and interest on school debt.
[2] Includes expenditures for day schools only; excludes adult education, community colleges, and community services.
[3] Includes capital outlays by State and local schoolhousing authorities.
[4] Data for 1975-76.

NOTE.—Because of rounding, details may not add to totals.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, *Revenues and Expenditures for Public Elementary and Secondary Education, 1976-77.*

Taken from the Digest of Education Statistics, 1979 edition, page 79.

Excluding Alaska, where living costs tend to be higher than elsewhere, the current expenditure per pupil in 1976-77 ranged from $1,090 in one State to $2,496 in another.

TABLE 20

CORE CURRENT EDUCATION EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL ADJUSTED FOR ESTIMATED COST OF LIVING DIFFERENCES, BY STATE. 1976-77

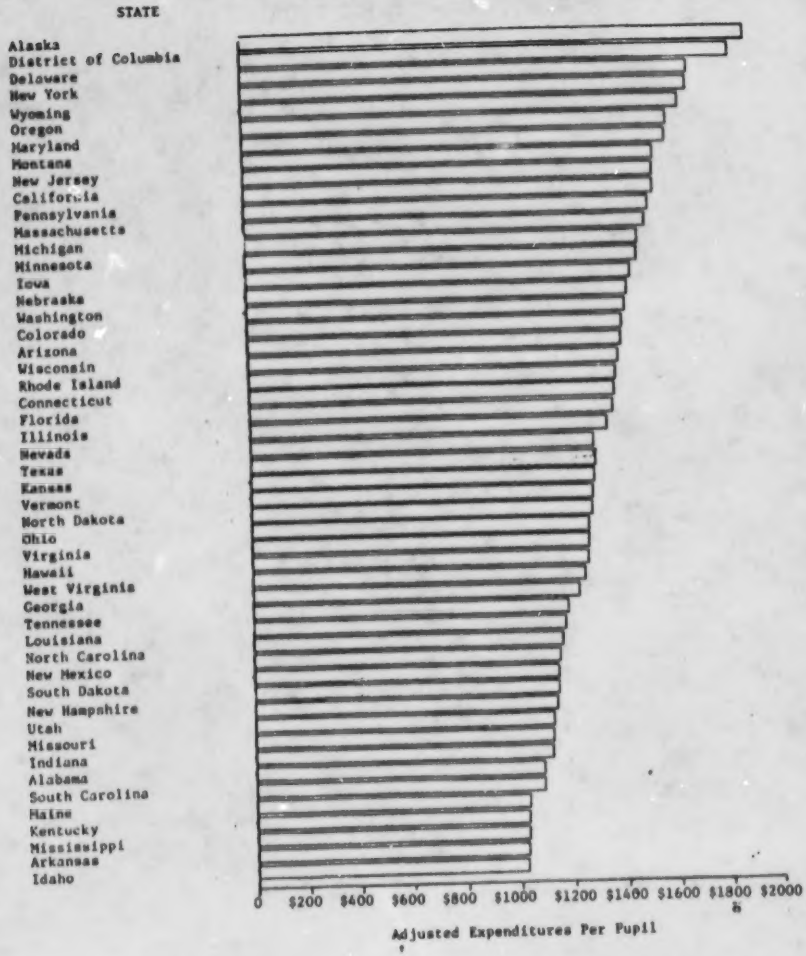
| STATE OR OTHER AREA | UNADJUSTED EXPENDITURES AMOUNT | RANK | ADJUSTED EXPENDITURES AMOUNT | RANK |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ALABAMA..... | $ 961 | 48 | $1,091 | 45 |
| ALASKA..... | 2,864 | 1 | 1,898 | 1 |
| ARIZONA..... | 1,342 | 24 | 1,409 | 19 |
| ARKANSAS..... | 885 | 50 | 1,028 | 50 |
| CALIFORNIA.... | 1,614 | 6 | 1,536 | 10 |
| COLORADO..... | 1,415 | 21 | 1,411 | 18 |
| CONNECTICUT... | 1,481 | 16 | 1,379 | 22 |
| DELAWARE..... | 1,586 | 8 | 1,671 | 3 |
| DIST. OF COL.. | 1,913 | 3 | 1,837 | 2 |
| FLORIDA..... | 1,206 | 31 | 1,372 | 23 |
| GEORGIA..... | 1,045 | 42 | 1,188 | 35 |
| HAWAII..... | 1,537 | 13 | 1,253 | 33 |
| IDAHO..... | 981 | 46 | 1,025 | 51 |
| ILLINOIS..... | 1,409 | 23 | 1,350 | 24 |
| INDIANA..... | 1,121 | 35 | 1,122 | 44 |
| IOWA..... | 1,427 | 20 | 1,447 | 15 |
| KANSAS..... | 1,266 | 26 | 1,286 | 28 |
| KENTUCKY..... | 898 | 49 | 1,033 | 48 |
| LOUISIANA..... | 1,015 | 41 | 1,036 | 37 |
| MAINE..... | 1,049 | 41 | 1,036 | 47 |
| MARYLAND..... | 1,545 | 11 | 1,585 | 7 |
| MASSACHUSETTS. | 1,717 | 5 | 1,505 | 12 |
| MICHIGAN..... | 1,546 | 10 | 1,477 | 13 |
| MINNESOTA..... | 1,528 | 14 | 1,471 | 14 |
| MISSISSIPPI... | 881 | 51 | 1,031 | 49 |
| MISSOURI..... | 1,116 | 37 | 1,126 | 43 |
| MONTANA..... | 1,479 | 17 | 1,541 | 6 |
| NEBRASKA..... | 1,411 | 22 | 1,433 | 16 |
| NEVADA..... | 1,235 | 27 | 1,296 | 26 |
| NEW HAMPSHIRE. | 1,163 | 32 | 1,142 | 41 |
| NEW JERSEY.... | 1,785 | 4 | 1,537 | 9 |
| NEW MEXICO.... | 1,158 | 33 | 1,149 | 40 |
| NEW YORK..... | 1,937 | 2 | 1,667 | 4 |
| NORTH CAROLINA | 1,026 | 44 | 1,155 | 38 |
| NORTH DAKOTA.. | 1,231 | 28 | 1,270 | 30 |
| OHIO..... | 1,227 | 29 | 1,267 | 31 |
| OKLAHOMA..... | 1,113 | 38 | 1,297 | 25 |
| OREGON..... | 1,593 | 7 | 1,593 | 6 |
| PENNSYLVANIA.. | 1,556 | 9 | 1,517 | 11 |
| RHODE ISLAND.. | 1,492 | 15 | 1,385 | 21 |
| SOUTH CAROLINA | 971 | 47 | 1,089 | 46 |
| SOUTH DAKOTA.. | 1,116 | 36 | 1,149 | 39 |
| TENNESSEE..... | 1,037 | 43 | 1,178 | 36 |
| TEXAS..... | 1,144 | 34 | 1,291 | 27 |
| UTAH..... | 1,077 | 40 | 1,130 | 42 |
| VERMONT..... | 1,283 | 25 | 1,282 | 29 |
| VIRGINIA..... | 1,213 | 30 | 1,266 | 32 |
| WASHINGTON.... | 1,441 | 19 | 1,424 | 17 |
| WEST VIRGINIA. | 1,082 | 39 | 1,230 | 34 |
| WISCONSIN..... | 1,463 | 18 | 1,394 | 20 |
| WYOMING..... | 1,542 | 12 | 1,638 | 5 |
| PUERTO RICO... | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. | N.A. |

Figure 8.

**SCHOOL SYSTEM CORE CURRENT EDUCATION EXPENDITURES PER PUPIL, BY STATE: 1976-77 (IN SCHOOL SYSTEMS WITH GRADES 1-12)**

Figure 9.

Core Current Education Expenditures Adjusted for Cost of Living Differences



International

We may compare data on education and work experience of youth in the United States with youth in other countries having similar economic and political institutions. Comparable data have been compiled from seven member nations of the Organization for Economic Development. These include, in addition to the U.S., Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Japan, and the United Kingdom.

Between the ages of 15 and 19, most young people in the United States and in these other countries must decide whether or not to try to continue their education, get a job, or do both. These decisions are affected not only by personal considerations, but also by the opportunities available in their countries for education and work. The education and work experiences that youth have in these countries affect both their own lives and the political and social climates of their countries.

The governments of the countries compared here all have a strong commitment to increasing the opportunities of youth to stay in school during this age span and to get decent jobs commensurate with their education and abilities. Yet there are substantial differences among these countries in the extent to which these young people continue their education and are successful in finding jobs. Interpreting the various education and work experiences of these young people, national differences in customs, government policies, labor market conditions, and the racial/ethnic composition and distribution of the youth population should be kept in mind.

There were increases in school enrollment of youth (ages 15 to 19) in the United States and the other countries between 1960 and 1975 which were due not only to population changes in the age group but also to changes in enrollment rates (Figure 10). In all countries school enrollment rates (the percentage of the population group enrolled full-time) increased between 1960 and 1975. In the United States enrollment rates



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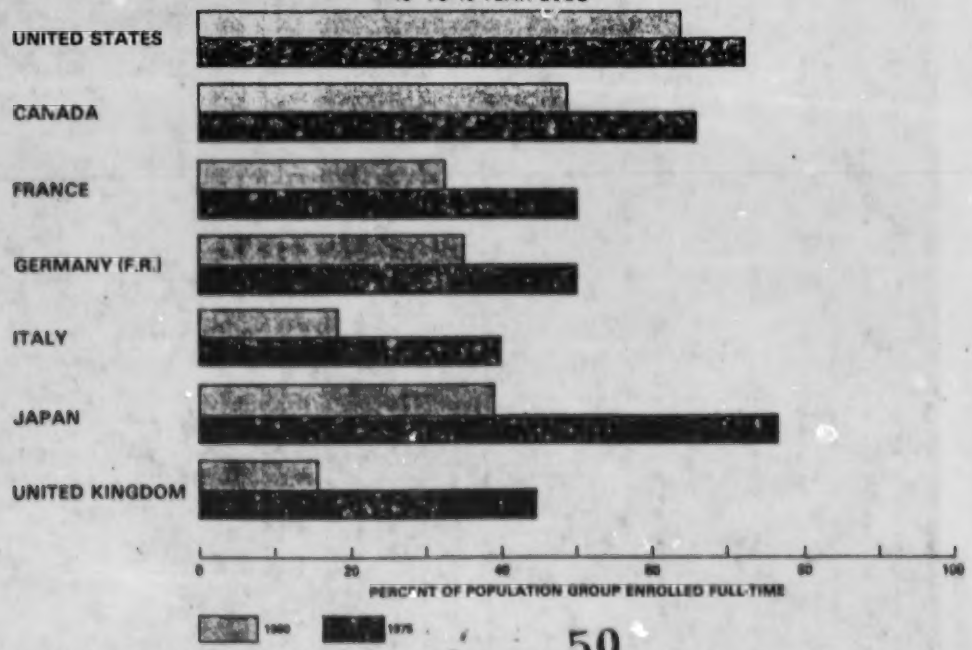
Figure 10.

## FULL-TIME SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATES

15- TO 19-YEAR-OLDS



increased from 44% in 1960 to 72% in 1975, with Japan going from 39% in 1960 to 76% in 1975. Enrollment rates in 1975 ranged from about 41% in Italy to 76% in Japan.

Between 1975 and 1980, school enrollments are projected to increase in all countries. Although enrollment projection have not been made beyond 1980, patterns of expected populatior changes suggest that enrollment growth will decrease in most of these countries after 1980.

Another way to examine changes in school enrollment rates between 1960 and 1975 is to compare them with labor force participation rates during this period (Table 21). Because males and females have traditionally had different patterns of labor force participation, data for males and females are presented separately.

School and work are often thought of as alternative activities and between 1960 and 1975 in all these countries except the United States and Canada, school enrollment rates for both male and female 15- to 19-year-olds increased, while labor force participation rates decreased. In 1960 labor force participation rates exceeded school enrollment rates in all these countries except the United States and Canada. By 1975 enrollment rates were higher than labor force participation rates for both males and females in all seven of these countries.

In the United States and Canada, enrollment rates also increased between 1960 and 1975, but labor force participation rates held steady or increased slightly. In 1960 the United States had some of the lowest rates of labor force participation for both males and females of this age. But by 1975, the labor force participation rates of both male and female 15- to 19-year-olds in the United States were the highest of the seven countries. Changes in labor force participation for this group between 1960 and 1975 suggest certain trends (Table 22). Among male and female 15- to 19-year-olds, only in

Table 21.
**Education enrollment and labor force participation rates for 15- to 19-year-olds, by sex: Selected countries, 1960 to 1975**

| Country | Education enrollment | | | Labor force participation | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1960 | 1970 | 1975 | 1960 | 1970 | 1975 |
| **Male** | | | | | | |
| United States | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Canada | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| France | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Germany (F.R.) | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Italy | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Japan | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| United Kingdom | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| **Female** | | | | | | |
| United States | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Canada | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| France | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Germany (F.R.) | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Italy | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Japan | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| United Kingdom | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, France.

Published in the U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, The Condition of Education Report, 1978 edition.

Table 22.
**Labor force 15 to 19 years old: Selected countries, 1960 to 1980**

| Country | 1960 | 1970 | 1975 | 1980 | Percent change 1960 to 1975 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | (Numbers in thousands) | | | | |
| **Male** | | | | | |
| United States [1] | 3,184 | 4,395 | 5,127 | 5,149 | 61 |
| Canada | 390 | 486 | 634 | 674 | 72 |
| France | 1,000 | 1,048 | 900 | 785 | 4 |
| Germany (F.R.) | 1,401 | 1,183 | 1,072 | 866 | -23 |
| Italy [2] | 1,446 | 857 | 713 | 677 | -50 |
| Japan | 2,360 | 1,500 | 830 | 790 | -64 |
| United Kingdom [3] | (1,397) | [4]1,224 | [4](1,608) | 1,071 | -39 |
| **Female** | | | | | |
| United States [1] | 2,062 | 3,250 | 4,059 | 4,248 | 97 |
| Canada | 234 | 351 | 472 | 580 | 98 |
| France | 634 | 798 | 683 | 644 | 8 |
| Germany (F.R.) | 1,340 | 1,088 | 905 | 761 | -48 |
| Italy [2] | 999 | 640 | 537 | 475 | -46 |
| Japan | 2,210 | 1,540 | 840 | 870 | -62 |
| United Kingdom [3] | (1,368) | [4]1,189 | [4](976) | 902 | -31 |

NA: Not available.
[1] 16- to 19-year-olds.
[2] 14- to 19-year-olds.
[3] Figures in parentheses are estimated.
[4] Figures in parentheses are estimated.
SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, France.

the United States, Canada, and France did the numbers increase, and only in the United States and Canada were the increases substantial.

Unemployment rates of youth (15- to 24-year-olds) rose in all of these countries between 1970 and 1976 (Table 23). For example, in the United States, youth unemployment rose from 10% in 1970 to 14% in 1976. Canada's increase was similar. Among European countries, Italy's rates were highest, rising from 10% in 1970 to 14% in 1976. Youth unemployment rates increased the most, however, in the United Kingdom, France, and Germany (F.R.). Levels of youth unemployment in Europe are approaching those previously found only in North America. Japan remains something of an exception, having had a youth unemployment rate of 2% in 1970 and one of 3% in 1976.

As noted before, the reported changes in levels of youth unemployment must be interpreted in the context of a variety of differences among these countries in demographic, cultural, governmental, and economic characteristics. Nonetheless, the seriousness of the problem of youth unemployment in all countries mentioned must be noted.

Youth unemployment as a special problem is highlighted by examining it as a proportion of total unemployment in these countries (Table 24). Only in Germany (F.R.) and Japan is youth unemployment less than 30 percent of total unemployment. In Italy youth unemployment is almost 64% of total unemployment, the highest among these seven countries. In the United States, the figure is almost 46%. The problem of youth unemployment - and educational enrollment opportunities - may warrant greater attention if this problem with its short- and long-term consequences is not to become trivialified.

School Environment

A discussion of the secondary school would be incomplete without addressing the general environment as we see it and the public perception of it.

**Table 23.**
**Unemployment rates for youths 15 to 24 years old: Selected countries, 1970 to 1976**

| Country | 1970 | 1971 | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States [1] | 9.9 | 11.9 | 11.2 | 9.9 | 11.2 | 15.2 | 14.8 |
| Canada | 10.3 | 11.3 | 11.1 | 9.7 | 9.4 | *10.0 | 12.5 |
| France [2] | 1.3 | 2.8 | 3.4 | 3.9 | 4.3 | 7.9 | 8.4 |
| Germany (F.R.) [3] | 6.3 | 6.8 | 6.7 | 1.9 | 3.1 | 5.7 | 6.1 |
| Italy [4] | 10.2 | 10.1 | 13.1 | 12.9 | 11.1 | 12.9 | 14.8 |
| Japan | 2.0 | 2.1 | 2.4 | 2.3 | 2.5 | 3.0 | 3.1 |
| United Kingdom [5, 6] | 2.0 | 4.* | 4.6 | 3.8 | 3.2 | 7.4 | 11.1 |

[1] Age group 16–24 years old.
[2] New data collection procedures were adopted in 1975.
[3] Unemployed aged under 25 years old; labor force aged 15–24 years old.
[4] Age group 14–24 years old.
[5] Unemployed aged under 25 years old; labor force aged 15–24 years old.
[6] Rate for Great Britain.

SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, France.

**Table 24.**
**Unemployment of youth aged 15 to 24 years old as a percent of total unemployment: Selected countries, 1960 to 1976**

| Country | 1960 | 1970 | 1975 | 1976 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| United States [1] | 33.6 | 40.[illegible] | 45.7 | 48.3 |
| Canada | 34.5 | [illegible] | *47.4 | 48.2 |
| France [2] | *29.9 | [illegible] | 42.4 | 48.8 |
| Germany (F.R.) [3] | 18.1 | [illegible] | 26.0 | 34.2 |
| Italy [4] | 14.7 | [illegible] | 63.6 | 64.1 |
| Japan | 47.6 | 37.3 | 35.0 | 33.2 |
| United Kingdom [5, 6] | *30.[illegible] | 27.0 | 30.7 | 48.3 |

[1] Youth aged 16 to 24 years old as a percent of total unemployment.
[2] New data collection procedures were adopted in 1975.
[3] Youth aged under 25 years old as a percent of total unemployment.
[4] Estimated by OECD Secretariat.
[5] Youth aged 14–24 years old as a percent of total unemployment.
[6] Figures refer to Great Britain.

SOURCE: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, Paris, France; special tabulations by the OECD Secretariat.

On the one hand, the schools are expected to cope with technological developments, information explosion, sex education, health maintenance, inadequate nutrition and many other problems such as inculcation of social values that once were the province of the family. Making their expanded role more difficult, are externally generated problems of drugs, discipline, absenteism, vandalism, weakening of other social structures, and even teen-age unemployment.

In a survey conducted by the Center, dealing with reported crimes in the schools, we found that during the first five months of school year 1974-75, 72% of the schools reported at least one criminal offense to the police (Table 25). This percentage was substantially higher in metropolitan areas (82%) and substantially lower in non-metropolitan areas (61%). Burglary, drug abuse, personal theft and assault were most frequently mentioned. Possession of weapons was a significantly greater problem in central cities, where 25% of the schools reported this problem, than in the non-metropolitan areas, where only 5% of the schools had such a report.

In response to the technological demands it is significant to note that in 1961 almost 15% of the teachers had less than a bachelor's degree. That proportion was less than 1% in 1976. Although the proportion of classroom teachers holding doctor's degrees remained fairly constant, at less than one-half of 1%, the proportion with master's degrees increased significantly in just 5 years from 27 to 37 percent in 1976.

Results of two 1978 Gallup Poll surveys show that adults and teenagers differ somewhat in their perceptions of the quality of public schools. The public school students and their parents rated the schools most favorable. Adults without children rated the schools higher than those with children in the private schools. However, most students regardless of their academic standing felt that work at the secondary level was not sufficiently difficult. I believe that this finding is an important input for those responsible for educating our youth.

This completes my testimony.

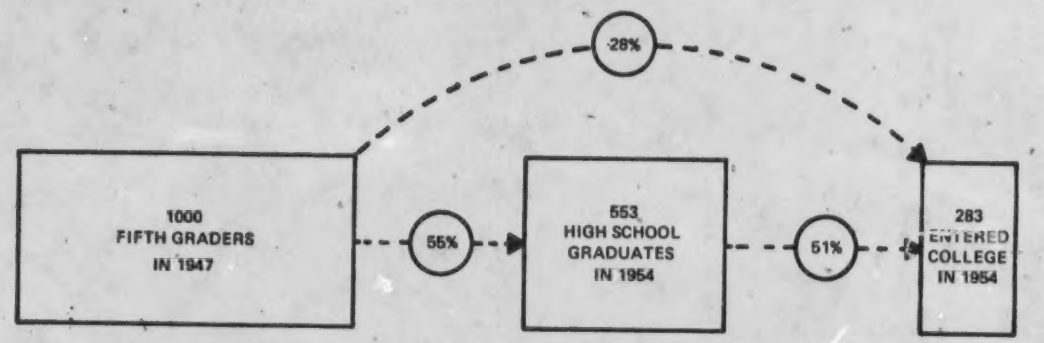
Table 25
Number and percent of schools reporting criminal offenses [1] to the police in a 5 month period, by type of offense and level and location of school: September 1974 through January 1975

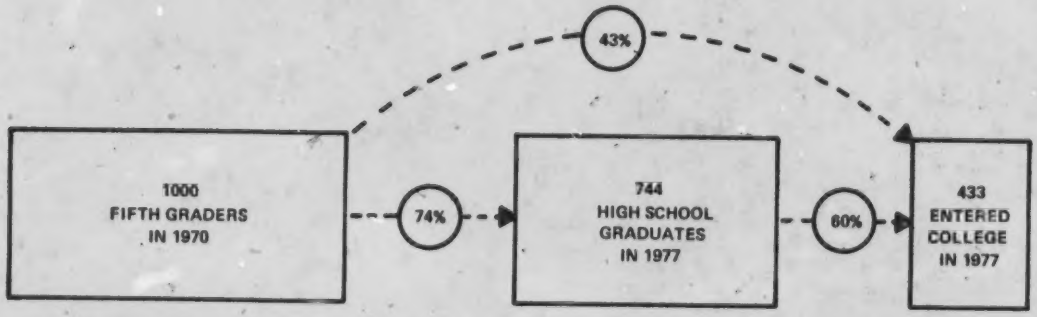
| Item | All schools | Elementary: Total | Elementary: Metropolitan, central city | Elementary: Metropolitan, other | Elementary: Nonmetropolitan | Secondary: Total | Secondary: Metropolitan, central city | Secondary: Metropolitan, other | Secondary: Nonmetropolitan |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Total schools [2] | 94,329 | 72,164 | 14,532 | 30,198 | 27,434 | 22,165 | 3,986 | 8,090 | 10,100 |
| Number of schools reporting one or more offenses | 46,349 | 30,245 | 8,137 | 12,541 | 9,566 | 16,104 | 3,284 | 6,615 | 6,204 |
| Percent of schools reporting one or more offenses | 49.0 | 41.0 | 56.0 | 41.0 | 34.0 | 72.0 | 82.0 | 81.0 | 61.0 |
| Percent of schools reporting, by type of offense: | | | | | | | | | |
| Rape | 0.23 | 0.15 | 0.07 | 0.23 | 0.11 | 0.49 | 1.02 | 0.38 | 0.38 |
| Robbery | 3.25 | 1.61 | 4.87 | 1.22 | 0.84 | 7.95 | 16.18 | 9.51 | 3.46 |
| Assault | 7.98 | 3.96 | 10.61 | 3.09 | 1.39 | 21.07 | 40.54 | 24.72 | 10.50 |
| Personal theft | 14.91 | 9.31 | 14.73 | 9.18 | 6.59 | 33.14 | 44.05 | 38.39 | 24.64 |
| Burglary | 34.15 | 30.43 | 41.89 | 28.92 | 26.11 | 46.28 | 58.04 | 52.87 | 36.37 |
| Arson | 3.73 | 2.00 | 4.88 | 1.58 | 0.94 | 9.35 | 14.84 | 12.80 | 4.43 |
| Bombing | 6.70 | 3.52 | 7.98 | 3.11 | 2.00 | 15.76 | 20.68 | 20.46 | 10.06 |
| Disorderly conduct | 8.36 | 5.13 | 9.19 | 4.53 | 3.65 | 18.88 | 24.83 | 22.25 | 13.84 |
| Drug abuse | 10.54 | 3.40 | 2.11 | 5.04 | 2.27 | 33.77 | 40.63 | 44.10 | 22.79 |
| Alcohol abuse | 5.26 | 1.88 | 1.78 | 2.16 | 1.09 | 16.91 | 15.65 | 20.16 | 14.81 |
| Weapons | 4.45 | 2.30 | 4.97 | 2.16 | 0.77 | 11.77 | 25.06 | 13.99 | 5.00 |

[1] Includes only those offenses committed on school premises. Offenses may involve non-students as offender or victim.
[2] Public and nonpublic schools excluding those that combine elementary and secondary grades.

NOTE: Details may not add to totals because of rounding.

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, "Safe School Study".


28%
1000
FIFTH GRADERS
IN 1947
55%
553
HIGH SCHOOL
GRADUATES
IN 1954
51%
283
ENTERED
COLLEGE
IN 1954


43%
1000
FIFTH GRADERS
IN 1970
74%
744
HIGH SCHOOL
GRADUATES
IN 1977
60%
433
ENTERED
COLLEGE
IN 1977

**STATEMENT OF MARIE D. ELDRIDGE, ADMINISTRATOR, NATIONAL CENTER FOR EDUCATION STATISTICS, ACCOMPANIED BY NANCY DEARMAN, EDITOR, THE CONDITION OF EDUCATION REPORT**

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am accompanied this morning by Ms. Nancy Dearman, who is the editor of *The Condition of Education*, the annual report submitted by the National Center for Education Statistics for the Congress.

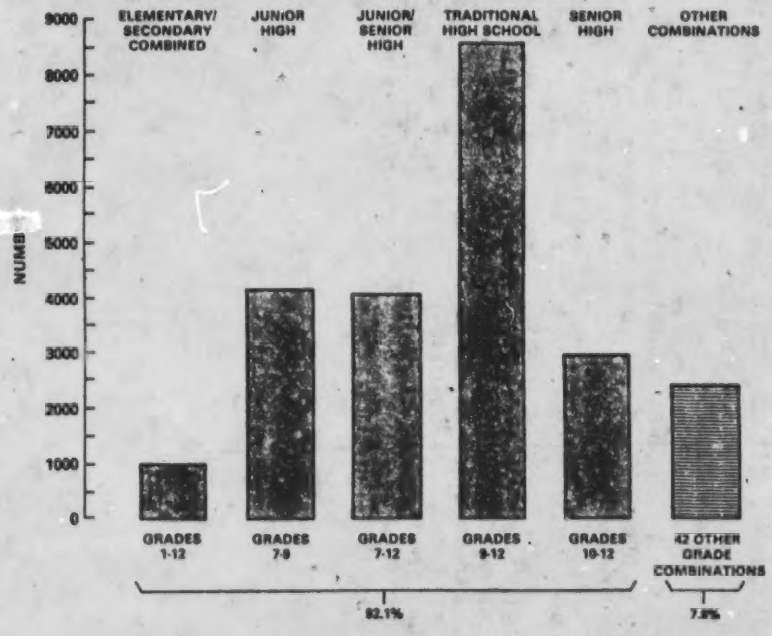
I am very pleased to have the opportunity to provide this subcommittee with a statistical overview of secondary education as we see it today, the changes that have taken place recently and the projected patterns as we can best predict them.

In looking at the secondary education system in this country, we see a pattern of great diversity.

[The numbering of charts not in the same order as prepared statement.]

Figure 1.

## NUMBER OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS CONTAINING AT LEAST ONE OF GRADES 9-12 BY GRADE SPAN



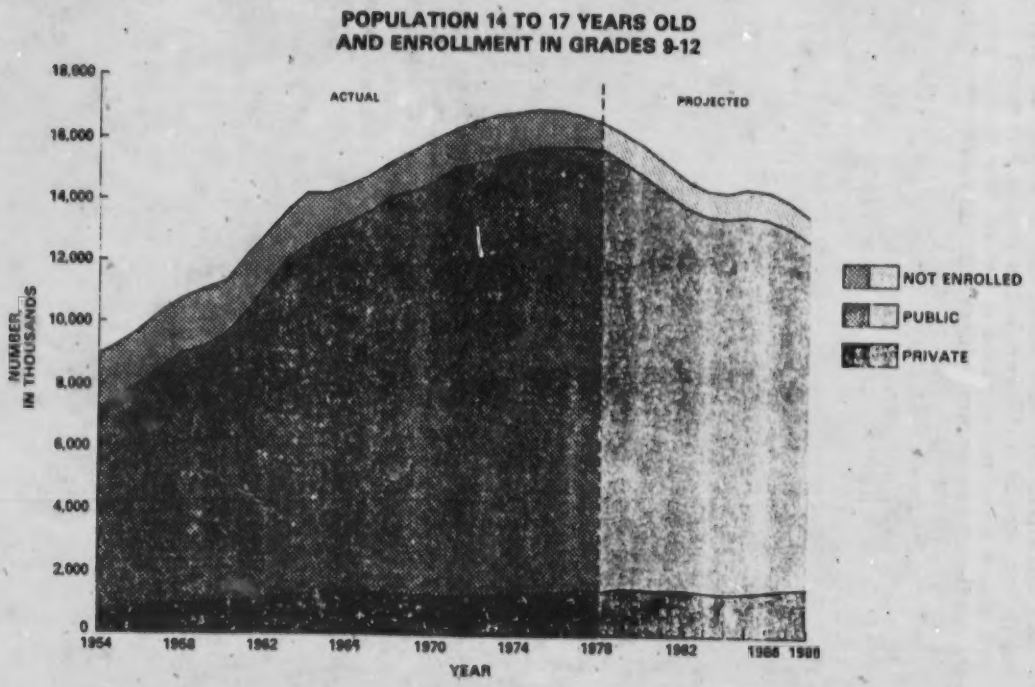
Mrs. Eldridge. As you can see from the first chart, the traditional grade 9-through-12 school is the predominant type. These schools served 40 percent of the students in grades 9 through 12 in 1977. However, there are 4,000 schools solely with grades 7 to 12, an additional 4,000 schools with grades 7 to 9, and about 3,000 schools with grades 10 to 12.

There are still a thousand schools that supply the full range of grades 1 through 12. Roughly 92 percent of the schools are configured in one of these five grade span patterns.

Grade structure has not been static. Since 1969, there have been some noteworthy changes. The number of middle schools, as defined by grades 6 through 8, has more than doubled. As the number of middle schools increases, the need for junior high schools decreases. The result is an increase in the number of high schools and high schools with larger average enrollments.

Private schools are classified primarily as elementary, secondary, or combined. Approximately 10 percent of the secondary schools are private. Of these 80 percent are church affiliated. Sixty-three percent are Catholic, naturally concentrated in areas with a high proportion of Catholic population.

Figure 2.


POPULATION 14 TO 17 YEARS OLD
AND ENROLLMENT IN GRADES 9-12
ACTUAL
PROJECTED
NUMBER IN THOUSANDS
18,000
16,000
14,000
12,000
10,000
8,000
6,000
4,000
2,000
0
1954
1958
1962
1966
1970
1974
1978
1982
1986
1990
YEAR
NOT ENROLLED
PUBLIC
PRIVATE

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. My next chart (fig. 2) shows the proportion of population, age 14 to 17, enrolled in grades 9 through 12. The top area shows those not enrolled in school. The middle area reflects the total number in our public institutions, and the bottom area represents those in the private sector.

In 1954, the first year on the chart, 80 percent were enrolled in a secondary school, a dramatic rise from 1929 when only half were enrolled. In 1978, 94 percent were enrolled. Our projections through 1988, based on assumptions of no major changes in social policies, indicate that public enrollments will continue to decline in grades 9 through 12, following basically the overall population trend.

However, we do anticipate some modest increase in the private school enrollment. These percentages, of course, vary by State and are, to a large extent, consistent with the compulsory school attendance laws, and my detailed testimony gives information on that.

Moving on to high school completers, the statistics show a dramatic rise since the turn of the century. By 1939, there were 50 graduates for every 100 17-year-olds. This figure rose to 60 per 100 in 1964 and reached the three-quarters mark by 1964. There has been little change since that year, and we do not anticipate any major changes in the future. While this is a reasonable index of the trend of high school completion, it does not reflect the total proportion of our population completing high school. For persons aged 22, for example, the percentage has risen to 85 percent.

There have been many attempts to devise measures of effectiveness of our high schools, but none is completely satisfactory. In addition to the retention rates we can look at the proportion of high school graduates going to college.

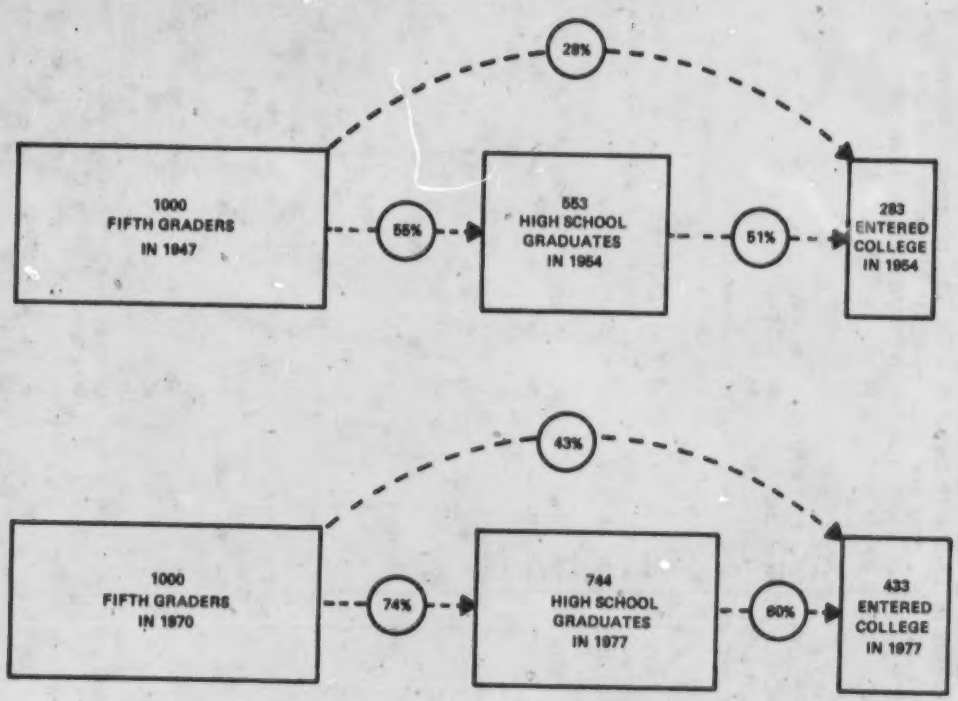



Fig. 3. Progress of fifth graders from high school through college, 1947, 1970

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. The next chart (fig. 3) compares the experience of fifth graders in 1947 with those in 1970. The progress is obvious. If you look at 1947, you see that roughly 55 percent of the fifth graders would have been expected to graduate from high school. Of that 55 percent, or 28 percent of all 1947 fifth graders, entered college.

Moving on to 1970—and the size of the boxes attempts to reflect the increased number of children we are speaking of—you have 4 percent who would enter high school. Of that, 60 percent would be expected to go on to college, a total of 43 percent of the fifth grade cohort now with the expectation of going on to college.

But we cannot attribute this increase solely to increased effectiveness of high schools. Other factors, such as the emergence of the community college, increased financial aid, reduced employment opportunities, or perhaps even the lowering of college admission standards, may contribute substantially to the greater proportion entering college.

The increasing number of students going on to college has generated a general recognition that high schools must turn out graduates better prepared for college study. At the same time, the high schools must address the educational needs of the 40 percent who are not going on to college. The need for better preparation for the transition from high school to work or high school to college was identified in the national longitudinal study of the high school class of 1972, conducted by the National Center.

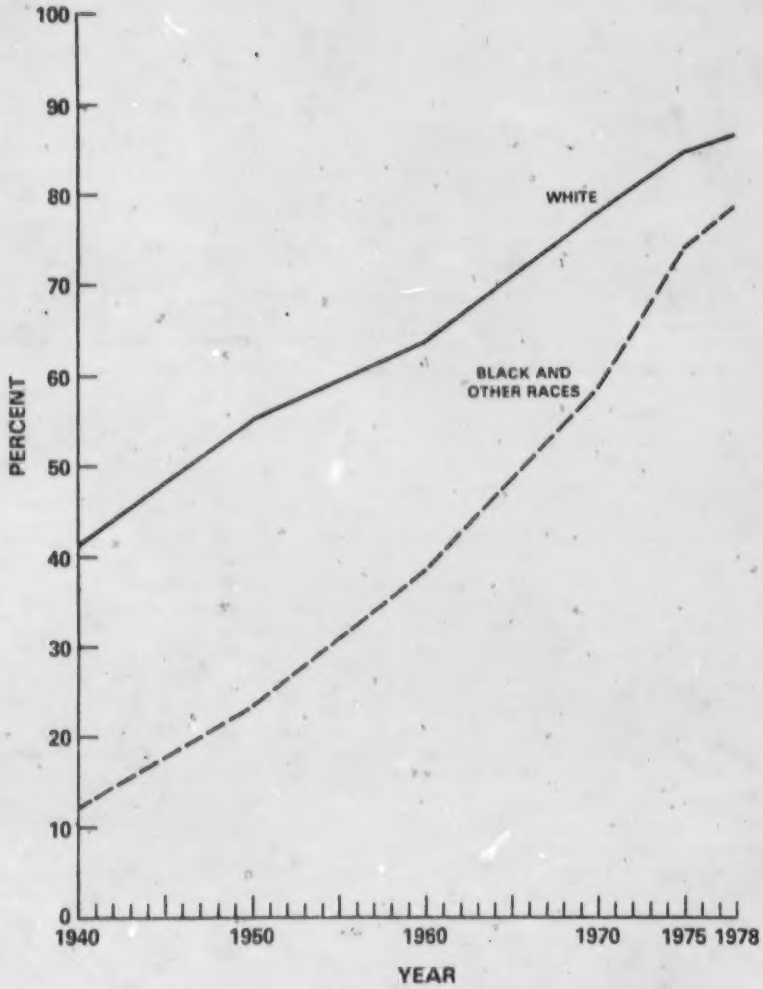
In 1976, this cohort was asked to evaluate the training and counseling they had received during high school. Less than 13 percent agreed with the statement that their schools had provided counseling that helped find employment or helped to continue education. Twenty-eight percent agreed that the schools did not offer enough practical work experience and should have placed more emphasis on vocational and technical programs.

The impact of high school may also be seen in measures of income of persons 25 years or older. In 1978, the male high school graduate without college training had a median income 16 percent higher than his nongraduating counterpart—and 29 percent higher than the male who had not attended high school at all. Among the women, the high school graduate earned 22 percent more than the nongraduating female, and her median income was 30 percent higher than the woman with no high school work.

Ninety-eight point five percent of 14- and 15-year-olds were enrolled in school in October 1977, with negligible differences among whites, blacks, and Hispanics. The dropout phenomena first becomes significant at age 16. For the 16- and 17-year-olds, 8.6 percent reportedly dropped out. When we look at the 18- and 19-year-olds, we find that the white rate is 15.9 percent and the black rate is 21.9 percent. Despite this relatively high dropout rate we must point out that when we look at the percent of young adults 25 to 29 completing high school by that time, substantial improvements have taken place.

Figure 4

## PERCENT OF PERSONS AGE 25 TO 29 COMPLETING 4 YEARS OF HIGH SCHOOL OR MORE

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Mrs. ELDRIDGE. This is a chart (fig. 4) showing the high school completion rate for whites and blacks from 1940 through 1978. As you can see, the gap is narrowing. However, I must say that were we to project this into the future, we would not project any substantial acceleration in the narrowing of that gap at this time.

Dropouts cite a number of reasons for leaving school. Among females age 18 to 21 in 1979 who had dropped out, pregnancy is an important reason, especially among black females where 40 percent cite this as the main reason they left school. About one-third of the Hispanic and white females who drop out of school cite pregnancy or getting married as their reason. Over one-quarter of the male dropouts leave because they simply do not like school. Forty percent of the Hispanic males drop out for economic reasons, home responsibilities, work, and financial difficulties.

Another interracial comparison is grade attainment in relation to age. In 1970, 5 percent of the whites, and 13 percent of the blacks, age 14 to 17, were enrolled two or more grades below the traditional grade for their age cohort. By 1977, the white percentage had changed from 5 percent to 3 percent, and the black percentage made a significant drop from 15 percent to 7 percent.

I would now like to move on to teachers. For the first time in decades we see references to education as a declining enterprise because of declining enrollments. The secondary schools have been in this mode for the last 3 years. The impact of declining enrollments is greater at the secondary level than at the elementary level because of the traditional neighborhood character of the elementary school. Enrollment decreases in secondary schools are more likely to be accompanied by corresponding decreases in the number of teachers employed in these schools.

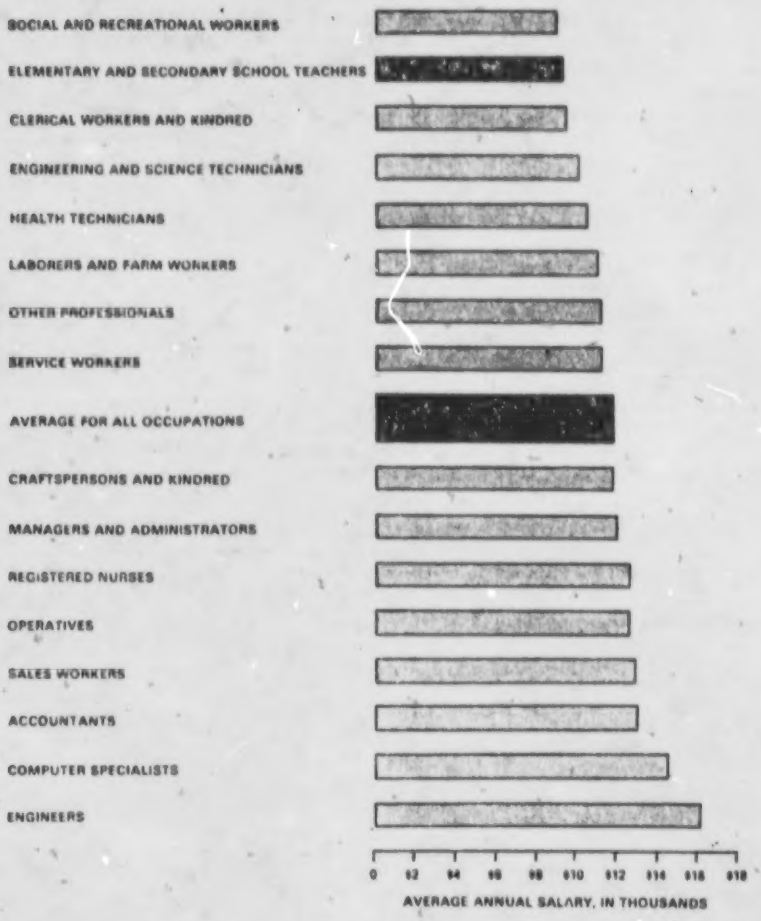
While the number of public secondary teachers peaked in 1977, 2 years after the peak in enrollment, a significant drop is anticipated starting in 1980 when the total number of secondary teachers in public schools is expected to be less than 1 million for the first time since 1974. In the private sector the relationship between enrollments and teachers is expected to remain stable.

Looking at the pupil-teacher ratio in the public sector, we find a pattern of constant decline which is expected to continue. In 1978, the ratio declined 6 percent in 1 year to level off at 17.2. That is 17 pupils per teacher. We do not anticipate similar dramatic declines in this ratio. However, convergence to the current private school ratio of 16.5 might be expected around the mid-1980's. The demand for teachers, except in highly specialized areas, has been declining and is projected to continue to decline through the early 1980's. Without careful planning, we could experience a boom-bust cycle in training of teacher personnel similar to recent aerospace industry experiences.

While there are no overall shortages, there are both subject matter and geographic maldistributions. Shortages exist in special education, bilingual education, and mathematics. These shortages are disproportionately high in the southeast and relatively low in the North Atlantic region.

Figure 5

## SALARY COMPARISONS OF TEACHERS AND OTHER WORKERS



Mrs. ELDRIDGE. If we look at teachers' salaries, we find that they have risen each year, but in constant dollars they declined in 1973, and are now barely back to the 1972 high. In 1977–78, the beginning teacher's salary, which is here, was about $9,200. You will see (in fig. 5) I have ranked various positions that the cohort of recent college graduates actually accepted. Teachers rank only below social and recreational workers in terms of their beginning salary. The average salary for all occupations, which we have looked at, is $12,500, and this salary for the elementary-secondary school teachers is about 79 percent of the average starting salary for the cohort of recent college graduates in these occupations.

The source of funding for elementary-secondary education has shifted dramatically over the years. In the 1920's, 80 percent of the funds came from the local level. Today, they represent less than half. The most dramatic infusion of funds has been at the State level where the percentage has more than doubled during that period representing approximately 45 percent currently.

Federal contributions shifted from 1 percent in 1920 to almost 9 percent in 1976–77.

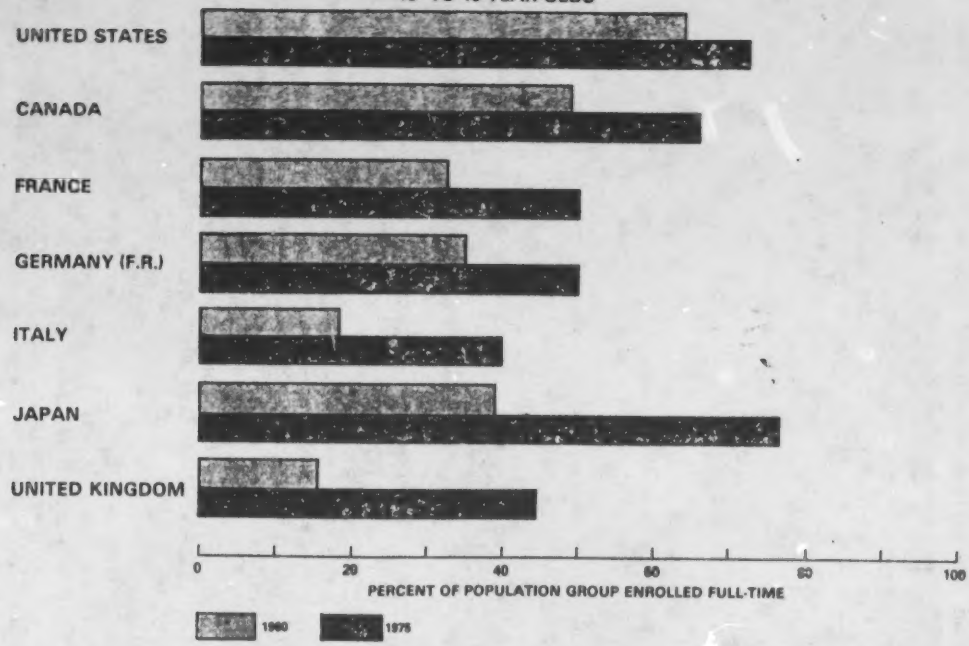
We are currently analyzing disparities in per pupil expenditures between and within States. Our current data indicate that there are smaller differences between States than between districts within States. This area will be covered in significantly more detail in the study currently underway in the Center on the State financial profiles.

In order to provide some international comparisons we have compiled data from seven member nations of the Organization for Economic Development. The governments of the countries compared here all have strong commitment to increasing the opportunities of youth, ages 15 to 19, to stay in school, and to then get decent jobs commensurate with their education and abilities. Yet there are substantial differences among these countries in the extent to which these young people continue their education and are successful in finding jobs.

Figure 6

## FULL-TIME SCHOOL ENROLLMENT RATES

15- TO 19-YEAR-OLDS



Mrs. ELDRIDGE. In 1960, the United States, as shown (in fig. 6) had the highest enrollment rate at 64 percent. This rose to 72 percent in 1975, but was exceeded by Japan at 76 percent. In terms of relative increases during this period, the greatest improvement was shown by the United Kingdom.

Youth unemployment, among those of ages 15 to 24, is a special problem and highlighted by examining it as a proportion of total unemployment in these countries. Only in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Japan is youth unemployment less than 30 percent of the total unemployment. In Italy, youth unemployment is almost 64 percent of total unemployment, the highest among these seven countries. In the United States, the figure is almost 46 percent.

A discussion of the secondary school would be incomplete without addressing the general environment as we see it and the public perception of it. On the one hand, the schools are expected to cope with technological developments, information explosion, health maintenance, inadequate nutrition, and many other problems. Making their expanded role more difficult are externally generated problems of drugs, discipline, absenteeism, vandalism, weakening of other social structures and even teenage unemployment.

In a survey conducted by the center dealing with reported crimes in the schools, we found that during the first 5 months of school year 1974-75, 72 percent of the schools reported at least one criminal offense to the police. This percentage was substantially higher in metropolitan areas at 82 percent and substantially lower in nonmetropolitan areas.

In response to the technological demands, it is significant to note that in 1961 almost 15 percent of the teachers had less than a bachelor's degree. That proportion was less than 1 percent in 1976.

Results of two 1978 Gallup poll surveys showed that adults and teenagers differ somewhat in their perceptions of the quality of public schools. The public school students and their parents rated the schools most favorable. Adults without children rated the schools higher than those with children in the private schools. However, most students, regardless of their academic standing, felt that work at the secondary level was not sufficiently difficult. I believe that this finding is an important input for those responsible for educating our youth.

Mr. Miller, this completes my testimony, and Ms. Dearman and I would be pleased to answer any questions you may have.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you.

It was a rather overwhelming group of figures, but let me ask you if the studies that were used to compile these figures might give us some hint as to why the results, and, first of all, one of the interesting figures for me was on page 20 of your testimony. You state in the middle paragraph, fourth from the bottom line, you say, "Over one-quarter of male dropouts leave because they simply do not like school."

What didn't they like about it?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I don't have the specifics in terms of what they don't like about it. I presume what they are referring to is that the option of being out of school is more attractive than conforming to constraints that they find in the school.

Mr. MILLER. Yes, I would assume that from the statement that they don't like school. My concern and my question is, Do they not like it because they are not doing well, because they can't read, because they can't compete, they don't feel comfortable, they feel inferior? If they were doing well, would they like school?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. That specific probing was not done in the survey which produced these tables.

Mr. MILLER. You don't measure it in that fashion?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. That is correct.

Mr. MILLER. Some days I don't like Congress, you know, but when I do, well, I think I will stick around for a while.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I should mention to you that we are in the process of conducting a second longitudinal study which will include not only the 12th graders, but the 10th graders. We will have substantially more information on the dropouts and undoubtedly will be able to probe the reasons at that time.

Mr. MILLER. In the same respect you earlier mentioned, and I don't have the page number, but you mentioned something about, I think the figure was 13 percent said that they felt that the counseling was inadequate to link them with employment. I don't know if my figure is right, but the statement I think is basically correct, a fair number of high school students felt that the counseling was inadequate or wasn't available to link them with employment.

I just wondered whether the study gives us any additional information, because the answer seems to indicate the counseling was available, and I see this proposal coming from the White House, or at least the skeleton coming from the White House, that is going to put all this new funding, or talks about it, into counseling, to get them to address themselves to this problem. I just wondered if we are talking about lack of resources or just inadequate resources or unprepared resources to help these young people currently?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. We do have comparative assessments of their impressions regarding the effectiveness of counseling immediately after they got out of high school or during the last year and then 4 years later. In 1972, 11 percent agreed with the statement that, "School provided me with the counseling that helped me find employment." That was when they were seniors. That dropped after 4 years, when they were out there either in college or actually looking for jobs. The percentage giving a favorable assessment dropped to 8.4 percent.

The statistics on the number of counselors is rather sketchy. One does have the impression that is an area that bears looking into in terms of the dedication of full-time counselors in the high schools today.

Mr. MILLER. But we don't know from this particular study, do we, what the background of the counselors in the various counseling departments might be?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Certainly not from this study. What we have done is to track the students' initial impression and then conduct a reevaluation after they were out of school for 4 years. And we find that even when their initial impression was rather poor, it got somewhat more dismal after 4 years' experience, post-high-school experience.

Mr. MILLER. Has your organization conducted any studies in regard to counseling, of counselors' backgrounds, training, those kinds of things?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Yes, we have looked at counselors in terms of financial counselors, both at the college and high school level, and, as I mentioned, there are predominantly part-time counselors that are involved. Whether or not they are fully trained, I have not looked at that.

Mr. MILLER. It is just my impression, and this is what these hearings are all about—trying to dispel or put our impressions in factual context—it seems to me in some cases counseling appears to be more of a promotional reward based upon length of service in many cases rather than competency to be a counselor, the reward you get out of a classroom; but we will go into that later.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I don't have data that would permit me to react to that.

Mr. MILLER. In your discussion of what is happening to teachers and the declining job opportunities, you mention, and I think it is on page 27, that in the private sector it seems to be stable, that you don't see the same decline.

Is that because of the growth in private sector enrollments as opposed to the declining enrollments in the public sector?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. The pupil-teacher ratio in the private sector has been phenomenally stable, and the degree of control that the private school has is obviously much greater in terms of the enrollments which they accept.

I believe they can control this to the extent that they want, and the statistics show that they have maintained a very, very stable pupil-teacher ratio.

The Catholic segment has the highest pupil-teacher ratio, but the overall ratio, as I said, is running at about 16.5 pupils per teacher. I don't see this changing.

Mr. MILLER. You see that ratio growing in the public sector, however?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. When I say declining, actually we are talking about the pupil-teacher, not the teacher-pupil, so a decline indicates that there will be more teachers for fewer students. In other words, if the ratio is now 17, there are 17 pupils per teacher, and I do expect that may come down to the 16.5, which is what we are experiencing in the private sector.

Mr. Miller. You are talking about employed teachers, not teachers in the economy?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. The number of teachers in the public school has not declined in the same proportion as the enrollments.

Mr. MILLER. Finally, on page 49, you talk about externally generated problems of drugs, discipline, absenteeism, vandalism, the weakening of our social structure and teenage unemployment. I wonder how you arrived at a determination of which of these were externally generated?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Which were externally generated?

Mr. MILLER. Yes, I think this committee has heard reports in the few years I have been here that some aspects of discipline and absenteeism problems may have been generated internally, within the schools.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I am not sure I understand the question.

Mr. MILLER. You talk about the expanded role of the schools, apparently having to deal with certain problems that you classify as externally generated. I assume the schools don't create a drug problem, that they cope with it as it comes from the community.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. That is correct.

Mr. MILLER. And you also put discipline and absenteeism in that classification, and I wonder how you arrive at that classification, or how the study arrived at it.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. These are the basic problems that the schools are having to cope with, in addition to the traditional role of the school of educating the child. And I refer to them as being externally generated because I believe it is a reflection of the society today that is basically generating these problems, the weakening of our social structures, the weakening of the family, the weakening of moral standards, ethical standards, the vandalism. Certainly in the case of our safe school studies, we learned that burglary, drug abuse, personal theft and assault were the most frequently mentioned. Unemployment certainly is an external problem. We know from reports that we have, that the unemployed teenager who may no longer be in school may still be hanging around the school and be a disruptive influence, and the school must cope with that. These are external factors.

Mr. MILLER. I don't disagree. My concern is specifically to the two topics that are listed, discipline and absenteeism. Did you differentiate between absenteeism that may be generated through, let's say, some factor in the family, that one child can't go to school because he has to stay home to take care of another child, or problems like that, or absenteeism generated because students were suspended because they didn't come to school?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I have not broken those figures down in that way.

Mr. MILLER. Or discipline, is it a discipline problem that arises because the student can't read and therefore is disruptive and therefore is disciplined, or is it a discipline problem because you have a hood coming onto the campus at the school?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I have not looked at it in that way.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you.

Mr. Erdahl?

Mr. ERDAHL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, Mrs. Eldridge, for your testimony this morning.

Just to touch on a couple things I think Mr. Miller brought up. One is the concern I think many of us share is with the dropouts from school. The question is and how do we keep people in school, how do we get them back in school? It seems to me as we look at secondary education we think the purposes are to educate a person for living, educate a person for going on to other educational opportunities or for a vocation. When you state that 12 percent of graduates immediately after high school and 8 percent 4 years after high school felt that their guidance didn't help them in a vocational pursuit, I think it is rather alarming, because we could say 9 out of 10 didn't do any good.

That is one of the places where the public schools could be doing a better job, in trying to see that people do get this direction and

the best preparation for vocational school. Maybe you brought this up when I was answering the phone, but do you have some studies showing the percentage that may be either given vocational training in high school, or go to a post-high-school vocational school? I haven't had a chance to read this.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. No, those specific figures are not yet available. We are currently collecting data on the vocational education data system which the Congress asked us to do, and those data will not be available for a few months.

What we do know is that different schools and the parents in different areas basically have different aspirations for the students, presumably to the best of their knowledge, reflecting the needs of the community.

There are schools and clusters of schools at every socioeconomic level that recognize the need for vocational education and will be providing that.

There are other schools that will give major emphasis to college preparatory courses, and this, of course, doesn't do much for the students who are not going on to college. That is why I stressed that the 40 percent who are not going on really must be attended to and counseled to the fullest extent. I guess it goes back to John Gardner's statement that we really must have as much respect for an excellent plumber as an excellent philosopher.

Mr. ERDAHL. They are a lot more expensive.

That seems to be an area where we haven't focused our attention.

When you and Mr. Miller were discussing the dropouts who said they dropped out of school because they didn't like it, that covered, of course, a rather broad range. I am from Minnesota, and when I was back there over the New Year's break and met with several groups of high school dropouts.

One statistic you gave coincided with a group I talked to. They had a meeting, and there were some of them working on their GED's, or guidance for vocation. A group of three or four girls seemed very young, and I just asked them if they would mind telling why they dropped out of school. They started giggling, and said we all had babies.

I had a young man come and see me—and I am sure my colleagues have had similar experiences—who was bound and determined to get in the Marines. He had gotten in some difficulty when he had taken his physical exam when he was 16, and he had to wait until 17. He had to wait 6 months, but didn't want to wait 6 months to get into the Marines, so talking more as a parent than a Congressman, I urged him to go back and finish school. He had dropped out of high school as a junior.

I asked why he had you quit school, and he said it was boring. When he cut classes, they cut his grades back. He dropped out and went back in and dropped out again. I told him I had been in the military, and said if you think high school is rough when you cut class, wait until you miss formation in the Marines.

I think sometimes people have the idea that getting out of school, making a few bucks, and getting into the military seems to be something that is very glamorous. Somehow we must impress on these people the value of finishing high school. I believe we have to

have a high schools that do deal with their needs, whether it be post-high-school academic training or to preparation for a vocation. I think your statistics show me that we are not preparing many of our high school students for the job market.

Certainly we can't have a very self-righteous feeling if we say we are so much better than the Italians, and we have 46 percent youth unemployment. I think that is just a disgrace in our system.

Anyway, I thank you for sharing your information and statistics with us.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. In terms of the vocational education, Ms. Dearman has some figures you may be interested in, and I would like her to share those with you.

Ms. DEARMAN. These data are from a survey of high school seniors, and the students were asked, "How likely is it that after high school you will attend a technical or vocational school?" Nine percent said they definitely would, 19 percent said they probably would. Four percent definitely will serve in the Armed Forces; 8 percent probably will. Eleven percent definitely will graduate from a 2-year college; 20 percent probably will. Thirty percent definitely will graduate from a 4-year college; 22 percent probably will.

Mr. ERDAHL. Interesting about the military. We might have a change. I heard on the news this morning our President might be recommending a reinstatement of the Selective Service and the draft.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I would expect that would make a difference.

Mr. ERDAHL. Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Kildee?

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

First of all, I would like to thank you for the excellent document you have presented this morning. I know it will be used extensively in my own office, and I hope to get an extra copy for people in my State. I think it is a very good document.

One question: I tell people that in real life I was a schoolteacher. It was 16 years ago when I taught high school. You mentioned a pupil-teacher ratio here. Does the teacher part of that ratio include only classroom teachers, or does it include all the professional staff, the counselors, and the administrators?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. That is strictly the classroom teachers, those who have the direct contact.

Mr. KILDEE. So, it is really the teachers.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. It is not administrative staff.

Ms. DEARMAN. I would simply add that it includes the special education teachers who often have classes of 10 or less, and that brings the ratio down.

Mr. KILDEE. But we don't mix in the counselors or administrators?

Ms. DEARMAN. They are not in that.

Mr. KILDEE. They used to tell us what the ratio was, and I could never define it because they would mix in every one—well, all the professional staff would be in that figure. These are truly those who relate to the students?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. These are our own generated data based on the teacher counts.

Mr. KILDEE. In your studies, in looking at some of the reasons for the dropouts, have you looked at the role or perhaps lack of role of affective education, particularly as it relates to counselors? We put great stress on cognitive education, but very often in my experience in teaching I found out much of the reason for dropping out related not only to problems with cognitive education, but the affective educational aspect, or lack of it, to help that student develop a good feeling about himself or herself.

Have you looked at that role, particularly as it relates to counselors?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I am not aware that I have any information that would shed any light on that. I would be glad to pursue it for you, and if I find something——

Mr. KILDEE. I know it is difficult because it is not quite as tangible or measurable as cognitive education, but I do think it would be worth pursuing to see what we can do in the area of affective education. Many times individual classroom teachers will try to salvage a student by helping that student. But one of the problems I have experienced among counselors is that they are so case burdened that very often they are able to do only schedule-making, and very often not because of their fault so much, but because of the case burden, that they can't really do any real counseling, really help that student think about himself or herself.

But they are lucky if they can get them in the right class or a classroom at the right time. I think that is one of the areas we have to address ourselves to, perhaps in Federal aid to education, to really enable counselors to become really counselors for which they are trained, rather than schedulemakers.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I am not at all sure that problem is restricted to the secondary level. I think in the postsecondary level you will see a similar problem.

[Information referred to follows:]

REPLY TO CONGRESSMAN KILDEE'S INQUIRIES ON COUNSELORS ROLE IN AFFECTIVE EDUCATION

Many educators feel that the role of the guidance counselor should emphasize the affective as differentiated from the cognitive aspects of education, to provide students with the opportunity to develop self-awareness and self-knowledge as they make career decisions and begin to move along career paths. While this responsibility should be shared by all school personnel, the guidance counselor still has primary responsibility for job, problem, college, and/or academic counseling, as well as initiating and maintaining parent and community contacts. Each of these has the potential to influence high school students' feelings about themselves and the value of their education and is a vital part of the educational process.

Notwithstanding the centrality of the guidance counselor's role in the educational process, there has been little systematic and comprehensive investigation of the impact of counselor resources on issues related to affective aspects of education. Some understanding of these issues can be obtainted from a recent study by William Schmidt of Michigan State University, under the sponsorship of NCES, entitled, "High School Counseling: Resources and Impact." These findings, discussed below, provide data on the nature and availability of counseling resources nationwide, and suggest insights into problems such as disruptive behavior, poor performance, and dropping out of school that relate to affective education.

Counseling services are a resource that is typically thought to be available to every high school student. However, according to Schmidt, using the National Longitudinal Study of the High School class of 1972, counseling services are not equally available to our high school population. Depending on the school type and location, available counseling resources often do not meet the needs of all students. Nationally, job counseling typically accounts for 8 percent, college counseling for 17

percent, and problem counseling for 18 percent of the counselor's available time, while administrative duties account for 38 percent. These percentages have been found to vary, in some instances drastically, among schools differing in: (1) regional location, (2) community setting, (3) racial composition, (4) SES composition, and (5) vocational student composition. Although each of these school characteristics has been shown by Schmidt as influencing student counseling time available, regional location, community type, and vocational student composition appear to have the greatest influence and thus will be discussed in more detail in the following paragraphs.

When regions of the country were compared as to counseling time available to the students, it was found that the typical high school (involved in NLS-72) in the South provides almost 25 percent less time for counseling on a per pupil basis than does the typical school in all other regions.

The type of community in which a high school is located has been found to be a very important variable in accounting for counselor resources available to high schools. The typical high school in the ten largest central city districts provides far fewer hours per pupil for all of the various types of counseling activities than do high schools in all the other types of community settings. (Job counseling was especially lacking.)

The typical high school in this study having more than 50 percent of its student body in vocational curriculums was found to provide more time per pupil for job counseling and less time for college counseling than the typical school in which there are no vocational students. It was also found that vocational schools in urban communities provide more counseling resources for job placement and job training than are available in other high schools in those same types of communities.

Another major finding relating to schools located in the ten largest urban communities in the United States was that the percentage of counselors using almost all of the methods of job placement available is less on the average than the percentage of counselors using these same methods in high schools located in the other types of communities. Coupled with previous findings, those results may have bearing on youth employment problems. In large cities, it is often very difficult for youth who only have a general high school education or who have dropped out of school to find jobs.

The use of counselors for job placement was also found to have an impact on the postsecondary status of high school seniors. For students in an academic or general program, the use of counselors for job placement resulted in a higher percentage of the students entering the work force and a correspondingly lower percentage attending college than for those students who do not use the counselors.

The above results are directly concerned with the availability of counseling resources to students. A question of more fundamental importance though is the student's perceived feelings of availability of various counseling resources. Again, using the NLS-72 data, it was found that students do have opinions on whether the school's counseling resources helped them to develop a better understanding of self and their relations to other people (affective education). In responding to a question that asked student opinion on availability of counseling that helped them better understand themselves, approximately 45 percent of the students responding felt that counseling resources did provide them with a better understanding of self. It was also found that higher proportions of students who were (1) black, or (2) in vo-tech curriculums, or (3) had fathers with less than high school education, were likely to agree that counseling resources were available in the school to provide them with a better understanding of self.

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you very much for your testimony and for this document.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Hawkins?

Mr. HAWKINS. Dr. Eldridge, on page 46 of your statement, you discuss the unemployment rates of youth. May I ask you, in terms of the statistical material contained on that page, whether or not it is a part of the responsibility of the National Center for Education to interpret as well as to compile these statistics such as you have given on that particular page?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. No, we have not interpreted the implications for those data.

Mr. HAWKINS. Perhaps my question, then, may not be in order. I wanted to, for example, understand the significance of the high

rate of unemployment in Italy, for example, which apparently had the worst record in this regard as compared with Japan, which has an unemployment rate of ony 2 percent in 1970, and 3 percent in 1976.

Then I assume you have not drawn any conclusions as to why this disparity exists, then?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. No, I have not.

Ms. Dearman may have an additional observation on that. These data were worked up specifically for this hearing.

Ms. DEARMAN. I would like to clarify that the unemployment rate of youth in Italy is not 46 percent; rather, 46 percent of unemployment is attributable to the youth unemployment. Now, if you look on page 47——

Mr. HAWKINS. That wasn't the statement. I think the statement was that youth unemployment in Italy appears to be the worst of the countries studied; is that true?

Ms. DEARMAN. Yes, that is correct.

Mr. HAWKINS. And Japan has the best performance?

Ms. DEARMAN. Yes, that is right.

Mr. HAWKINS. The question is the reason for that disparity.

Ms. DEARMAN. We do not have the reason for that disparity, but we can give you reasons for some of the things that happen in this country. Our knowledge of what kinds of things are happening in the other countries is not as great, and we have to depend to a great extent on the work done by the Organization for Economic Development. They have not explained that.

Mr. HAWKINS. It would seem the statistic may be misleading unless we know the reason for it and have some relationship of these performances with the school system in the countries studied. I was quite interested in that because it would seem for all practical purposes Japan, for example, has solved its youth unemployment problem.

Now, in what way has the school played any role in that solution?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Mr. Hawkins, I would be glad to attempt to pursue those figures somewhat, and if we can give you further clarification through OECD, or through the Department of Labor here, who obviously worked closely with OECD on the labor force participation rates, we will be glad to submit that for the record.

Mr. HAWKINS. I think it would be of interest to the committee if that were to be done.

[The information referred to follows:]

REPLY TO CONGRESSMAN HAWKINS' INQUIRIES ON DISPARITY IN YOUTH EMPLOYMENT STATISTICS IN ITALY AND JAPAN

It was noted in the NCES testimony that in interpreting education and work experiences of youth in different countries, national differences in customs, government policies, and labor market conditions are important. This is especially true when comparing countries as different as Italy and Japan. An examination of the disparity in youth unemployment rates and their relationship with school systems in these two countries required discussion of these national differences.

One basic difference between Italy and Japan as regards unemployment rates is definitional. Italy includes two categories of persons in its definiton of the unemployed that Japan excludes: (1) persons in the labor faorce who have not actively sought work, so-called "discouraged workers" and (2) persons who are waiting to

report to a new job at a later date. A 1978 NCES report[1] prepared with the cooperation of OECD notes that "Definitional problems in population and labor force statistics cause one country's reported figures to be high or low relative to those of another country . . . Differences across countries in the prominence of each of these conditions seriously impair absoute comparison of intercountry data."

While these definitional problems prevent direct comparisons between Italy and Japan, each country's economic, demographic and cultural patterns may be explored separately in an effort to draw a picture of the ways these factors affect youth unemployment in these countries.

The most important cause of youth unemployment is the economic recession and its aftermath. Youth employment opportunities are extremely sensitive to changes in the general level of economic activity because youth are at the end of the employment queue—last hired, first fired. In Italy, several factors were occurring alc with the general economic recession that tended to increase youth unemploym Youth in Italy began to represent an increasing share of the labor force. In CD countries where this occurred, youth unemployment has increased. Two- Italy's unemployed were looking for their first job in 1976.[2]

labor practices and regulations may also contribute to its youth unemploy- oblems. Two such practices are: (1) the rigidity of its minimum wage laws which force youth to compete, in recession, with experienced workers; and (2) its reinstatement rules that protect older workers' jobs. The youth unemployment rate in Italy may be inflated by the number of people who are at work but report themselves unemployed or out of the labor force for tax and social security purposes, or to evade the minimum wage laws.

Italy also has a high rate of "frictional" unemployment. As a general policy, it is felt that relatively frequent periods of job search—market testing—are necessary to accommodate demands for information by and about inexperienced job applicants. Higher than average rates of "frictional" unemployment are considered, in some countries, part of the price to be paid to insure initial access to the marketplace and subsequent free mobility.

JAPAN

Japan has a much more structured policy of youth employment practices. young people in Japan appear to be relatively less affected by worsening work conditions than youth of other OECD countries due: (1) to the fact that they account for a declining share of the labor force; (2) to Japan's high economic growth rates, and (3) to the existence of lifetime contracts which insure that youth wages are low relative to those of adults and that youth turnover is low. A vocational training practice in Japan has also contributed to its low youth unemployment rate. Private industries have increasingly established and maintained training programs so that, by 1975, there were included 365 such institutions authorized by prefectural governors.[4] These programs combine high school education and skills training on a residential basis to carefully selected youths. All education and subsistence costs of the participants are covered by the company. Employment for these who complete the program satisfactorily is guaranteed.

In Japan, the link between educaiton and work is very strong. Programs exist that provide vocational counseling, placement services, and occupational information.[4] Similar structured programs are not prevelent in Italy.

For the young, the most obvious alternative to participation in the labor force is participation at school. Rising educational enrollment is the major reason for the reduced labor force participation of young people. While educational participation rose in both Japan and Italy between 1960 and 1975, by the latter date, Japan enrolled more than three-quarters of its 15- to 19-year-olds while Italy enrolled 40 percent of that age group. The average number of years of schooling obtained in Japan is 13 years, compared to Italy's 11.

Mr. HAWKINS. The other question, my understanding is that on page 23, the chart which shows a decreasing gap in unemployment between white and black and other races continued into 1978. Apparently from the chart, itself, my understanding is that there has been some indication that will not continue. Am I correct?

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[1] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, "Indicators of Youth Unemployment and Education in Industrialized Nations," 1978.

[2] "Young on the Dole", "The Economist," June 11, 1977.

[3] Carnegie Council on Higher Education, "Giving Youth a Better Chance," 1979.

[4] U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, National Center for Education Statistics, "Indicators of Youth Unemployment and Education in Industrialized Nations," 1978.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. No, what I attempted to convey is that I do not anticipate that the accelerated thinning of the gap, narrowing of the gap, is going to continue. I don't anticipate that they are going to come together in the foreseeable future.

Mr. HAWKINS. Would you explain why?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Because of the higher proportion of whites who I believe will complete 4 years of high school than blacks.

Mr. HAWKINS. You repeat a statement again without an explanation as to why. You say a greater percentage of whites will complete high school education as compared with blacks. Why is this so when we have presumably the same quality of schools throughout the country, et cetera?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Yes, I think the blacks, along with Hispanics, continue to drop out at a higher rate. We have already indicated that one reason the Hispanics gave as a reason for dropping out was economic. It may well be that if jobs are available, that they will opt for a job rather than continuing their education.

It depends on their aspirations, whether they actually conceive of a high school diploma as being important to them. And I think there is a basic, perhaps one should call it a cultural, lag between the two groups; the aspirations still are somewhat different, and that is depicted in the dropout rates.

Mr. HAWKINS. Do you think the schools have any responsibility in this regard?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I do not think there is any question but that one has to consider the schools as having a considerable responsibility in this regard, but I also believe the home life, the family, the peers, and the general environment in which the child is living, perhaps has as much. That is a very qualitative statement.

Mr. HAWKINS. Let us pass on to another approach, then.

In answer to the chairman of the committee, who mentioned education as an external factor, to most of us who work in the field of manpower programs, the failure of certain groups to get jobs is often ascribed to the school itself. In other words, I think a good example is the President is now proposing to expend some $2 billion on youth unemployment; approximately half of that will be spent in the education field, presumably on the assumption that there is something wrong with the schools that needs repairing. This is therefore cited as the cause for unemployment. Would you agree that this is altogether an external factor, that the schools themselves may be largely responsible for the unemployment rate among youth?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Would I believe that the schools are responsible?

Mr. HAWKINS. I say, also may be largely responsible. Let us rephrase it and say a large amount of the unemployment is due to some of the failures within the school system itself to prepare these young people for marketable skills.

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. Well, I guess one would have to agree that if the students are not prepared in sufficient manner to find gainful employment, there is presumably a mismatch between what the school is turning out and what is needed in the labor force. But I am not sure that I would put the major onus on the schools.

Mrs. HAWKINS. How much would you put on the schools?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. I do not have a figure I could justify and stand behind on that.

Mr. HAWKINS. If we are going to continue to put money into remedial programs it would appear there is a recognition that many of the young people are not getting what they should be getting in the school system. Would you agree with that conclusion?

Mrs. ELDRIDGE. One phenomenon we have observed is that as unemployment goes up and students find they cannot find jobs, they will to a greater extent come back into the schools perhaps because there is nothing else to do. But at that point from their standpoint they come back and get additional training.

[Additional information submitted for the record follows:]

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION,
*Washington, D.C., March 10, 1980.*

Hon. CARL D. PERKINS,
*House of Representatives,*
*Washington, D.C.*

DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: At the hearings before the Subcommittee on Education of the Committee on Education and Labor, held on February 19, 1980, Congressman Hawkins raised some questions as to the reason why NCES statisticians projected a decelerating closing of the gap in the high school graduation rates of whites as compared to blacks and other races. I did not have the detailed data supporting that projection available at that time, but I did promise to have some further analysis done, and to forward it to the subcommittee.

The enclosed analysis, prepared by one of the Center's senior statisticians, provides the basis for our projection. The gap will not close in the late 1980's as the past trends might lead one to expect, but at a somewhat later, not yet determined, time. This brief paper also refers to some of the current Federal programs that are aimed, among other purposes, at a faster narrowing of the gap. We cannot predict the long term success of these programs, or other programs that the Congress might initiate, but expect to continue to monitor these trends.

A copy of this analysis is being sent directly to Congressman Hawkins. I hope that this is of some assistance to you in your current deliberations on the American high school.

Sincerely,

MARIE D. ELDRIDGE,
*Administrator.*

[Attachment]

RACIAL GAP IN HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION RATES

The racial gap in percentage of 25–29 year olds completing 4 years of high school or more narrowed considerably in the 1970's from 19.4 percentage points at the beginning of the decade to 7.8 percentage points in 1978. (See Table 12, NCES January 23, 1980 Testimony.)

RACIAL GAP

| Date | High school completion rates (percent) | | Gap percentage points |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Whites | Blacks and other races | |
| April: | | | |
| 1950 | 55.2 | 23.4 | 31.8 |
| 1960 | 63.7 | 38.6 | 25.1 |
| March: | | | |
| 1970 | 77.8 | 58.4 | 19.4 |
| 1975 | 84.5 | 73.8 | 10.7 |

RACIAL GAP—Continued

| Date | High school completion rates (percent) | | Gap percent points |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Whites | Blacks and other races | |
| 1978 | 86.3 | 78.5 | 7.8 |

Extrapolation of the trends in these data would seem to indicate that the racial gap in high school completion rate would vanish by the late 1980's. We are skeptical, however, that this actually will happen. Examination of Table A (attached) shows that high school graduation rates of males are negatively associated with:

Family background characteristics, such as low socioeconomic (SES) level, large family size, and a broken home.

Poor academic performance in school (low scores on standardized tests, poor grades, and being held back at least one grade.)

Taking a non-academic course of studies.

TABLE A.—RELATION OF SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF MALES ENTERING 10TH GRADE IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN 1968 TO EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT BY SPRING 1974

| Attribute | Educational attainment (percent) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | High School dropout | High school diploma | Some college | College degree[1] |
| Sample size | 113 | 401 | 605 | 509 |
| Low socioeconomic level background | 81 | 71 | 41 | 27 |
| Large family (3 or more children) | 75 | 62 | 50 | 32 |
| Home broken by death or divorce | 31 | 18 | 18 | 13 |
| Punitive parents | 50 | 42 | 33 | 22 |
| Black | 22 | 14 | 7 | 3 |
| Low intellectual ability | 60 | 47 | 20 | 5 |
| Held back at least one grade | 54 | 32 | 19 | 5 |
| Poor classroom grades (C or D) | 89 | 74 | 49 | 23 |
| Rebellious behavior in school | 43 | 23 | 16 | 8 |
| Nonacademic high school program | 89 | 82 | 51 | 32 |
| No college plans | 70 | 66 | 35 | 15 |
| Negative school attitudes | 38 | 23 | 11 | 4 |
| Low self concept regarding school ability | 40 | 31 | 17 | 4 |
| Unambitious job attitudes | 47 | 29 | 19 | 10 |
| Low status of aspired occupations | 59 | 46 | 17 | 6 |
| Delinquent behavior in school | 27 | 11 | 7 | 1 |

[1] Associate degree, Bachelor degree, or graduate work.

Source.—Bachman J. G., O'Malley, P. M., and Johnston, J. *Adolescence to Adulthood: Change and Stability in the Lives of Young Men*, Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1978, tables E-2-1 through E-2-16.

Note.—Variables in these tables were arbitrarily dichotomized in preparing the above summary.

Many attributes of high school students are associated with dropping out of high school and the amount of education eventually attained. Multivariate analysis shows that after controls for family background and ability are applied, the determinants of educational attainment are successful experiences in and positive attitudes toward schooling—characteristics that are well-apparent by tenth grade.

For girls, pregnancy is a major cause for dropping out of schools. (See Table 11, NCES January 23, 1980 Testimony.)

The reason for our pessimistic view is that recent figures show that there still are substantial racial disparities in these indicators of high school completion, and scant evidence of any trend toward rapid closure of disparities in these indicators. For example:

The median family income of Blacks and other races has remained fairly constant at 63 percent that of whites for a period of at least 10 years. (See table 4.1, "Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women," U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, August 1978.)

Parental education is a second major component of socioeconomic level. In 1987 parents of most high school graduation-age children will be between 35 and 55 years old, and thus most will belong to birth cohorts (1932-1952) of an era when minority groups obtained considerably less education than whites.

There is little reason for optimism that the racial gap in academic achievement will narrow greatly in the near future. Black seniors trailed whites in vocabulary, reading and mathematics test scores by a full standard deviation in 1972—essentially the same lag that existed seven years earlier in 1965. (See NLS Class of 1972 report NCES 75-208, 1975, and Equality of Educational Opportunity Report, OE-38001, 1966.)

Blacks obtain poorer high school grades. In 1972 only 34 percent of Black seniors reported grade averages of "B" or better versus a figure of 52 percent for white seniors. (See NLS Class of 1972 report NCES 75-208, 1975.)

Fewer Black than white seniors (33 versus 45 percent) reported in 1972 that they were in academic programs. (See NLS Class of 1972 report NCES 75-208, 1975.)

Schools have been attempting with varying degrees of success to overcome the deficits that children bring to school from their home backgrounds through such Federally-sponsored programs as Head Start, Follow Through, Title I remedial programs, bilingual education programs, etc. These deficits if not offset, result in unsuccessful school experiences, poor performance in school, and ultimately failure to complete high school. The extent to which the racial gap in quantity of education narrows in the 1980's depends on the successfuiness of the present programs and any new initiatives that may be taken to make completing high school a more attractive and reachable goal for disadvantaged youth.

Mr. HAWKINS. I have no further questions.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Buchanan.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I regret another subcommittee kept me from hearing your testimony, but I will read your testimony and your valuable charts and statistics.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Doctor.

I would like to call the next two witnesses at the same time. So if I could have Ms. Susan Abramowitz, educational finance staff, National Institute of Education, and Dr. John M. Bahner, executive director, IDEA, Charles Kettering Foundation.

Again, we have both your statements. They will be made part of the record in their entirety, so feel free to proceed however you feel comfortable.

Ms. Abramowitz.

## PANEL: SUSAN ABRAMOWITZ, EDUCATIONAL FINANCE STAFF, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION AND JOHN M. BAHNER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, IDEA, CHARLES KETTERING FOUNDATION

### STATEMENT OF SUSAN ABRAMOWITZ, EDUCATIONAL FINANCE STAFF, NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, I am Susan Abramowitz, an associate with the educational policy and organization program of the National Institute of Education (NIE), the principal agency in the Federal Government concerned with conducting educational research.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to testify before this subcommittee during these oversight hearings on American secondary education and, specifically, to report on the results of an NIE study on public and private high school principals. Three issues generated by this study should be of interest to the members of this subcommittee as they consider future legislation in the area of secondary education: One, how high schools are organized; two, the

differences between public and private high schools; three, and how demographic trends in the eighties are likely to affect how well public schools can accomplish what we ask them to do.

Issues of concern: NIE began its program of research on high schools conscious of the public debate about the ability of secondary education to meet the needs of America's youth. Charges were rampant that high schools had become too large and overly bureaucratic and were suffering from redtape, excessive rules, authoritarian teachers, and alienated students. While we did not assess all of these charges, we did examine the degree to which high schools are bureaucracies in the classic sense of the term.

Second, interest in private schools has been growing. In part this interest in nonpublic education seems to be based on certain perceptions about the nature of both public and nonpublic education. Many assert that public education has lost touch with its clients, that educational efficiency and productivity are on the wane, and that the public school systems are becoming increasingly bureaucratized. Many of those who can afford it, and some who cannot, believe that private schools offer something special and claim that parents should have more choice over the education of their children. I hope the data I report here will help separate fact from fiction about high schools.

High schools are not bureaucracies: If high schools could be characterized as bureaucratic, we would expect to find their management characterized by centralized decisionmaking, formal rules about how teachers should teach, and frequent formal evaluations. The results of our surveys suggest that the management style of most principals does not conform to this stereotype.

We find decisionmaking highly participatory. Principals report involving their faculty and staff in many different kinds of decisions. Regulation by rulemaking tends to be confined to student and teacher noninstructional activities. Few rules touch the professional aspects of instruction. Furthermore, principals keep abreast of what teachers are doing through informal procedures, like meetings, rather than formal evaluation or classroom visits.

In the typical bureaucracy the day-to-day activities of the organization would be under the explicit and formal control of the principal. Our analyses suggest that the average principal does not and cannot act in his capacity. Teachers have one sphere of responsibility; principals another. And here I say "his" because our data found that 98 percent of the high school principals are men.

If principals do not influence how teachers teach, what do they do? Principals are responsible for legitimating the school in the eyes of the community. Principals head an institution buffeted by a broad variety of inconsistent demands from different parts of their environment—for example, different levels of government, parents, students, teachers, et cetera. These demands are easier to satisfy in form than in substance. Faculty meetings are held, specialists hired, performance evaluations made, and standardized tests administered not so much to control instructional activity, but to prove to the community that the school is doing its job. The appropriate ritualistic response is important and can be action enough to alleviate the fears and allay the criticisms of the general public.

This sort of response helps to insure financial support and maintain the good faith of the community.

The similarities between public and private school management we uncovered suggest the management styles of public and private schools are virtually the same. But that the curriculum, program offerings, and clientele in public and private high schools differ greatly.

Public high school programs are diverse. The curriculum of most of the schools we surveyed was broad and suited to the needs of a varied clientele. In addition to having a core of academic courses—English, math, sciences, and foreign languages—public high schools provide students with a diversity of offerings from remedial reading and math to advanced placement; from work experience to community volunteer experiences.

In the testimony I have submitted, I briefly excerpt some of the data from our studies which shows that over half the high schools surveyed allow students to take college level courses off campus, that over two-thirds offer work experience or occupational training, and that in over three-fourths some students take remedial English. Similarly chart 1 in the appendix indicates that at least 75 percent of the schools surveyed have a career information center and vocational education funding. As chart 2 in the appendix shows, grading and scheduling practices still appear quite traditional.

These findings suggest that past and recent observations that the environment of youth provides "little early contact with the world of work and little opportunity for organized service to others" are wrong. American public high schools have been responsive to their critics and have expanded their mission in the last decade.

The private high school curriculum differs markedly from that of the public high school. While public schools provide a wide range of courses suitable for a diverse clientele, private schools offer a curriculum of academic subjects for less varied clientele whose demand for college preparatory subjects is fairly uniform. While the core curriculum is similar to that of public high schools, diversity is provided mostly through academically oriented alternatives. This different focus probably mirrors the tastes of the clientele private high schools serve. Private high schools are selective in their admission policy, and while racially, ethnically, and often economically diverse, the students in the schools surveyed are more heavily drawn from the middle class than those attending the average public school. It appears that while public schools are responsible for providing an equal educational opportunity to all regardless of race or class, private schools have a different mission, focused mainly on academic excellence.

The implications of these differences for those reassessing the public high school and examining its productivity are striking. In order to assess the output of the American high school, it seems to me that policymakers and researchers alike need to keep in mind what the mission of the high school has been and what it has become. Changing priorities and expanding responsibilities mark the development of the high school. The 1950's ushered in the comprehensive high school while sputnik heralded the overhaul of science instruction at the decade's end. As for the 1960's, "rel-

evance" was the watchword in response to civil unrest and the Vietnam war. It is quite likely that the pressures placed on the public high school are more diverse and demanding than those placed on the private high school. Unless we take into consideration what these pressures are and how schools respond to them, we will not be fairly evaluating how well the high school succeeds at its various tasks.

Reassessment of the high school's mission. A reassessment of the high school's mission is especially crucial as declining enrollments spread from elementary to secondary schools. It is unlikely that local revenues will rise to support the broadening mission of the high school. Rather it is far more likely that the public will expect to see expenditures decrease as the student population grows smaller. But even as demands to cut back accelerate, schools are still being asked to meet new needs, as mandated by various legislative and judicial acts—e.g., Education for all Handicapped Children, Title IX, et cetera. In order to meet such needs, districts will have to find the necessary resources. If the rate of growth in education funds diminishes, tradeoffs will have to be made and policymakers will need to consider which goals of the high school to retain and which to pare, which to emphasize and which to place on the back burner.

These decisions will not be easy and will have implications for the competitive posture of the public high school. Although the number of teenagers is decreasing, current indicators suggest that this decline will not affect private schools as much as their public school counterparts. Private education, like public education, has experienced declining enrollment. But this overall decline has been due in large part to the decline in Catholic school enrollments, which account for approximately three-fourths of private school enrollments. The non-Catholic private education sector, however, has been increasing in size since 1968 and many schools have long waiting lines.

Private schools may become increasingly attractive to middle and upper middle income families if they believe that public education cannot provide their children with rigorous academic preparation. Many are beginning to feel that in the public high school's attempt to be socially responsive, it has sacrificed scholastic excellence. If the decline in the high-school-age population is exacerbated by a continued loss of faith in public education, the future of public secondary education could be bleak, indeed.

The mission of the public high school needs to be reassessed in light of attempts to reduce local education expenditures. One likely response would be to change the curriculum. But which courses should be cut? Advanced placement courses? Remedial courses? Community-based courses? Work experience? Fewer advanced courses means that perceptions of the high school as being unable to provide for the academically gifted student will be reinforced. Such perceptions may accelerate the exit of brighter or highly motivated students to private schools. Fewer remedial courses means that the poorer-performing student will continue to slip by the wayside. Cutting out community-based education and work experience may also adversely affect a segment of the high school population.

High schools have been responsive, perhaps too responsive, to changes in curricular taste. The resultant curricular diversity has probably benefited the poorer student most. Cutting courses may merely result in paring the curriculum suitable for one segment of the population only to replace it with courses appropriate to the more academically advantaged. A renewed focus on academic excellence through college preparation may increase the attractiveness of public education to those most likely to move—middle income—to the private sector, but at high cost to those students who need the rudiments.

Given finite resources, schools will have a hard time providing adequately for both ends of the spectrum. Thus, policymakers will have to examine carefully the short and long-term economic and social consequences of any such proposed curricular changes.

In conclusion, much of what the subcommittee hears in the remaining weeks will be fact mixed with opinion, as Congressman Miller mentioned in his opening remarks. Much testimony may assess the high school, find it wanting, and recommend reforms. In order to anticipate the effects of these suggested reforms, we must begin with a realistic appraisal of what high schools can do and do well. If new programs are to succeed, they must take into account the manner in which high schools actually function.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to participate in today's hearings and will be pleased to respond to any questions you may have.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Susan Abramowitz follows:]

## Prepared Statement of Susan Abramowitz, Associate, National Institute of Education

### Introduction

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee, I am Susan Abramowitz, an Associate with the Educational Policy and Organization Program of the National Institute of Education (NIE), the principal agency in the Federal government concerned with conducting educational research.

I am pleased to have this opportunity to testify before this Subcommittee during these oversight hearings on American secondary education and, specifically, to report on the results of an NIE study on public and private high school principals.[1] Three issues generated by this study should be of interest to the members of this Subcommittee as they consider future legislation in the area of secondary education: 1) how high schools are organized, 2) the differences between public and private high schools, and 3) how demographic trends in the eighties are likely to affect how well public schools can accomplish what we ask them to do.

### Issues of Concern

NIE began its program of research on high schools conscious of the public debate about the ability of secondary education to meet the needs of America's youth. Charges were rampant that high schools had become too large and overly bureaucratic and were suffering from red tape, excessive rules, authoritarian teachers, and alienated students.[2] While we did not assess all of these charges,[3] we did examine the degree to which high schools are bureaucracies in the classic sense of the term.[4]

Second, interest in private schools has been growing. In part this interest in non-public education seems to be based on certain perceptions about the nature of both public and nonpublic education. Many assert that public education has lost touch with its clients, that educational efficiency and productivity are on the wane, and that the public school systems are becoming increasingly bureaucratized. Many of those who can afford it, and some who cannot, believe that private schools offer something special and claim that parents should have more choice over the education of their children.

High Schools Are Not Bureaucracies

If high schools could be characterized as bureaucratic, we would expect to find their management characterized by centralized decisionmaking, formal rules about how teachers should teach, and frequent formal evaluations. The results of our surveys suggest that the management style of most principals does not conform to this stereotype.[6]

We find decisionmaking highly participatory. Principals report involving their faculty and staff in many different kinds of decisions. Regulation by rule making tends to be confined to student and teacher non-instructional activities. Few rules touch the professional aspects of instruction. Furthermore, principals keep abreast of what teachers are doing through informal procedures, like meetings, rather than formal evaluation or classroom visits.

In the typical bureaucracy the day-to-day activities of the organization would be under the explicit and formal control of the principal. Our analyses suggest that the average principal, does not and often cannot act in this capacity. Teachers have one sphere of responsibility; principals another.

If principals do not influence how teachers teach, what do they do? Principals are responsible for legitimating the school in the eyes of the community. Principals head an institution buffeted by a broad variety of inconsistent demands from different parts of their environment (e.g., different levels of government, parents, students, teachers, etc.) These demands are easier to satisfy in form than in substance. Faculty meetings are held, specialists hired, performance evaluations made, and standardized tests administered not so much to control instructional activity, but to prove to the community that the school is doing its job. The appropriate ritualistic response is important and can be action enough to alleviate the fears and allay the criticisms of the general public. This sort of response helps to insure financial support and maintain the good faith of the community toward the school.

This finding is important for policy for two reasons. First the way people view high schools determines their diagnosis of its 'ills' and the 'cures' they propose. Second, it suggests limits on what we can reasonably expect schools to change in response to new federal or state policies. The long history of education reform gone unimplemented is due in large part to a misunderstanding about schools.[7] Mandated change directed at schools is likely

to depend on the actions, performance, and interest of the high school principal. But community pressures, tenure, union agreements and the like all limit his ability to direct what goes on inside the classroom. Thus demands for change will take their place along with all the ongoing internal and external pressures which principals are required to balance, making the outcomes of reform uncertain and complicated. Federally initiated reform efforts, therefore, are most likely to succeed when they take into account the various competing pressures on the school.

Public and Private Schools Differ in Their Programs

The similarities between public and private school management we uncovered suggest the management styles of public and private schools are virtually the same,[8] but that the curriculum, program offerings, and clientele in public and private high schools differ greatly.

Public high school programs are diverse. The curriculum of most of the schools we surveyed was broad and suited to the needs of a varied clientele. In addition to having a core of academic courses -- English, math, sciences, and foreign languages -- public high schools provide students with a diversity of offerings from remedial reading and math to advanced placement; from work experience to community volunteer experiences.

Reference to Table 2 from High School '77 shown in the Appendix demonstrates that over half the high schools surveyed allow students to take college level

courses off campus, that over two-thirds offer work experience or occupational training, and that in over three-fourths some students take remedial English. Similarly Chart 1 in the Appendix indicates that at least 75 percent of the schools surveyed have a career information center and vocational education funding. As Chart 2 in the Appendix shows, grading and scheduling practices still appear quite traditional.

These findings suggest that past and recent observations that the environment of youth provides "little early contact with the world of work and little opportunity for organized service to others" are wrong.[9] American public high schools have been responsive to their critics and have expanded their mission in the last decade.

The private high school curriculum differs markedly from that of the public high school. While public schools provide a wide range of courses suitable for a diverse clientele, private schools offer a curriculum of academic subjects for less varied clientele whose demand for college preparatory subjects is fairly uniform. While the core curriculum is similar to that of public high schools, diversity is provided mostly through academically oriented alternatives. This different focus probably mirrors the tastes of the clientele private high schools serve. Private high schools are selective in their admission policy, and while racially, ethnically and often economically diverse, the students in the schools surveyed are more heavily drawn from the middle class than those attending the average public school.[10] It appears that while public schools are responsible for providing an equal educational opportunity to all regardless of race or class, private schools have a different mission focused mainly on academic excellence.[11]

The implications of these differences for those reassessing the public high school and examining its productivity are striking. In order to assess the output of the American high school, it seems to me that policy makers and researchers alike need to keep in mind what the mission of the high school has been and what it has become. Changing priorities and expanding responsibilities mark the development of the high school. The fifties ushered in the comprehensive high school while Sputnik heralded the overhaul of science instruction at the decade's end. As for the sixties, "relevance" was the watchword in response to civil unrest and the Vietnam War. It is quite likely that the pressures placed on the public high school are more diverse and demanding than those placed on the private high school. If the managers of private schools are seen as doing a better job it may not necessarily be because of the differences in their management techniques, but simply because their job is more manageable. Unless we take into consideration what pressures schools face and how they respond to them, we will not be fairly evaluating how well the high school succeeds at its various tasks. Thus when evaluating either public or private high schools we must look not only at "how well they are doing" but also at "what we require them to do."

Reassessment of the High School's Mission

A reassessment of the high school's mission is especially crucial as declining enrollments spread from elementary to secondary schools. It is unlikely that local revenues will rise to support the broadening mission of the high school. Rather it is far more likely that the public will expect to see expenditures decrease as the student population grows smaller. But even as demands to cut back accelerate, schools are still being asked to meet new needs, as mandated by various legislative

and judicial acts (e.g., Education for All Handicapped Children, Title IX, etc.)[12] In order to meet such needs, districts will have to find the necessary resources. If the rate of growth in education funds diminishes, trade-offs will have to be made and policy makers will need to consider which goals of the high school to retain and which to pare, which to emphasize and which to place on the back burner.

These decisions will not be easy and will have implications for the competitive posture of the public high school. Although the number of teenagers is decreasing, current indicators suggest that this decline will not affect private schools as much as their public school counterparts. Private education, like public education, has experienced declining enrollments.[13] But this overall decline has been due in large part to the decline in Catholic school enrollments, which account for approximately three-fourths of private school enrollments. The non-Catholic private education sector, however, has been increasing in size since 1968 and many schools have long waiting lines.

Private schools may become increasingly attractive to middle and upper middle income families if they believe that public education cannot provide their children with rigorous academic preparation. Many are beginning to feel that in the public high school's attempt to be socially responsive, it has sacrificed scholastic excellence. If the decline in the high school age population is exacerbated by a continued loss of faith in public education, the future of public secondary education could be bleak.

The mission of the high school needs to be reassessed in light of attempts to reduce local education expenditures. Changes in curriculum will be quite likely.[14]

But which courses should be cut? Advanced placement courses? Remedical courses? Community-based courses? Work experience? Fewer advanced courses means that perceptions of the high school as being unable to provide for the academically gifted student will be reinforced. Such perceptions may accelerate the exit of brighter or highly motivated students to private schools. Fewer remedial courses means that the poorer performing student will continue to slip by the wayside. Cutting out community-based education and work experience may also adversely affect a segment of the high school population.

High schools have been responsive, perhaps too responsive, to changes in curricular taste. The resultant curricular diversity has probably benefitted the poorer student most. Cutting courses may merely result in paring the curriculum suitable for one segment of the population only to replace it with courses appropriate to the more academically advantaged. A renewed focus on academic excellence through college preparation may increase the attractiveness of public education to those most likely to move (middle income) to the private sector, but at high cost to those students who need the rudiments.

Given finite resources, schools will have a hard time providing adequately for both ends of the spectrum. Thus, policymakers will have to examine carefully the short and long-term economic and social consequences of any such proposed curricular changes.

In conclusion, much of what the subcommittee hears in the remaining weeks will be fact mixed with opinion. Much testimony may assess the high school, find it wanting, and recommend reforms. In order to anticipate the effects of these suggested reforms, we must begin with a realistic appraisal of what high schools can do and do well. If new programs are to succeed, they must take into account the manner in which high schools actually function.

Mr. Chairman, I appreciate the opportunity to participate in today's hearings and will be pleased to respond to any questions you may have.

## Footnotes

1 In 1977 the NIE together with the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the Council for American Private Education surveyed a national sample of public and private high schools. The sample consisted of 2000 public and 600 private high schools randomly selected from four regions of the country (East, South, Midwest, and West) and from 3 metropolitan status areas (urban, rural, and suburban). The response rate was 72 percent for the public high school principals and 75 percent for the private high school heads.

2 James S. Coleman, et al., Youth: Transition to Adulthood, Report of the Panel on Youth of the President's Science Advisory Committee (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); John H. Martin, et al., National Panel on High School and Adolescent Education (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, March 1974); B. Frank Brown, et al., The Reform of Secondary Education: A Report to the Public and the Profession, National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education (New York: The McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1973).

3 NIE has sponsored further research in a selected group of the previously surveyed schools. This work, when completed, will allow us to compare how principals, teachers, and counselors perceive their schools and their work, and how various school characteristics-such as size, management, and location- relate to teacher and counselor attitudes and behaviors. In addition to these surveys we are also supporting case studies to capture a more indepth picture of high school programs, management, and students.

4 Traditional theory stems from the work of Max Weber, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology (H. H. Garth and C. Wright Mills, trans.), (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1958) and The Theory of Social and Economic Organization (A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, trans.), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1947). Bureaucratic theory as it applies to schools is discussed in J.G. Anderson, Bureaucracy in Education (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968).

5 The National Center for Educational Statistics is now gathering private education data on an annual basis. The Congress, in its recently mandated study of School Finance, calls for a major sub-study of private schools and there have been numerous efforts at the Federal and state levels to enact tuition tax credit and voucher proposals.

6 These results are discussed at length in the NIE publications High School '77 and The Private High School Today (forthcoming).

7 See Terrence Deal, John W. Meyer, and Richard W. Scott, "Organizational Influences in Educational Innovation", in Managing Educational Organizations. Ed by J. Victor Baldridge and Terrence E. Deal (Berkeley: McCutcheon Publishing Co., 1975) and Peter Cowden and David K. Cohen, "Divergent Worlds of Practice: The Federal Reform of Local Schools in the Experimental Schools Program", (Cambridge: Huron Institute, 1979).

8 We did uncover some differences of consequence between how public and private schools are managed. Private high school heads appear to emphasize management objectives over the collegial and evaluative aspects of their role. They also report having more authority and influence in running their schools.

9 See "Summary of Concerns and Recommendations", Giving Youth a Better Chance, The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, 1979.

10 That private schools enroll pupils with higher income and more education than do public schools is confirmed by a recent report from the Census bureau. For example, private schools enroll less than 7 percent of families with annual incomes under $15,000, but over 18 percent of families with income over $15,000. Similarly, pupils with parents who are not college graduates are only half as likely to be in a nonpublic school as are pupils whose parents are college graduates. Moreover, all types of nonpublic schools enroll a much smaller fraction of minority students than do the public schools. And those minority students who are enrolled in nonpublic schools are even more heavily concentrated in the higher income (and college) graduate groups than are their white counter parts. See U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Report, Series P-20, No. 321 (1979)

11 The smaller size of private schools and the financial constraints under which they operate may also explain why the private high school curriculum is so focussed.

12 See Paul Hill, "Do Federal Education Programs Interfere with One Another?" P -6416 (Santa Monica, CA: The Rand Corporation, 1979) for a discussion on the costs of federal programs.

13 Donald Erickson, "Recent Enrollment Trends in U.S. Nonpublic Schools", in Declining Enrollments: The Challenge of the Coming Decade, eds. Susan Abramowitz and Stuart Rosenfeld, (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1978).

14 School districts can economize in a number of different areas: facilities, buildings, programs and staff.



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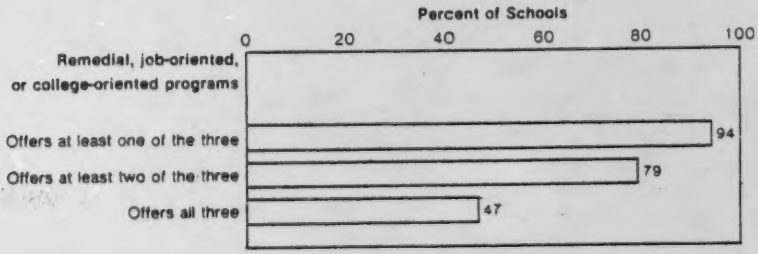
APPENDIX

## Table 2. Schools Offering Special Services

| Service | Percentage of Schools Offering Service |
|---|---|
| **College oriented** | |
| Advanced placement | 40% |
| College-level courses on college campus | 53 |
| College-level course at high school | 19 |
| **Job related** | |
| Work experience or occupational training | 65 |
| Job placement | 36 |
| **Remedial: at least some students taking remedial work in—** | |
| English | 76 |
| Mathematics | 68 |

## Figure 7
## Three Types of Need-Based Programs




Source: NIE/NASSP survey, items 21 and 23.

## Chart 1. Features Most Schools Have

| At Least 85 Percent of Schools | At Least 75 Percent of Schools | At Least 67 Percent of Schools |
|---|---|---|
| Traditional 35- to 60-minute periods | | |
| | Career information center | Remedial reading or mathematics laboratories |
| Free or reduced price lunch funding | Vocational education funding; Special education funding | ESEA Title I funding; Transportation funding |
| Biology, chemistry, physics; Business education, homemaking, art, wood or machine shop; Sequential mathematics through grade 12; Full year of English required for all 10th and 11th graders | Sociology, anthropology, or psychology | French |
| | At least some 12th graders in off-campus programs part of the school week | At least 6 percent of all 12th graders and at least some 11th graders in off-campus programs part of the school week |
| | 10 to 25 percent of 11th and 12th graders in some extracurricular activity | At least 25 percent of 11th and 12th graders in some extracurricular activity |
| | A-B-C-D-F grading system | |

## Chart 2. Features Few Schools Have

| Fewer Than 15 Percent of Schools | Fewer Than 25 Percent of Schools | Fewer Than 33 Percent of Schools |
|---|---|---|
| Minicourses; Trimester system; Year-round schedule; Modules (10 to 30 minutes) Flexible or daily demand scheduling | Quarter system; Subunits or subschools; Block or departmental scheduling (2-hour periods or longer) | |
| | Voluntary summer school | |
| Childcare facility on campus | Occupational training center on campus | Instruction in flexible, open-space areas |
| Bilingual education funding; Funding for assistance to Indochinese refugee children; ESEA (desegregation) funding | State compensatory education funding | |
| Russian; Women's studies; Values clarification, moral education | Ethnic studies | Latin Environmental studies |
| Credit for travel experience; Credit from community volunteering | Credit by examination Credit by contract | |
| Diagnostic prescriptive education (DPE); Bilingual program | College-level courses given at high school; Early exit by examination (for diploma or equivalent); Individually paced learning; Dropout prevention program | |
| Pass-withdraw; Self-evaluation verification of competency; Weighted grading; Conferences | Numerical grading | |

## STATEMENT OF JOHN M. BAHNER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, IDEA, CHARLES KETTERING FOUNDATION

Dr. BAHNER. Do you want me to proceed?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

Dr. BAHNER. My name is John Bahner. The chairman has asked me to provide an overview of the attitudes of the public toward public education, with an emphasis on secondary schools. I will be commenting on one, 11 years of Gallup polls of public opinion as to public attitudes toward public schools; two, Gallup polls of teenagers; a study of schooling, a massive study by our agency; and a survey of parents, teachers, students, and administrators who are undergoing a massive change process in the schools which we call individually guided education.

I would like to forewarn you, I will be speaking from notes. If you are trying to keep up with me, it will not be there. I will try to abstract the condensation which is a composite of all these surveys. We have the actual surveys themselves if you want them.

As you well know, newspapers, when reporting on the Gallup poll results, mention discipline. That is correct. Over the 11 years of the polling, between 13 and 26 percent of the respondents who when asked the question "What are some of the problems confronting American schools?" mention discipline. Those headlines could have accurately mentioned the fact that 75 percent of the parents fail to mention discipline as being the problem.

The kids respond in the same manner when we probe a little further and say "How do you feel the teachers handle this problem?" The response, the general response of the students is that the handling of it is about right.

How do the Gallup poll responses rate the public schools? There has been a downward trend over the past 11 years. Again, in our own study of schooling, we probed a little bit further and found that parents tend to rate their own school higher than they rate public schools in general.

The lowest ratings on the Gallup polls come from black inner-city respondents. The highest ratings for schools come from suburban, rural, small schools, and rural areas.

The West geographically rates their schools lower than other major areas of the country. Almost twice as many teenagers as adults mention drugs as a problem. About 23 percent of the teenagers mentioned that, and only 12 percent of the adults.

One encouraging note, I think: 53 percent of the parents with kids in public schools, when asked "How does your child's school compare with the school you went to?" 53 percent responded that the schools are better; 39 percent said they are worse. When you add to that the respondents who do not have kids in school or who have kids in parochial, it comes out about 50-50. But those with kids in public schools, 53 percent say "The schools today are better than the ones I went to." That kind of information often does not get into the newspapers, but it is from the same source.

Tracking is also a problem. That is an attempt to put them through vocational programs, business programs, and so forth. The goal is a notable one, the application of that is causing two kinds of problems that we believe in looking at the data. This is just being analyzed. We do not have the published report yet. One is that we

are increasing the segregation not just by races but by tracks, and there is not the intermingling in the schools. I think these have social consequences that have to be looked at.

Second, it seems when we track kids, they are not exposed to the same basic knowledge. There is a tremendous difference in the kinds of curriculum elements a kid would have in a vocational program as opposed to a precollegiate program. So our attempt to account for difference creates other problems.

What does the public think public schools ought to do in order to get an "A"? I will show you a chart.

This is in rank order as to the public response. I would surely agree the quality of teachers is a key element if schools are to be improved.

Discipline is another factor, but it means different things to different people. To some, discipline means to create a self-discipline in each kid that he can handle himself well. At the other extreme means kids should do just like that—everything adults tell them to do. Obviously, it is somewhere in between there that we have to strive for. But it means other things to other people.

Higher standards is a reference to the academic standards. I might add the teenage Gallup poll also suggested, and I believe the first witness mentioned this, that our own teenagers believe that our schools are not hard enough, that schools are too easy. You might look at that teenage poll. I think you will have some satisfaction that the youth of our country really aspire to the work ethic and providing service to the community.

Fourth, I would like to talk about the individual attention which in questioning, I think the committee members have indicated, why is it that kids are unhappy with school?

The biggest factor we have determined is that the school is not relevant to them. This is not all of them, of course, but how do you individualize a problem making it appropriate for each of the students who are enrolled?

When surveying the teenagers, they also mentioned that one of the greatest problems, in fact it was a greater problem than anything adults mention, was their own lack of interest. Their own lack of interest. Well, what can we do about this? In surveying students, teachers, and parents of the program which we call the individually guided education, which is a program of positive constructive change, innovations in it, that when surveying the students and asking them about the elements of the program under individually guided education, we had a very enthusiastic response, that these are the things kids are looking for in school. When we asked parents the same question, can a school undertake innovation and change and have the parents be happy about it—we often think parents do not like innovation and change—our experience was that both parents and teachers say that it is much better or somewhat better; 5 percent of the parents say it is not at all better and none of the teachers said it was less good than what they had before.

Now when you have changes in school, what are the effects of them?

At least in this program, at a time when standardized test scores were declining, the polling of principals involved in this program

surveyed over a 4-year period indicated scores were significantly higher, slightly higher, or no change. Only 1 percent in reading and 5 percent in math reported even slightly lower standardized test scores.

So, my point is, solid well-planned change based on sound educational principles and well implemented, can bring about good education and please the parents at the same time. My point is that schools can change for the better and legislation, in my opinion, can contribute to that change. Our foundation is very willing to participate in additional hearings, provide more information or do whatever we can to help this committee in its work.

Thank you for allowing me to make this presentation.

[The prepared statement of John Bahner information follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF JOHN M. BAHNER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES, CHARLES F. KETTERING FOUNDATION, DAYTON, OHIO

My name is John Bahner and I am executive director of the Institute for Development of Educational Activities (/I/D/E/A/), a division of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. The headquarters of the foundation are located in Dayton, Ohio, where /I/D/E/A/ and programs in international affairs, urban affairs, and foundation-related exploratory research are housed. The foundation also includes additional education offices in Melbourne, Florida, and Los Angeles, California, and the Charles F. Kettering Research Laboratory in Yellow Springs, Ohio.

Through its education division, the Kettering Foundation seeks to improve schooling for children and adolescents in the United States. The subject is addressed through three separate but related missions: analyzing educational policy issues, implementing the /I/D/E/A/ Change Program for Individually Guided Education (IGE), and conducting a project called A Study of Schooling in the United States. The Gallup polls of the public's attitudes toward the public schools and two related surveys of teenage students have been conducted

under the mission of analyzing educational policy issues. Also within that mission, /I/D/E/A/ has sponsored a variety of commissions, studies, and seminars designed to stimulate creative exchange among educators. The IGE program is a plan for continuous school improvement that can be adopted by any elementary or secondary school and is currently in operation in more than two thousand schools in the United States and thirty-five American schools abroad. Our third mission, sponsoring A Study of Schooling in the United States, is an in-depth look at education, which we expect will provide a background for significant educational innovation.

Your chairman has asked me to provide an overview of public attitudes about education, concentrating on the secondary level. My testimony is based on information from four sources: the annual Gallup polls of the public's attitudes toward the public schools conducted between 1969 and 1979, two Gallup surveys (in 1978 and 1979) of American teenagers' attitudes toward the public schools, preliminary results from A Study of Schooling, and surveys of principals, students, parents, and teachers whose schools are using the IGE program. I have attached a copy of the Eleventh Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes toward the Public Schools and a bibliography, and I also have filed one complete copy of these source materials with the subcommittee staff.

## Public Attitudes toward Public Schools

Since 1969, the Gallup Organization has conducted an annual poll designed to determine the public's attitudes toward the public schools. We now have eleven years of data from which to cull information and identify established trends in the public's perceptions of American public schools.

Since 1974, interviewers have asked participants to rate the public schools, giving schools a grade of A, B, C, D, or Fail. The following responses have been gathered:

| | National Totals | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ratings Given the Public Schools | 1979 % | 1978 % | 1977 % | 1976 % | 1975 % | 1974 % |
| A rating | 8 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 13 | 18 |
| B rating | 26 | 27 | 26 | 29 | 30 | 30 |
| C rating | 30 | 30 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 21 |
| D rating | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 6 |
| Fail | 7 | 8 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 5 |
| Don't know/ no answer | 18 | 15 | 19 | 14 | 13 | 20 |

Since the question was first asked, a downward trend has continued in the A and B ratings. In 1974, 48 percent of the respondents gave the public schools an A or a B; 34 percent gave them similar ratings in 1979. More people are giving the schools a C or a D rating each year. In 1974, 21 percent and 6 percent of those interviewed gave public schools a C or a D respectively, whereas 30 percent and 11 percent rated the public schools in such a way in 1979.

Those respondents who gave the highest ratings to the public schools in the 1979 poll were parents with children currently attending public schools, as the following table indicates:

| Rating | National Totals % | No Children In Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 8 | 7 | 12 | 7 |
| B | 26 | 22 | 37 | 14 |
| C | 30 | 28 | 31 | 40 |
| D | 11 | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Fail | 7 | 7 | 7 | 9 |
| Don't know/ no answer | 18 | 25 | 3 | 9 |

In the 1979 poll, 49 percent of the public school parents gave public schools an A or B, and 41 percent a C or a D. Conversely, parents whose children attend private or parochial schools gave the public schools their lowest rating. Twenty-one percent of these adults gave public schools an A or B rating, and 61 percent gave them a C or D.

Examining public school ratings in terms of other categories, pollsters have analyzed the data and listed the following conclusions, drawn from the 1979 survey:

- The public schools are held in lowest esteem by blacks living in the central cities of the North.
- Younger adults are more critical of the schools than their elders.
- Better-educated citizens give the schools lower ratings than do the more poorly educated.

- Public schools are held in highest esteem by residents of small towns and rural communities.
- Southern blacks rate their public schools higher than Northern blacks.
- Persons living in the West give their public schools a lower rating than persons living in other major areas of the nation.

When adults were asked what the public schools must do to deserve an A, they gave the following responses in the order of their mention:

1. Improve the quality of teachers
2. Increase discipline
3. Set higher standards
4. Give students more individual attention
5. Put more emphasis on the basics--the three Rs
6. Better management and direction of schools
7. Establish closer relations with parents

Results of the 1974 Gallup poll rated "poor curriculum and poor standards" as ninth in a list of major problem facing public schools, with 3 percent of the respondents citing it as such, but in 1979, 11 percent regarded it as a major problem. Part of the increasing concern with curriculum is undoubtedly attributable to the back-to-basics movement. However, the 1977 Gallup poll revealed that 57 percent of the respondents had not heard of the movement (41 percent claimed they had). Many of the participants in the survey thought of back-to-basics not in relation to subjects or courses, but in relation to the educational process. To

them it meant such things as respect for teachers, manners, obedience, and structured classrooms; it meant a return to the old ways of teaching.

In view of the attention that Proposition 13 and other signs of the tax revolt received in the late 1970s, it is not surprising that "lack of proper financial support" has been consistently rated in third position on the list of major problems confronting the public schools. On the other hand, in 1972 and 1973, when only 19 percent and 16 percent of the total respondents regarded it as a major problem, 35 percent of the professional educators surveyed regarded it as such.

The 1979 poll revealed that only 12 percent of those interviewed claimed to know the cost per child, per school year, in their local public schools. Further, when those who claimed to know were asked to name the figure, they gave an amount substantially lower than the national estimate. (A median amount arrived at by those who claimed to know the cost was $1,200; the national estimate was $2,100.) Some argue that if the cost per child, per year, were more widely known, greater attention would be given to public school education. However, others claim that if the figure were known, more pressure would be placed on the schools to cut costs, which would result in lowering the quality of education.

The Gallup polls reveal that the public seems to have changed its attitude toward busing and integration over the past three years. In 1977, 13 percent of the respondents to the poll cited busing and integration as a major problem for

the public schools, making it second in the list of problems confronting public schools--the position it had held since the beginning of the decade. In 1978, the concern with integration and busing began to subside; although 13 percent of the participants in the poll still listed it as a major problem, the same number also listed "use of drugs" and "lack of proper financial support" as the main problem. In 1979, "busing and integration" was listed as a major problem by only 9 percent of the respondents. It was superseded by "lack of discipline" (24%), "use of drugs" (13%), "lack of proper financial support" (12%), "poor curriculum and poor standards" (11%), and "difficulty in getting good teachers" (10%). Perhaps the success of busing in several of the major cities over the decade has calmed most parents' apprehensions about the process.

## Gallup Youth Polls

Some of the most heartening findings in our educational research program come from the polling of American youth on their attitudes toward the public schools. The first youth poll was conducted during November, 1978. The second was taken during October, 1979, and its results have not yet been released publicly. Both have been conducted by the Gallup Organization in a joint project with the Kettering Foundation.

For two years in a row, youth polls have shown that about half of America's teenagers say students are not being asked to work hard enough either in school or on homework. In the 1979 survey, a majority (58%) said students weren't asked to work hard enough in elementary schools, and 45 percent said the same for high school work requirements. The survey noted that black teenagers (61%) felt more strongly than white teenagers (57%) that elementary school children were not asked to work hard enough. Assessing work demands at the high school level, 48 percent of black youths and 44 percent of whites interviewed judged these demands to be too low.

Although there was a slight change in the wording of the question, the 1979 poll is consistent with the 1978 findings. A total of 53.4 percent of those surveyed said students were not being asked to work hard enough. In the

second poll, black teenagers (66.5%) again felt more strongly than whites (50.4%) that students were not being asked to work enough.

Young people gave a favorable rating to the local public schools in both polls. They were asked to rate their schools in the way their school work is often rated: A, B, C, D, and Fail. In 1978, more than half (55.2%) gave the schools an A or B rating. In the more recent poll, 47.9 percent of teenagers gave their school an A or B rating, a drop of more than seven percentage points in one year. Comparisons of responses in 1978 and 1979 are contained in the following table.

Grade Given Schools

| | '78 | '79 |
|---|---|---|
| A | 10.2 | 9.0 |
| B | 45.0 | 38.9 |
| C | 29.6 | 36.2 |
| D | 9.3 | 10.1 |
| Fail | 4.5 | 4.9 |
| Don't know | 1.4 | .9 |

The following table compares the ratings of public schools by adults and youth in 1979.

Grade Given Local Schools

| | Adult % | Youth % |
|---|---|---|
| A | 8 | 9.0 |
| B | 26 | 38.9 |
| C | 30 | 36.2 |
| D | 11 | 10.1 |
| F | 7 | 4.9 |
| Don't know | 18 | .9 |

It is interesting to note that only 34 percent of the adults

gave the schools an A or B rating while 47.9 percent of the teenagers questioned rated their own schools A or B. If the letter grade C is added to the comparison, 64 percent of the adults rated schools A, B, or C, while 84.1 percent of the students rated their schools C or better.

When asked how serious nine specific behavior problems were in their schools, teenagers answered in the following way, with the percentage given of those saying it is "very big" or "fairly big".

| | % |
|---|---|
| Absenteeism | 63 |
| Use of marijuana | 63 |
| Students creating disturbances in class | 63 |
| Theft of personal property | 51 |
| Vandalism | 46 |
| Drinking | 37 |
| Fighting | 32 |
| Use of hard drugs | 26 |
| Bringing weapons to school | 19 |

Apparently, students as well as parents and legislators regard the use of marijuana, alcohol, and hard drugs as a serious behavior problem.

In ten out of eleven annual Gallup polls of the public's attitudes toward the public schools, adults have rated lack of discipline as the most serious problem facing the schools. In the 1979 poll, teenagers also asserted that discipline was the major problem. There was also agreement between youth and adults on the problem rated second in importance--the use of drugs. However, after agreeing on these two issues, student and adult perceptions differed. The following



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table compares responses from the adult and youth surveys in 1979 on the question of problems confronting schools:

Major Problems Facing the Schools

| | Adults | | Youth | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Rank | % | Rank | % |
| Lack of discipline | 1 | 24 | 1 | 29.8 |
| Use of drugs | 2 | 13 | 2 | 24.0 |
| Lack of proper financial support | 3 | 12 | 9 | 5.3 |
| Poor curriculum/ | | | 13 | 3.2 |
| poor standards | 4 | 11 | 12 | 3.3 |
| Difficulty in getting | | | | |
| good teachers | 5 | 10 | 10 | 5.3 |
| Integration and | | | 7 | 6.2 |
| busing | 6 | 9 | 14 | 3.2 |
| Crime/vandalism | 7 | 4 | 4 | 8.5 |
| Large school overcrowding | 8 | 4 | 16 | 3.2 |
| Pupils' lack of interest | 9 | 4 | 3 | 13.6 |
| Parents' lack of interest | 10 | 3 | 21 | .7 |
| Drinking/alcoholism | 12 | 2 | 11 | 4.0 |

Students (13.6%) cite their own lack of interest in school as the third biggest problem, while the public in general rates the pupils' lack of interest in schoolwork as ninth in importance, of concern to only four percent. This lack of interest is named much more often by students attending high school than students in junior high, more often by girls 16-18 than boys the same age, more often by black than white students, more often by students of average-or-below in academic standing than by above-average students, more often by youth in the East than the Midwest, the South, and the West, and more often by those in the rural areas than those in the cities or suburbs.

Study of Schooling

Another project by which we gain insight into attitudes toward education is "A Study of Schooling," which is being conducted by Dr. John I. Goodlad, dean of the graduate school of education at the University of California, Los Angeles, and director of research for /I/D/E/A/. The study is an in-depth analysis of curriculum, methods of planning and teaching, approaches to decision making in schools, and relationships between school and community.

A collaborative project undertaken in 1972 by several foundations and two government agencies, the study examines the day-to-day functioning of schools. It is designed to take an inventory of interacting variables felt to be present in all American schools in order to describe the education process. The staff studied thirty-eight schools across the country, carefully selected to include a variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds of students, size and location of schools, and socioeconomic conditions in the areas. The thirty-eight schools were chosen in sets of three, each made up of an elementary school, junior high, and high school into which it fed. One school was a combination middle school-high school, bringing the total number of schools to thirty-eight, rather than thirty-nine. There were three types of data gathered for the study, including questionnaires from 17,163 students, 1,433 teachers, 36 principals,

8,624 parents, and 140 school board members and central office administrators.

The Phi Delta Kappan, an educational journal, is publishing a progress report, in the form of a four-part series. The first three articles have already been published, and the fourth article will appear in the February, 1980, issue. Although analysis of the study's voluminous data is incomplete, some trends relating to how teenagers view their schools--especially in the areas of class climate, peer relationships, and tracking--are beginning to emerge.

One of the variables studied was the way students felt about themselves and their plans for the future. An examination of the results by grade suggests that the students' self-concepts show small but gradual increases as their grade levels rise; their self-concept in relation to their peers remains fairly stable; and their self-concept in academics shows a slight downward trend with increasing grade levels. The survey also contained questions about students' plans for the future. The results are contained in the following table:

Secondary Students' Perceptions of What They Will Probably Do in the Future

| Possible Response | % | N |
|---|---|---|
| Quit school as soon as possible | 2.3 | 285 |
| Finish high school | 26.8 | 3,281 |
| Go to trade or technical school | 9.5 | 1,164 |
| Go to a junior college | 9.9 | 1,213 |
| Go to a four-year college or university | 34.5 | 4,219 |
| Go to graduate school after college | 7.4 | 908 |
| Don't know | 9.5 | 1,166 |

When responses to these questions are correlated with students' self-concept scores, analysts see the beginning of a pattern suggesting that students who plan on some form of higher education have higher self-concept scores than those who do not. These tentative indications that perceptions of schooling may vary according to students' self-concepts are of great interest to Study of Schooling staff members. It is possible, they explain, that not only are these students perceptions of schooling different, but their experiences may be different as well.

Another area covered in the study was the nature of life for students at the institutional level of schooling. What is it like to be a young person in the student setting? At this early stage of analysis, no unusual pattern has emerged; students who have a higher self-concept in relation to their peers say it is easy to make friends, and students who have higher self-concept scores tend to participate in more extra-curricular activities. It is interesting to note responses to the question, "If you had to choose the one best thing about this school, what would it be?"

Secondary Students' Choices of the "One Best Thing" about Their School

| Responses | % | N |
|---|---|---|
| My friends | 34.9 | 4,103 |
| Sports | 13.4 | 1,579 |
| Good student attitudes (friendly, good school spirit, cooperative) | 11.3 | 1,334 |
| Nothing | 8.0 | 941 |
| The classes I'm taking | 7.0 | 826 |

Table 2 (Continued)

| Responses | % | N |
|---|---|---|
| The variety of class offerings | 5.7 | 665 |
| Fair rules and regulations | 5.0 | 588 |
| Little or no race prejudice or conflict | 4.8 | 563 |
| Teachers | 4.1 | 477 |
| Extracurricular activities other than sports | 2.6 | 305 |
| Principal and others who run the school | 1.9 | 221 |
| Campus, buildings, and equipment | 1.4 | 165 |

One of the most surprising findings has been the level of "tracking"--that is, the segregation of students by presumed levels of achievement or ability--in high schools. All thirteen of the high schools in our sample track students in the academic subjects; eight of them track in English, social studies, math, and science; and the other five schools track in three of the four subjects. We are looking at the possibility that students placed in highly structured curriculum tracks may be isolated from other students. Tracking is accomplished at one of the schools by placing students in either a vocational or an academic course of study. As a result, vocational students are usually placed in the lower groups and academic students in the higher groups, based on student ability and achievement. There are enough instances of segregation reducing the interaction between vocational and academic students to raise the question of whether such a practice may limit the range of peer relationships at the school.

One early, and therefore tentative, finding from A Study of Schooling suggests that there are enormous gaps in access to knowledge among students in high schools with tracking systems. Tracking, it appears, fails to expose some students to certain areas of knowledge. If that is true, such a circumstance may place severe constraints on those students' futures. Providing students with different levels of subjects as a means to account for individual differences may result in unequal access to knowledge--a matter of grave concern in our society. One alternative way of providing equal access to knowledge might be an arrangement that would account for differences in rates of learning while requiring, at the same time, that all students attain certain levels of accomplishment in designated subjects.

The data collection phase has been completed, and analysis is now under way. The study is scheduled to be completed by September 1, 1980, and results will be described and analyzed in technical reports, published papers, journal articles, and seminar discussions. A summary report by John Goodlad will be published by McGraw-Hill in September, 1981.

## Surveys of the IGE Program in Schools

The IGE program is a process designed to individualize learning; it bases its teaching principles on students' needs and abilities rather than on their ages or grade levels. Admittedly, the two surveys--the Belden Study and a four-year study of IGE principals--deal with the perceptions of specific groups about the effects of IGE, but these responses indicate that there may be solutions to the behavior problems of students and to the decline of standardized achievement test scores.

The Belden Study was conducted in 1973 and 1974 in order to find what school administrators, students, teachers, and parents thought of the IGE program used in their schools. When parents and teachers were asked if, in their opinions, the IGE program was successful, responses were overwhelming After responses were adjusted to account for participants who had not answered the questions, it was found that 93 percent of the parents claimed that the program was either very successful or somewhat successful, and 100 percent of the teachers responded in the same way. Eighty-three percent of the parents felt that student academic performance was about the same or better than before the IGE program was adopted, and 76 percent said that student behavior had stayed the same or improved.

In a four-year study (conducted from 1973 to 1977) of principals using the IGE program in their elementary schools,

interviewers asked about the results of standardized achievement tests before and after the schools were involved in the IGE program. The following responses, adjusted to account for schools that did not administer standardized achievement tests, were collected for the 1976-77 school year:

Principals' Reports of Standardized Achievement Test Scores Since Implementing the IGE Program

| | Reading and Verbal Achievement | Mathematics Achievement |
|---|---|---|
| Significantly higher scores | 8% | 9% |
| Slightly higher scores | 47% | 37% |
| No change in scores | 44% | 47% |
| Slightly lower scores | 1% | 4% |

Such responses suggest that, rather than returning to the three Rs, as those proponents of the back-to-basics movement would have us do, we should step up efforts to develop and test improved methods for educating America's youth.

## Summary

The eleven Gallup polls of Americans' attitudes toward the public schools reveal that subjects such as busing and integration, lack of proper financial support for public schools, and poor curriculum seem not to be as entrenched in the public's minds as the lack of discipline in public schools. Indeed, the decline in the number of people citing busing and integration as a major problem facing public schools perhaps marks at least a limited acceptance of an issue that concerned many people during the 1970s. Conversely, the increase in the percentage of people concerned about poor curriculum and poor standards may indicate that the public wants to see something done about low college admissions test scores and students who are unprepared to enter the work force. Finally, as we enter the 1980s it is impossible to ignore the public's attitudes toward public school finances. Perhaps one reason for the public's indifference to matters of school financing is that, as the 1979 poll reveals, an overwhelming majority doesn't realize what it costs to send a child through public school. Only if the public is aware of all aspects of the public school--from what goes on in the halls to what goes on at the school board meetings--will it give the schools its full support.

The picture of American education as viewed by those going through the process--the students themselves--is

generally in agreement, although there are some heartening differences. The students feel more positively about their schools, contend they're not being made to work hard enough, agree with adults that discipline and drugs are major problems, and are significantly more concerned about their own lack of interest in schools than are adults. They are work-oriented, they feel this country is still the land of opportunity, and they're willing to perform community service if they're given course credit.

Counter to the many positive responses given by students in the two Gallup youth polls, A Study of Schooling indicates that tracking may be denying a segment of students a complete education. Although students' interests vary greatly, we believe that there should be a basic, common body of knowledge available for all students. In an attempt to present this knowledge in the best possible way, we believe that the studies of IGE schools indicate that solid, well-planned educational innovations do get results, please parents, and improve education.

I have tried to respond to the chairman's request in this prepared testimony and would be happy to answer any questions you may have or supply any additional material you might feel helpful.

Thank you.

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# The Eleventh Annual Gallup Poll Of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools

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## Purpose of the Study

Results of the eleventh annual survey of the attitudes of the American people toward their public schools are reported in the following pages. Funding for this survey has been provided by /I/D/E/A/, the Institute for Development of Educational Activities, Inc., an affiliate of the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. Each year an effort is made to cover current issues of prime concern to both educators and the public. New as well as trend questions are included in this and every survey.

To insure that this survey would embrace the most important issues in the field of education, the Kettering Foundation sent letters to educators across the nation asking for their views. Following this, a selected group of educators and government representatives met with representatives of Gallup and /I/D/E/A/ to evaluate preliminary questions and to suggest other possible items for inclusion in the survey.

The panel members this year were: Gregory R. Anrig, commissioner of education, Massachusetts State Department of Education; Edward Brainard, chairman, Colorado State Committee, North Central Association of Colleges and Schools, University of Northern Colorado, Greeley; B. Frank Brown, director, /I/D/E/A/ Information and Services Program, Melbourne, Florida; Gregory Cane, principal, Longfellow I.G.E. Magnet School, Dayton, Ohio; Stanley Elam, director of publications, Phi Delta Kappa, Bloomington, Indiana; Phyllis Erickson, representative and chairman, Education Committee, Washington State House of Representatives; Jerome M. Hughes, senator and chairman, Education Committee, Minnesota State Senate; George Iannacone, superintendent, Vernon (New Jersey) Township Public Schools; J. L. Jones, superintendent, Dade County Public Schools, Miami, Florida; Margaret Labat, superintendent, Evanston (Illinois) Township High School District 202; Jean Orr, senator and chairman, Education Committee, Iowa State Senate; A. Craig Phillips, superintendent of public instruction, North Carolina State Department of Public Instruction; Nellie B. Quander, principal, Hybla Valley School, Alexandria, Virginia; Vincent E. Reed, superintendent, Washington, D.C., Public Schools; Samuel G. Sava, special assistant to the president, Charles F. Kettering Foundation, Dayton, Ohio; Leonard Price Stavisky, assemblyman and chairman, Education Committee, New York State Assembly; Olin Stratton, superintendent, Highland (Illinois) Public Schools; Ralph Turlington, commissioner of education, Florida State Department of Education; Carolyn Warner, superintendent of public instruction, Arizona State Department of Education.

We wish to thank these individuals for their valuable help.

## Research Procedure

*The Sample.* The sample designed for the current survey is a modified probability sample of the nation. It includes a total of 1,514 adults (18 years of age and older). All interviewing was conducted in the home, by personal interview, in all sections of the country and in all types of local communities. A complete description of the sample will be found at the end of this report.

*Time of Interviewing.* The fieldwork for this study was carried out during the period of 3-7 May 1979.

*The Interviewing Form.* All the questions included in the survey instrument were pretested by the staff of interviewers maintained by the Gallup organizations.

*The Report.* In the tables that follow, the heading "Parochial School Parents" includes not only parents of students who attend parochial school but also parents of students who attend private or independent schools. This heading is used because parochial school students outnumber private or independent school students.

To avoid confusion in the case of parents with more than one child in school, respondents were asked to think only of their oldest child in school when answering each question.

Due allowance must be made for statistical variation, especially in the case of findings for small groups where relatively few respondents were interviewed.

The findings of this report apply only to the U.S. as a whole and not to individual local communities. Local surveys, using the same questions, can be conducted to determine how local areas compare with the national norm.

## Major Problems Confronting the Public Schools in 1979

Once again, the American public perceives the perennial problem of discipline as the most important problem facing the public schools. Either the public schools have found no way to deal effectively with this problem or the public is not yet aware of measures that are being tried.

Approximately one person in four names discipline as the most important problem when asked in an "open" question, "What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public schools in this community must deal?"

Answers to this question in the 1979 survey are virtually the same as those reported a year ago. When comparisons are made with earlier years, trends become clearer. In the 11-year span in which these annual surveys have been conducted, the greatest changes have come in respect to the issue of integration/busing, which is named as a major problem by significantly fewer respondents. Similarly, fewer people now complain of inadequate school facilities. On the other hand, a significant increase has occurred in the number who cite the curriculum and low standards as a major problem. This year, for the first time, a sufficient number of those interviewed cite "government interference" and "teachers' strikes" to place them on the list of problems.

The question was:

**What do you think are the biggest problems with which the public schools in this community must deal?**

| | National Totals % | No Children in Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents* % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lack of discipline | 24 | 24 | 26 | 26 |
| Use of dope/drugs | 13 | 13 | 14 | 7 |
| Lack of proper financial support | 13 | 12 | 12 | 4 |
| Poor curriculum/low standards | 11 | 10 | 11 | 17 |
| Difficulty in getting good teachers | 11 | 9 | 12 | 13 |
| Integration/busing (combined) | 9 | 9 | 2 | 10 |
| Crime/vandalism | 4 | 4 | 4 | 1 |

| | National Totals % | No Children In Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Large schools/too many classes/overcrowding | 4 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
| Pupils' lack of interest/truancy | 4 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| Parents' lack of interest | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Teachers' lack of interest | 3 | 2 | 4 | 1 |
| Drinking/alcoholism | 2 | 2 | 3 | 1 |
| Mismanagement of funds/programs | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| School board policies | 2 | 1 | 2 | — |
| Communication problems | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| Government interference | 2 | 1 | 1 | 6 |
| Lack of proper facilities | 2 | 2 | 2 | — |
| Transportation | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| Parents' involvement in school activities | 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Teachers' strikes | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Too many schools/ declining enrollment | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Problems with administration | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |
| There are no problems | 3 | 1 | 9 | 3 |
| Miscellaneous | 5 | 5 | 7 | 6 |
| Don't know/no answer | 16 | 20 | 7 | 5 |

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple answers.)
†Includes parents of students attending private and independent schools as well as parochial (nonpublic) schools.

## 1979 Ratings of the Public Schools

Another slight drop has been registered in the public's rating of the public schools since the 1978 survey. This year a total of 34% give the public schools a rating of A or B. Last year the comparable figure was 36%. However, the percentage who give the public schools either a D or Fail rating this year is 14%; last year it was 10%.

When sampling and statistical factors are taken into account, it can be concluded that there has been no significant change in the public's views during the last year. Moreover, it is likely that the downward trend recorded in the years since this question was initiated in 1974 may have come to an end. This hypothesis, of course, can only be determined by future surveys.

The question that has been asked yearly since 1974 reads as follows:

**Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, and FAIL to denote the quality of their work. Suppose the public schools themselves, in this community, were graded in the same way. What grade would you give the public schools here — A, B, C, D, or FAIL?**

National Totals

| Ratings Given the Public Schools | 1979 % | 1978 % | 1977 % | 1976 % | 1975 % | 1974 % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A rating | 6 | 9 | 11 | 13 | 13 | 13 |
| B rating | 28 | 27 | 28 | 29 | 28 | 30 |
| C rating | 30 | 30 | 28 | 28 | 28 | 31 |
| D rating | 11 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 6 |
| FAIL | 7 | 8 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 5 |
| Don't know/ no answer | 18 | 15 | 19 | 14 | 15 | 20 |

Parents who have children attending nonpublic (independent/parochial) schools continue to give the public schools the lowest ratings. The highest ratings come from parents of children now attending the public schools, as the following table shows:

| Ratings | National Totals % | No Children In Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 6 | 7 | 12 | 7 |
| B | 28 | 32 | 37 | 14 |
| C | 30 | 28 | 31 | 48 |
| D | 11 | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| FAIL | 7 | 7 | 7 | 9 |
| Don't know/no answer | 18 | 25 | 3 | 9 |

Analysis of the data by other groups comprising the adult population suggests the following conclusions, based upon this study and previous studies:

- The public schools are held in lowest esteem by blacks living in the central cities of the North.
- Younger adults are more critical of the schools than their elders.
- Better-educated citizens give the schools lower ratings than the more poorly educated.
- Public schools are held in highest esteem by residents of small towns and rural communities.
- Southern blacks rate their public schools higher than Northern blacks.
- Persons living in the West give their public schools a lower rating than persons living in other major areas of the nation.

Further breakdowns follow:

| | A % | B % | C % | D % | FAIL % | Don't Know/ No Answer % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NATIONAL TOTALS | 6 | 28 | 30 | 11 | 7 | 18 |
| Sex | | | | | | |
| Men | 6 | 28 | 29 | 11 | 7 | 20 |
| Women | 6 | 27 | 30 | 12 | 7 | 17 |
| Race | | | | | | |
| White | 6 | 28 | 30 | 11 | 6 | 19 |
| Nonwhite | 6 | 22 | 24 | 12 | 16 | 20 |
| Age | | | | | | |
| 18 - 29 | 5 | 31 | 26 | 13 | 5 | 18 |
| 30 - 49 | 6 | 29 | 32 | 12 | 11 | 9 |
| 50 & over | 11 | 28 | 32 | 7 | 5 | 17 |
| Community Size | | | | | | |
| 1 million & over | 6 | 26 | 21 | 14 | 12 | 21 |
| 500,000 - 999,999 | 11 | 31 | 29 | 12 | 5 | 12 |
| 50,000 - 499,999 | 5 | 32 | 34 | 13 | 7 | 10 |
| 2,500 - 49,999 | 10 | 28 | 32 | 12 | 4 | 14 |
| Under 2,500 | 6 | 25 | 30 | 9 | 6 | 24 |
| Central city | 5 | 14 | 31 | 16 | 13 | 21 |
| Education | | | | | | |
| Grade school | 11 | 24 | 19 | 8 | 7 | 32 |
| High school | 7 | 30 | 31 | 13 | 8 | 10 |
| College | 4 | 27 | 30 | 13 | 5 | 19 |
| Region | | | | | | |
| East | 10 | 26 | 29 | 10 | 5 | 19 |
| Midwest | 7 | 31 | 31 | 11 | 4 | 16 |
| South | 7 | 28 | 30 | 9 | 8 | 21 |
| West | 7 | 26 | 26 | 10 | 10 | 17 |
| Region/Race | | | | | | |
| Northern white | 9 | 31 | 29 | 12 | 8 | 17 |
| Southern white | 8 | 28 | 32 | 9 | 6 | 21 |
| Northern black | 3 | 18 | 30 | 13 | 15 | 19 |
| Southern black | 8 | 31 | 17 | 10 | 12 | 21 |

## How to Improve the Public's Respect For the Public Schools

After respondents in the present study rated the public schools in their community, they were then asked:

**In your opinion, what are the main things a school has to do to make it earn more as A?**

There is general agreement on the seven items listed





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As information sources, these are fully as important as the news media.

The information sources, revealing changes between 1968 and 1979, are shown below:

| Information Sources | 1979 National Totals % | 1968 National Totals % |
|---|---|---|
| Local newspaper | 37 | 39 |
| Radio & TV | 21 | 19 |
| School publications/ newsletters | 7 | 6 |
| Word of mouth/personal involvement, etc. | 70 | 60 |
| Don't know/no answer | 6 | 6 |

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple answers.)

This open question was put to respondents in 1979:

**What is your best source of information about the local public schools?**

| | National Totals % | No Children In Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Local newspaper | 37 | 36 | 33 | 48 |
| Local TV | 18 | 19 | 11 | 10 |
| Local radio | 6 | 7 | 3 | 3 |
| School publications/ newsletters | 7 | 5 | 12 | 6 |
| Word of mouth/personal involvement, etc. | 70 | 58 | 68 | 51 |
| Don't know/no answer | 6 | 11 | 1 | 6 |

(Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple answers.)

## Cost Per Child Per School Year

As the costs of education continue to increase, chiefly because of inflation, the cost per child per school year may become the unit for comparing one school with another.

To discover how many citizens presently think in these terms, the following survey questions were asked:

**Do you happen to know what it costs per child, per school year, in the local public schools? How much?**

Only one person in eight (12%) claimed to know the cost. When members of this group were asked to name a figure, they gave an amount that is substantially less than the estimated figure for the nation.

The Foundation researchers estimate that the cost per child for the year ending June 1977 was $1,782. Allowing for a 9.5% yearly increase, which has been the average increase since 1968, the national figure at the time of the present survey should be approximately $2,100.

The median figure arrived at by those who said they knew the cost is $1,300 — an amount substantially less than the national estimate.

Below are the figures cited:

| | |
|---|---|
| Under $700 | 17% |
| $700-$1,299 | 40 |
| $1,300-$1,899 | 18 |
| $1,900-$2,499 | 10 |
| $2,500 & over | 15 |
| | 100% |

School costs obviously vary widely from community to community and from state to state. However, since the respondents who said they knew the costs of their local public schools represent a fairly accurate cross section of the nation, their answers can be compared with the national average, a figure that includes not only salaries and operating expenses but capital costs as well.

It can be argued that if the actual cost per child per school year, and more particularly the cost per school day (which comes to approximately $11, based upon a school year of 184 days), were more widely known, then greater attention would be given to public school education. Truancy might be reduced when parents and pupils translated each school day and each class period into dollars lost when students are absent or unprepared.

On the other hand, it can be argued that since the actual costs of public school education are substantially higher than the figure the public has in mind, greater pressures would be brought upon the schools to cut costs, which could result in a lowering of the quality of education.

## Is Education Better or Worse Than In Your Day?

Respondents in the 1973 survey were asked if they thought the present generation of schoolchildren receives a better or worse education than they did in their day. The same question was asked in the present survey with significantly different results.

In 1973 those interviewed said, by a large majority, that children today get a better education. Asked to tell why, they cited the following reasons: a wider variety of subjects, better facilities and equipment, better teaching methods, better teachers, and better opportunities for all ethnic groups. Those who held the opposite opinion (that education today is not so good as in earlier times) gave these reasons: less discipline, lower standards, less interest on the part of teachers and students, and too many irrelevant subjects in the curriculum.

The views of the minority have, since 1973, become the views of the majority. A similar change in attitude has been registered in the rating of schools beginning in 1974, when, for the first time in this series, a five-point scale was employed to rate the schools. In 1974 a total of 48% gave the public schools a rating of A or B. In 1979 the comparable survey figure is 34%.

The greatest change in the period between 1973 and 1979 occurred in the Western states, where views are virtually the opposite of those held in 1973. In 1973, 54% said that the schools were better; 25% said they were worse. In 1979, 27% say they are better; 51% say they are worse.

Another significant change has been found in the views of the better-educated citizens. Respondents who have attended college say the schools are worse than in their day by a margin of 46% to 36%. In 1973 they held the opposite view.

On the other hand, blacks and respondents who have had little education, as well as those who live in small towns and rural areas, hold the view that education is better today than in their time.

Perhaps of greatest comfort to those who believe that education is better today is the finding that parents who have children now attending school say that

today's education is better, and by the fairly substantial margin of 53% to 39%.

This question was asked:

**As you look on your own elementary and high school education, is it your impression that children today get a better — or worse — education than you did?**

Education Today
Compared with Earlier Times

| | National Totals | No Children In Schools | Public School Parents | Parochial School Parents |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Schools better today | 41 | 35 | 53 | 36 |
| Worse | 39 | 40 | 30 | 54 |
| No difference | 12 | 11 | 9 | 6 |
| Don't know/no answer | 8 | 10 | 8 | 4 |

Further breakdowns:

| | Better | Worse | No Difference | Don't Know/ No Answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % |
| NATIONAL TOTALS | 41 | 39 | 12 | 8 |
| Sex | | | | |
| Male | 39 | 39 | 10 | 9 |
| Women | 43 | 40 | 9 | 7 |
| Race | | | | |
| White | 42 | 40 | 10 | 8 |
| Nonwhite | 36 | 41 | 9 | 9 |
| Age | | | | |
| 18 - 29 | 43 | 43 | 10 | 4 |
| 30 - 49 | 41 | 40 | 9 | 8 |
| 50 & over | 38 | 37 | 15 | 9 |
| Geographic Area | | | | |
| East | 43 | 40 | 9 | 8 |
| Midwest | 42 | 39 | 11 | 8 |
| South | 37 | 43 | 14 | 6 |
| West | 43 | 38 | 11 | 8 |
| Occupation | | | | |
| Professional | 44 | 43 | 7 | 6 |
| Business | 47 | 38 | 10 | 5 |
| Clerical | 43 | 40 | 9 | 8 |
| Skilled labor | 43 | 41 | 9 | 7 |
| Unskilled labor | 35 | 44 | 12 | 9 |
| Farmer | 34 | 44 | 12 | 10 |
| Family Income | | | | |
| $20,000 & over | 44 | 40 | 9 | 7 |
| $15,000 - $19,999 | 46 | 38 | 10 | 6 |
| $10,000 - $14,999 | 43 | 40 | 9 | 8 |
| $7,000 - $9,999 | 40 | 41 | 11 | 8 |
| $5,000 - $6,999 | 38 | 43 | 11 | 8 |
| Under $5,000 | 37 | 45 | 9 | 9 |
| Education | | | | |
| Grade school | 34 | 35 | 13 | 18 |
| High school | 43 | 39 | 9 | 9 |
| College | 44 | 41 | 8 | 7 |
| Religion | | | | |
| Catholic | 40 | 38 | 11 | 11 |
| Protestant | 42 | 40 | 9 | 9 |
| Jewish | 44 | 43 | 8 | 5 |
| Other | 35 | 43 | 11 | 11 |

## A Cap On School Spending

Despite the popular belief that the nation has become increasingly conservative, [illegible] on the amount [illegible] of the public of spending. [illegible] approximately 2-3 [illegible] shows, only [illegible] schools [illegible] to fairly [illegible]

The question:

[illegible] of school [illegible] in the United States [illegible]

| | National Totals | No Children In Schools | Public School Parents | Parochial School Parents |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

Respondents who approve or disapprove were then asked why they felt this way. Those who approve of a law placing a limit on local school budgets give these reasons in order of frequency: 1) there is too much waste; 2) a limit is necessary or there will be no end to increases in spending; and 3) taxes are already too high.

Those who disapprove of such a law give these reasons in order of mention: 1) quality should be the main concern, not cost; 2) flexibility in budgeting is needed in a time of inflation; and 3) schools differ widely in their financial requirements depending on local factors.

Further breakdowns:

| | Approve | Disapprove | Already Have Such A Law | Don't Know/ No Answer |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % |
| NATIONAL TOTALS | 38 | 49 | 4 | 9 |
| Sex | | | | |
| Men | 33 | 45 | 4 | 18 |
| Women | 34 | 40 | 3 | 23 |
| Race | | | | |
| White | 34 | 48 | 4 | 13 |
| Nonwhite | 35 | 41 | 5 | 29 |
| Age | | | | |
| 18 - 29 | 32 | 51 | 3 | 14 |
| 30 - 49 | 31 | 48 | 5 | 16 |
| 50 & over | 36 | 32 | 4 | 28 |
| Geographic Area | | | | |
| 1 million & over | 35 | 37 | 5 | 23 |
| 500,000 - 999,999 | 37 | 41 | 3 | 19 |
| 50,000 - 499,999 | 38 | 43 | 3 | 17 |
| 2,500 - 49,999 | 35 | 45 | 5 | 15 |
| Under 2,500 | 37 | 45 | 5 | 13 |
| Education | | | | |
| Grade school | 34 | 35 | 3 | 43 |
| High school | 34 | 59 | 4 | 13 |
| College | 34 | 61 | 3 | 12 |
| Religion | | | | |
| Catholic | 40 | 38 | 4 | 18 |
| Protestant | 39 | 50 | 5 | 17 |
| Jewish | 38 | 48 | 3 | 24 |
| Other | 33 | 42 | 4 | 19 |

## Money for Men's vs. Women's Sports

Many colleges and universities complain that if the federal government required them to spend as much money on women's sports as on men's sports, they will lose many thousands of dollars on sports events at the box office. In the case of high school sports, relatively few favor such a law. A substantial majority believes that the same amount of money should be spent to support girls' athletics as boys'. In fact, there is little difference in the views of the various groups, as evidenced by the table below.

The question:

**"U.S. federal government may require all high schools to spend the same amount of money on women's sports as on men's sports. Do you approve or disapprove of this plan?**

| | National Totals | No Children In Schools | Public School Parents | Parochial School Parents |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | % | % | % |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

## State Board Examinations

Widespread agreement is found for state board examinations for teachers. Such a test would be in addition to meeting college requirements for a teacher's certificate. In short, teachers would be required to meet the same criteria as doctors, lawyers, and dentists.

The question asked in the survey was this:

[illegible]

| | National Totals % | No Children in Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

A second question asking why state board examinations should be [illegible] should be tested every two years to see if they are keeping up to date with developments in their field. Here again, public sentiment [illegible] the requirement.

The question asked was:

[illegible]

| | National Totals % | No Children in Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

[illegible]

| | National Totals % | No Children in Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

## Dealing with the Handicapped

The [illegible] mentally handicapped children in [illegible] own. At the same time, people [illegible] handicapped children in the [illegible] with other students.

Those [illegible] are parents who now [illegible] in either public or parochial [illegible]. And they vote overwhelmingly for [illegible] handicapped children [illegible] in the same classrooms with their own children.

The first question was stated in these words:

In your opinion, should mentally handicapped children be put in the same classrooms with other students or should they be put in special classes of their own?

The Mentally Handicapped

| | National Totals % | No Children in Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

The second question asked:

Should physically handicapped children be put in the same classrooms with other students or should they be put in special classes of their own?

The Physically Handicapped

| | National Totals % | No Children in Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

## National Youth Service

A national youth service program has been supported by the American public for many years. Legislators have feared that voting for such a plan would cost them some votes and have failed thus far to pass such legislation, even though a national service program has worked well in other nations. In addition to removing young persons from the ranks of the unemployed, such a plan would probably provide enough qualified recruits to meet present military requirements without reinstituting the draft.

The plan suggested in the present survey would require any young person under the age of 20 who is unemployed and not attending school or college to choose among three alternatives: 1) take vocational or on-the-job training, 2) perform public service, or 3) perform military service.

The questions:

As you may know, the United States has a youth unemployment problem. It has been suggested that we develop a national youth service which would require every young man under the age of 20 who is unemployed, and not attending school or college, to take vocational or on-the-job training, or to perform public or military service until he reaches the age of 20. Would you approve or disapprove of such a national youth service plan for young men? Would you approve or disapprove of such a national youth service plan for young women?

National Youth Service for Young Men

| | National Totals % | No Children in Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Approve national service program | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Disapprove | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Don't know/no answer | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

National Youth Service for Young Women

| | National Youth % | No Children in Schools % | Public School Parents % | Parochial School Parents % |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Approve National service program | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Disapprove | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Don't know/no answer | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

Approval of this program for both young men and young women who are unemployed and not attending school or college is found among all major segments of the population.

Further breakdowns:

National Service

| | For Young Men | | | For Young Women | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Approve % | Disapprove % | Don't know/no answer % | Approve % | Disapprove % | Don't know/no answer % |
| NATIONAL TOTALS | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
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| [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

## Essential Subjects

Each generation has a different view of the importance of particular subjects. Included in the public school curriculum. To determine which are regarded as most essential today, survey respondents were asked about 11 subjects. They judged each as "essential" for all students or "not too essential."

The question asked:

Public schools can teach many different things. Let me ask you tell me in the case of each of these high school subjects, whether you regard it as essential for all students, or not too essential?

Below are the results, with subjects ranked according to the percentage saying it is "essential."

National Totals

| | Essential % | Not Too Essential % | Don't Know/ No Answer % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mathematics | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| English grammar & composition | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Science | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Vocational training | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

National Totals

| | Essential % | Not Too Essential % | Don't Know/ No Answer % |
|---|---|---|---|
| U.S. History | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Science | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Geography | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Physical education | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Comprehensive of records or foreign relations | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Music | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Foreign language | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Art | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

The opinions of respondents with children who are attending school were similar, with the exception of those who felt the emphasis in science, mathematics and English too high for both groups, and the order in which other subjects are considered as essential in the schools.

The results [illegible] "essential."

National Totals

| | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Mathematics | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| English grammar & composition | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Science | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Geography | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| U.S. History | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Science | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Geography | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Physical education | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Comprehensive of records or foreign relations | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Music | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Foreign language | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |
| Art | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] |

[illegible] of Science, the [illegible] about of students [illegible] and very [illegible]

Because of [illegible] and the [illegible] are interested [illegible] interesting [illegible] among [illegible]

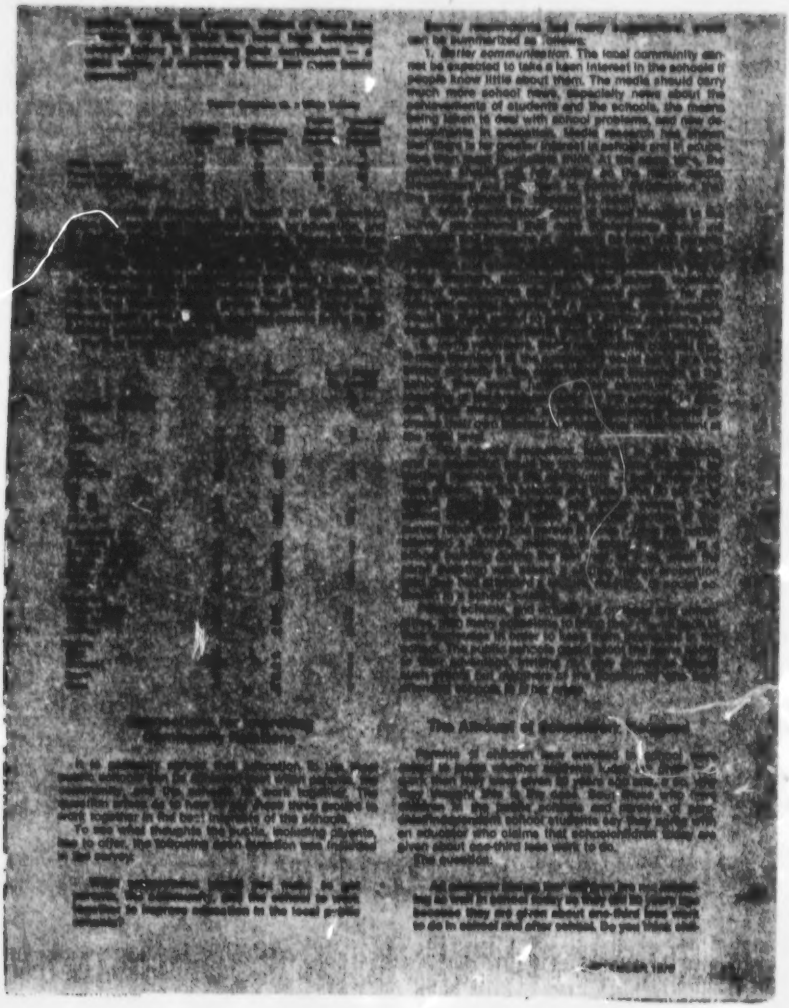
The results [illegible] as a signal [illegible] many school students. [illegible] other an [illegible] part of students [illegible]

## Fewer Courses or More

The public, by a small majority, [illegible] high schools [illegible] offer students a [illegible] The [illegible] favored, especially by those who are [illegible] ing scored on standardized tests. On the other hand, offering a wide variety of courses is seen by some as a way to interest students who otherwise might become dropouts.

Here is the question asked:

[illegible]

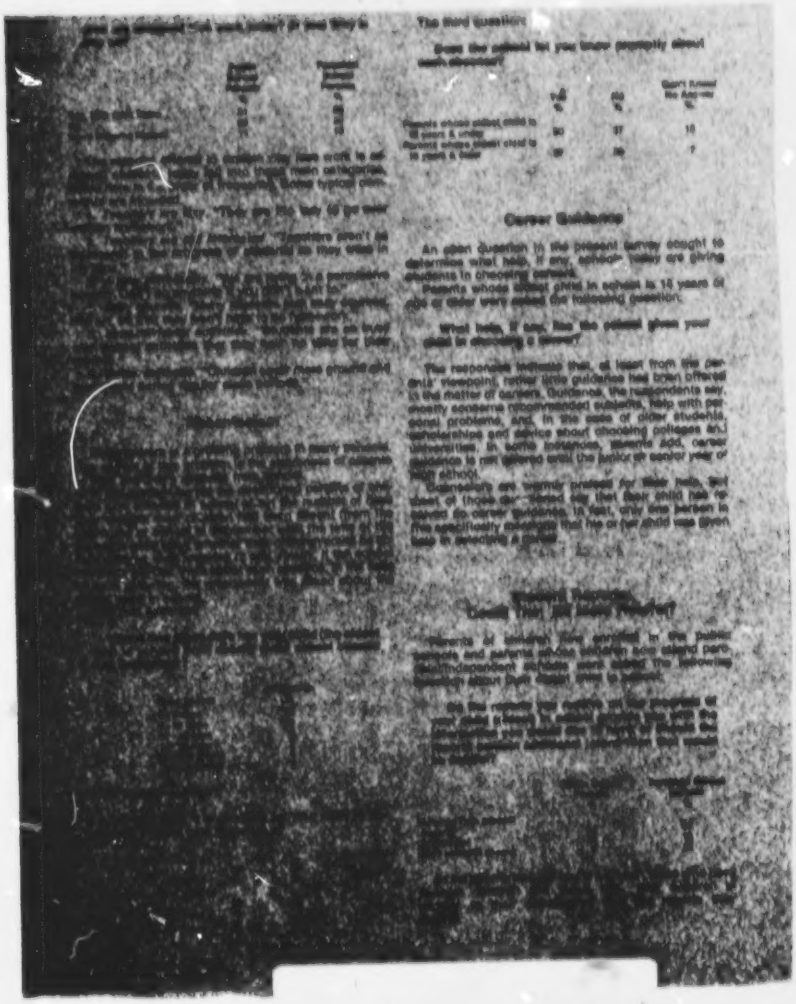


Many respondents had many suggestions, which can be summarized as follows:

1. *Better communication.* The local community cannot be expected to take a keen interest in the schools if people know little about them. The media should carry much more school news, especially news about the achievements of students and the schools, the means being taken to deal with school problems, and new developments in education. Media research has shown that there is far greater interest in schools and in education than is far greater than it is. All the media, the [illegible]

The Amount of Schooling

[illegible]



The third question:

Does the school let you know promptly about each absence?

| | Yes % | No % | Don't Know No Answer % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parents whose oldest child is 10 years & under | 50 | 37 | 18 |
| Parents whose oldest child is 10 years & later | [illegible] | [illegible] | 7 |

## Career Guidance

An open question in the present survey sought to determine what help, if any, schools today are giving students in choosing careers.

Parents whose oldest child in school is 14 years of age or older were asked the following question:

What help, if any, has the school given your child in choosing a career?

The responses indicate that, at least from the parents' viewpoint, rather little guidance has been offered in the matter of careers. Guidance, the respondents say, mostly concerns recommended subjects, help with personal problems, and, in the case of older students, scholarships and advice about choosing colleges and universities. In some instances, parents add, career guidance is not offered until the junior or senior year of high school.

Guarantors are warmly praised for their help, but most of those questioned say that their child has received no career guidance. In fact, only one person in the specifically mentions that his or her child was given help in selecting a career.

## Student Records: Could Them Be More Helpful?

Parents of children now enrolled in the public schools and parents whose children now attend parochial/independent schools were asked the following question about their oldest child in school:

[illegible]

| | Parents with Children | |
|---|---|---|
| | 12 Years & Under % | 13 Years & Over % |
| Satisfied with present reports | 73 | 64 |
| Dissatisfied | 25 | 35 |
| Don't know-no answer | 2 | 1 |

All respondents who said that they were dissatisfied with present reports were asked what kind of information they would like to have included that they are not presently receiving in the reports.

Below, in order of mention, are their suggestions:

1. More detailed information — not just grades — regarding the student's weaknesses, abilities, problems; why he/she is doing poorly; and where the student stands in the class.
2. Information about the student's relations with others, both teachers and students.
3. What can be done at home to help the student.
4. More detailed information about the student's behavior in and out of the classroom, including such things as smoking, use of drugs, etc.
5. Some parents mention that they would like more frequent reports and immediate notification when their child is doing poorly or failing.

## What Do You Like Best About Your Child's School?

Parents with children enrolled in public school or in parochial/independent school were asked their opinions about the school their eldest child currently attends.

The question:

**What do you like most about the school your child attends?**

The responses to this open question fall into the following categories, listed in order of frequency:

1. *Good teachers.* They take a personal interest in the child and give him/her individual attention.
2. *High standards.* The school does a good job of teaching the basics, has a high scholastic rating, keeps students busy, and gives them lots of homework.
3. *Special programs.* The school offers a wide variety of programs for the gifted, the learning disabled, the college oriented, and those interested in shop courses or vocational training.
4. *Discipline.* The school does not permit children to "fool around." Students attend strictly to their work, and teachers command and receive respect.

Among the other reasons given for liking the school their eldest child attends are these: small classes, proximity to home, good communication between school and home, and good principal.

## What Do You Like Least About Your Child's School?

About the same picture is found when parents are asked what they like least about the school their eldest child attends, except that discipline assumes first place in mentions, and external factors such as distance from home, the condition of the school building, and the like are also mentioned.

The question asked:

**And what do you like least about it?**

Here, in order of mention, are the things parents dislike:

1. *Lack of discipline.* Teachers and school administrators have little control over students. Lack of security in school.
2. *Low standards.* Not enough emphasis is placed upon the basics. Students do not have enough work to do.
3. *Teachers.* They are not interested in the students, fail to motivate them, are not innovative.
4. *Condition of school building.* It is old and run-down; classrooms are dingy.
5. *Overcrowding.* Too many students in classes.
6. *Too far from home; children bused.*
7. *Vandalism; use of marijuana, alcohol, and drugs by students.*

## Would You Like Another Public School Better?

Parents with children presently enrolled in a public school were asked if they would like to send their child to a different public school and, if so, why.

Approximately one parent in eight (12%) said he/she would prefer another public school to the one the eldest child is presently attending. When the age of the eldest child was considered, almost exactly the same response came from those whose eldest child is [illegible] younger as in the case of those age 13 and older.

The question:

**Would you like to send your child to a different public school?**

| | Yes | No | Don't know-no answer |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parents whose eldest child is 12 years & under | 11 | 78 | [illegible] |
| Parents whose eldest child is 13 years & over | 11 | 80 | [illegible] |

When parents were asked to give their reasons for preferring another public school, about half said, "For a better education." Other reasons mentioned include dissatisfaction with facilities, dissatisfaction with the administration of the school, preference for a school closer to home, and the desire to have their child attend a smaller school.

## Preschool Help

Parents with children who have not yet started school or kindergarten were asked:

**Do you think the school could help you in any way in preparing your child for school?**

Those parents who presently have no children in school represent the group most eager to have the school help for their children. Parents who have their older children already enrolled in the public school were less interested, although nearly four in 10 said they would like such help.

In interpreting the following figures, it should be borne in mind that the number of respondents with one school children is very small; therefore, [illegible] should be made for error due to sample size.

Could School Help With Preschool Child?

| | Yes % | No % | Don't Know No Answer % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Parents who presently have no children in school | 36 | 54 | 10 |
| Parents with one or more children in public school | 37 | 52 | 10 |
| Parents with one or more children in parochial school | 40 | 40 | 20 |

When those who said they would like help were asked, "What could the school do?" the suggestion offered most often was to distribute a pamphlet or booklet telling in detail what parents should do to prepare the child for school. As one respondent put it, "I should like to know exactly what they expect of the child, such as the ABCs, numbers, and other areas of learning."

Another suggestion frequently made was to invite parents and the child to visit the school to see just what goes on in a typical day. Some respondents thought it would be a good idea to designate a day when a preschool child could actually sit in the kindergarten class with other children to see what it is like.

Still others suggested that a regular preschool program, such as Head Start, be made part of the education system. Many respondents said that such a preschool program already exists in their community.

## The Public's Conception of the Ideal School

The surveys in this 11-year series have included many questions dealing with the public's ideas about the kind of schools in their present survey, these questions have a bearing upon this: how schools can best obtain an A rating from the public; what parents like most and least about their own schools; and finally, what parents think should be done to build their child up in a school which pleases and why.

The results of these questions and of those included in earlier surveys make it possible to construct the public's idea of the ideal school.

[illegible] the needs and goals of society, and [illegible] what do the public's views indicate the public's idea of the ideal school can be organized by [illegible] that they regard as most important, as follows:

[illegible] should be well qualified and [illegible] [illegible] school newsletters and publications. More conferences should be held between teachers and parents regarding the progress of students.

4. Courses or seminars should be organized for parents to help them help their children in school. Among the many topics that parents would like most to discuss are these: what to do about drugs, smoking, alcohol use; how to develop good work habits; how to encourage reading; how to increase interest in school and school subjects; how to help the child organize homework; how to improve the child's school behavior; how to deal with the child's emotional problems.

7. The ideal school would give much more attention to the selection of careers than is presently the case. Days should be set aside each year to review career opportunities, perhaps with local professional and business people taking part. School guidance counselors should give more help in selecting careers.

8. Schools should try to interest a majority of the residents of the school district in attending, at least once a year, a lecture, meeting, or social occasion held in the school building. Schools should ask for community volunteers to help with school affairs and operations. And, finally, schools should see that alumni retain their interest in the school.

## COMPOSITION OF THE SAMPLE

### Analysis of Respondents

[illegible]

[illegible] the [illegible] used in the case of Lot[illegible] which will be segments of [illegible] in the case of rural areas. Accordingly, 300 sampling units are used in each survey. Interviewing assignments can be provided for practically every rural community.

The sample design includes stratification by three local size-of-community strata, using 1970 census data: 1) towns of population 1,000,000 and over; 2) 250,000 to 999,999; 3) 50,000 to 249,999; 4) all other populations. Each of these strata was further stratified into seven geographic regions: New England, Middle Atlantic, East Central, West Central, South, Mountain, and Pacific. Within each city-size/geographic stratum, the population was arrayed in geographic order and sorted into equal-sized groups of sampling units. Pairs of localities were selected in each area, with probability of selection of each locality proportional to its population size in the 1970 census, producing two distributed samples of localities.

Within localities so selected for which the requisite population data are reported, subdivisions were drawn with the probability of selection proportional to size of population. In all other localities, small definable geographical areas were selected with equal probability.

Especially for each survey, within each subdivision so selected for which block statistics are available, a sample of blocks or block clusters is drawn with probability of selection proportional to the number of dwelling units. In all other subdivisions or areas, blocks or segments are drawn at random or with equal probability.

In each cluster of blocks and each segment so selected, a randomly selected starting point is designated on the interviewer's map of the area. Starting at this point, interviewers are required to follow a given direction in the selection of households until their assignment is completed.

Interviewing is conducted at those which adults, in general, are most likely to be at home, which means on weekends, or if on weekdays, after 4 p.m. for women and after 6 p.m. for men.

Allowance for persons not at home is made by a "times-at-home" weighting procedure rather than by "call-backs." This procedure is a standard method for reducing the sample bias that would otherwise result from underrepresentation in the sample of persons who are difficult to find at home.

The probability distribution is further superimposed by fitting each obtained sample to the latest available Census Bureau estimates of the regional distribution of the population. Also, minor adjustments of the sample are made by educational attainment by men and women separately, based on the annual estimates of the Census Bureau (derived from their Current Population Survey) and by age.

## SAMPLING TOLERANCES

In interpreting survey results, it should be borne in mind that all sample surveys are subject to sampling error, i.e., the extent to which the results may differ from what would be obtained if the whole population surveyed had been interviewed. The size of sampling error depends largely on the number of interviews.

The following tables may be used in estimating the sampling error of any percentage in this report. The estimated allowances have taken into account the effect of the sample design upon sampling error. They may be interpreted as indicating the range (plus or minus the figure shown) within which the results of repeated samplings in the same time period would be expected to vary 95% of the time, assuming the same sampling procedure, the same interviewers, and the same questionnaire.

The first table shows how much allowance should be made for the sampling error of a percentage.

**Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error of a Percentage**

In Percentage Points
(at 95 in 100 confidence level*)

| | Sample Size | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1,500 | 1,000 | 750 | 500 | 400 | 300 | 100 |
| Percentages near 10 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 7 |
| Percentages near 20 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 9 |
| Percentages near 30 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 6 | 8 | 10 |
| Percentages near 40 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 11 |
| Percentages near 50 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 11 |
| Percentages near 60 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 8 | 11 |
| Percentages near 70 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 8 | 10 |
| Percentages near 80 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 9 |
| Percentages near 90 | 2 | 2 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 7 |

*The chances are 95 in 100 that the sampling error is not larger than the figures shown.

The table could be used in the following manner. Let us say a reported percentage of 35 for a group that includes 1,000 respondents. We go to the row for "percentages near 30" and across to the column headed "1,000." The number at this point is 3, which means that [illegible] observed in the sample is subject to a sampling error of [illegible] three points. Another way of saying it is that any probability [illegible] out of 100 the average of repeated samplings would [illegible] between 29 and 35, with the most likely figure the 35 [illegible].

In comparing survey results in two sampled "groups," e.g., [illegible] men and women, the question arises as to how [illegible] between them must be before one can be reasonably sure that it reflects a real difference. In the tables below, the number of points that should be allowed for in such comparisons is indicated.

Two tables are provided. One is for part samples near 20 or 80, the other for percentages near 50. For particular use in between, the error to be allowed for is between those shown in the two tables.

**Recommended Allowance for Sampling Error Of the Difference**

In Percentage Points
(at 95 in 100 confidence level)

| TABLE A | Percentages near 20 or near 80 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Size of Sample | 750 | 500 | 400 | 300 |
| 750 | 5 | | | |
| 500 | 5 | 6 | | |
| 400 | 6 | 6 | 7 | |
| 300 | 6 | 6 | 8 | 10 |

| TABLE B | Percentages near 50 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Size of Sample | 750 | 500 | 400 | 300 |
| 750 | 6 | | | |
| 500 | 7 | 7 | | |
| 400 | 7 | 8 | 8 | |
| 300 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |

Here is an example of how the tables would be used. Let us say that 60% of men respond a certain way and 40% of women respond that way also, for a difference of 10 percentage points between them. Can we say with any assurance that the 10-point difference reflects a real difference between men and women on the question? The sample contains approximately 750 men and 750 women.

Since the percentages are near 50, we consult Table B, and since the two samples are about 750 persons each, we look for the number in the column headed "750," which is also the row designated "750"; the [illegible] the number 6 here. This means that the allowance for error should be [illegible] points and that in concluding that the percentage voting each [illegible] somewhere between four and 16 points higher than the percentage among women, we should be wrong only about 5% of the time. In other words, we can conclude with considerable confidence that a difference exists in the direction observed and that it amounts to at least four percentage points.

If, in another case, men's responses amount to 23%, say, and women's 24%, we consult Table A, because these percentages are near 20. We look in the column headed "750" and see that the number is 5. Obviously, then, the two-point difference is indistinctive.

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Mr. MILLER. If I am correct, Dr. Bahner, your testimony is that the public perception of the job that the high schools are doing, whether they are doing a good job, is in fact declining. Is that what you are saying, that the public perceives the schools are not doing as good a job at this time as they have at a previous time?

Dr. BAHNER. That is correct.

Mr. MILLER. Ms. Abramowitz, in your statement you indicate the public high schools have been responsive to their critics and have expanded their mission in the last decade.

It is not clear to me whether the criticisms were that the schools have not changed or expanded their mission? Your statement is in effect they have been responsive to their critics who in a general sense say the schools are not doing a very good job?

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. I think there is a timelag in the perceptions of what is needed in schools and the time it takes schools to respond.

I think the seventies found the schools wanting in terms of their responsiveness to a very heterogeneous clientele. When you look at the end of the seventies you see a myriad number of schools catering to a widely divergent student body. However, as the seventies ended people started complaining about the academic performance of the high schools. I think it has been hard for the high school to be socially responsive at the same time in providing an academically decent program. It is hard to do everything.

Mr. MILLER. Some people have suggested that lag time results because the high schools simply are following the dictates of the universities and colleges and it took until the seventies for the colleges to catch up in the sense of the demand for what you term "responsiveness." So, that sent the signal to the high schools that they can do it; now the high schools have done it, but it is out of fashion. So the high schools have to catch up. They have a shorter period of time in which to make their transitions back and forth, and the different modes, of course, change. So they are caught in a shorter wave pattern, in a sense, and it is not as smooth for them as it might be for the university, because the university also sends out intentions, and alert and well-counseled high school students can start making changes in advance. If you suspect the universities are once again going to require a foreign language you can make the change in your sophomore year at high school. But if you are a sophomore at high school and all of a sudden your high school demands it, it becomes traumatic.

My concern is that your informational policy in dealing with high school principals leads to in fact a different conclusion than those who are viewing the system from the outside.

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. That is especially noticeable when you ask principals what problems they perceive.

Our manuscript has a whole list of problems, and we ask the principals to rate them. By and large what principals say as being problematic has to do with student and parent interest. Not violence, not disruption. Basically, apathy. And, according to principals, they are reporting they do not feel the community, or the parents, or the students are that interested in schooling.

Mr. MILLER. Do these principals feel they are in charge of the institution which they are required to administer?

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. We did not ask them a question quite like that, but we did ask them what they felt was important for them to do. We asked them a whole series of questions about their role. Most respond being a manager of the institution, relating to parents and students, as well as serving as a liaison between the school and the community are very important to them.

So it looks as though the principal has a multifaceted role and a number of responsibilities, only one of which is keeping track of what is going on in the school.

Mr. MILLER. A school principal is put in charge of a high school with 1,500 or 2,000 students, Does the principal feel he has the leeway to carry out those functions whether it is community relations or curriculum changes or labor-management problems? He is simply carrying out the program.

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. We did not exactly phrase the question like that. We did ask him whether filling out Federal or State paperwork was a problem, and very few said that it was. So, that is the closest we get in trying to assess how well they do what they are doing.

Mr. MILLER. Dr. Bahner.

Dr. BAHNER. When we asked about who does have the power, there was a mixture of opinion that teachers have a lot of it and the administration has a lot of it, the school boards did not have much of it. When you asked who should have the power, the teachers felt they should have it, the principals felt they should have it, and the parents felt the principals should have it.

Mr. MILLER. In your discussion, Ms. Abramowitz, as to the program differences between public and private high schools, I have some concerns, but I am not sure I can articulate them, in how you seem to be measuring the differences; that is, the public high schools offer a great deal of diversity and therefore, in theory, would encompass a large range of opportunities for the entire population, but in the pursuit of academic excellence, that opportunity somehow is foreclosed in the private school. I am not sure that is an accurate restatement. You can go ahead and correct it, but I am not sure of the comparisons you are making here in that regard.

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. There are differences in the programs public and private high schools offer. There are differences in the clientele and also differences in the size. Most private schools are under 1,000, the majority of public high schools are over 1,000.

Usually in large schools there are more different types of course offerings.

When you look at the range of offerings it is hard to determine what has to do with the clients' wishes and tastes and what has to do with the school offerings in general. But the public high school seems to have a broader array from which to choose. In the private schools, diversity for them is mostly focused in the academic areas. In a survey instrument you cannot get at fine-tuned information, so within any category we do not know about the range of electives or the range of different types of courses.

Mr. MILLER. You are not making a determination as to whether it is good, bad, or otherwise. You are simply stating that as a fact.

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. That is right. I am saying it seems easier to provide a curriculum focus in one area when you have a focused clientele with focused tastes than when you have a broader clientele.

Mr. MILLER. Do we know whether those tastes are in fact set—it seems you are suggesting that for the student in the private school, the tastes are set for environmental reasons, and the tastes and choices of the student for a public school are for a different reason. Is it possible the desires might be set because of the first 6 or 7 years of schooling? If you did well and went to a good elementary school and were supported by your family, your ability would also help you to dictate the tastes and the challenges you desire, but if you had no ability to read, there would not be much need in seeking out a public-school-type curriculum.

The public schools obviously inherit a different sort of student body. They have very little choice in the makeup of that student body. The private schools have some choice because they set standards and you either jump the hurdles and get in, or you go back to a public school.

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. When you compare private high schools with suburban high schools, there is very little difference.

Mr. MILLER. In what way?

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. In terms of student body and output. You have to be careful in terms of broad generalizations in terms of what is public and private. That finding suggests to me that when a community, regardless of whether they send their children to public or private schools, has a uniform focus in terms of what they want out of a school, it is probably easier for the school to provide it. When the community has divergent goals, it is hard to satisfy everybody and it is harder to satisfy everybody well.

Mr. MILLER. I just wonder if the broad goal of academic excellence isn't present in the entire community, urban, suburban, black, white? All the students have parents who would like to see what they perceive to be academic excellence.

In the Gallup surveys, the hint is they do not feel that is being achieved, but there is a notion that if you can get into private school, it somehow can be achieved, which then lessens the public schools' desire to achieve because what the heck, they are the dumping ground anyway; they get the leftovers.

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. I think that would be an unfortunate attitude.

Mr. MILLER. That is why I am concerned with what appears in your statement; that the mission of the public schools is somehow diversity. Diversity as to what? Mediocrity?

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. They have to feed, clothe, and they have to provide bilingual education. There are so many things the public schools have to do that I think we have to be aware of everything that we are asking them to do before we condemn them for not achieving well in any one of those goals.

I just think we have to expand our awareness about what it is that the public school does do. If we want the public high school to provide academic excellence and make sure every student can read and write, then I think all the resources of public education should be directed just toward that function. But then you have to ask yourself, what about all the other tasks that we have legislated and

mandated the public school to do? It is a matter for every community to determine what its priorities are, if a community can come up with one priority.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Kildee.

Mr. KILDEE. The Conant report which was in vogue when I was taking my teacher training indicated a high school should have a minimum of 1,000 students to be an effective high school. Would you agree with that figure as being valid today?

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. Mr. Conant felt that high schools should be comprehensive and a certain number of students would make a high school comprehensive. That was his goal, and because of that many districts consolidated and closed schools. We now have very large high schools because of that impetus.

Again, if you want to provide a diversity in course offerings, I suppose you need a large school; whether that is 1,000 or 1,500, I do not know. I have sat among principals who think in a large school only can you offer a broad curriculum.

On the other hand, when you compare public schools with private schools, I would say about 3 percent of the private schools in a national sample are over 1,000, whereas 50 percent of the public schools are over that number.

I think we have to determine what we are getting with the size of a school.

Dr. Bahner mentioned individual attention. It might be much more feasible to provide individual attention in a smaller environment, but then you have a tradeoff to make as to program diversity. I do not think we are sensitive to all the tradeoffs that all the policies seem to encourage.

Mr. KILDEE. At the same time that Dr. Conant was using this figure of 1,000, he meant you would have all the offerings from mechanical arts down through the traditional types of programs. At the same time there was an antitracking type of philosophy that was setting in, that you should not have special English or general English. They still did it. At one of the schools I taught in, they called it U.S. history if it was for college-bound students, and American history if the student spent more time in mechanical arts classes. But at the same time they were saying the 1,000 was the minimum number, they were also very antitracking.

I taught at two schools in my career; one of the schools attracted only the college bound. They almost lost their accreditation because they did not offer any shop classes. They offered Greek, and the accrediting authority said you do not need Greek but you need shop classes.

I think during the fifties there was a certain rigidity as to what a high school should be. I think we have to look at flexibility, what community is being served, and make sure all students are being served, what type of program is particularly needed in that school.

Have you any comment on my meanderings there, either one of you?

Dr. BAHNER. I think we are getting into the box of saying that comprehensiveness is due to a proliferation of courses offered. If we teach school in the traditional way, I think that is a true way, but what you do within a course, you can offer a more individualized course if it is done right. We are undertaking a demonstration in

some Indianapolis schools to demonstrate that in a large suburban high school you can offer a wider variety of opportunities for kids in a school within a school setting than you can with a large 2,000, 2,500-student population.

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MILLER. Let me go back to this idea of what is suggested in the testimony of a narrowness of the course offerings in the private schools as opposed to the so-called diversity in the public schools. My concern again is back to this issue of academic excellence, and my assumption, which may not be correct, that that is something all parents and students would like to achieve, and that somewhere along the line they throw the switch off and decide that is not what they want to achieve.

If you are measuring diversity, does that really dictate a different mix, or is it possible that diversity, in teaching students to read, you may be required in the public schools to teach different levels of reading to students with different levels of attainment, as in mathematics the mission is to teach them to compute, but you may have to take more time with different students because you have inherited students with different abilities? Are we just talking about course offerings in the wide range of life experiences? I think you left me when you said within course content there can be diversity. Obviously in teaching a person to read there can be exposure to a tremendous number of ideas, but you are still teaching them to conquer their language.

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. The private school people that I work with would take issue with an interpretation that the private high school offerings are narrow. I would rather strike that word from the record and say that the courses that seem to be offered in private schools are mostly focused on academics. They can have a broad diversity of private courses in the private school, but that is where the focus seems to be, college preparation. When you look at the public high school, students can go off campus and work and get credit, they can attend night school, they can volunteer in the community, they can take correspondence courses. There seems to be many more different types of courses that are offered that do not cater to college preparation; that is what the public high school seems to offer.

Mr. MILLER. What do we know as to how those determinations are made in the so-called tracking system where the determination for a young person is to take correspondence courses, or to leave school to go to work? Do we know how that decision is arrived at? I am sure there are some teachers who would love to see students leave the classroom and go to work.

Ms. ABRAMOWITZ. There are bits and pieces of information about student access to different courses. Some work that has been done at Stanford and San Francisco suggests that teachers counsel minority students differently than they do white students, or they counsel disadvantaged students different than they counsel majority students, they do not often give full information or tell the minority child enough information for the child to improve his or her academic performance, and I suppose the inference is they do not expect that much out of the child.

On the other hand we have supported some work in California, looking at student choices in high school in terms of the various options they participate in, the work experience, taking a proficiency examination to get out of high school early, and it seems that the high school students surveyed are really reasonable individuals. They participate in work experience if they need money; they take college courses off campus if the school does not offer academic preparation.

So, our knowledge about students and their choices and how they wind their way through the tracking system in high school is really incomplete, but we do have evidence to suggest that sometimes teachers are biased in terms of their counseling, but sometimes kids seem to understand the system.

Mr. MILLER. Dr. Bahner.

Dr. BAHNER. We have been talking here about private schools as though they are sort of homogeneous in nature, and the testimony was that 83 percent of the private schools are church-related; most are Catholic in urban settings. So they are very much like the public schools in the surrounding area.

The other thing had to do with tracking, getting the basic subject matter, reading and arithmetic. We have not developed good styles for teaching these skills in the educational domain. We can use the shop class to improve their reading skills. I started out as a high school science teacher, and 30 years ago I was not smart enough to know I could teach the variables in an auto mechanics class as well as in a chemistry class. Those are the kinds of learnings we are after, and we should use the other diverse areas to improve not only the vocational schools, but basic tool skills of reading, arithmetic, and so forth.

Mr. MILLER. In your testimony, Dr. Bahner, I think you said that the parents want to see the principal have more power. Why do they want that?

Dr. BAHNER. I don't know.

Mr. MILLER. To take care of their problems or to run the school better?

Dr. BAHNER. Perhaps because that is one place they can go to when they do have problems rather than 150 teachers in the school. I am not sure. And I don't think our data has that. I will check it. I don't think we explore that ramification.

Mr. MILLER. You also mentioned that the teachers answered with the conclusion that they think they should have more power; but we don't know why they would want that more power? Do they want it for working conditions, or do they want it for curriculum control or control over their classrooms, teaching methods. We don't know?

Dr. BAHNER. I suspect they would answer yes to all of those. As in other professions, do they want to control their training as well as what goes on in their jobs, both curriculum and teacher welfare kind of thing? I suspect they would answer yes to all of those. I will look to see if we do have information about why the principal and why the teachers.

Mr. MILLER. I don't have any further questions. Do you, Mr. Kildee?

Mr. KILDEE. No.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you very much for your time and your testimony this mornng.

The committee will reconvene tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock to continue these hearings.

[Whereupon, at 11:31 a.m., the subcommittee adjourned, to reconvene at 10 o'clock, Thursday, January 24, 1980.]

[Additional information for the record follows:]

# GOALS AND PHILOSOPHY OF SECONDARY EDUCATION: THE SECONDARY SCHOOL AS ONE INSTITUTION FOR THE EDUCATION OF YOUTH

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The title of this presentation presents one major difficulty because the breadth of the topic requires the use of a number of generalizations for which exceptions easily can be found. Other presentations in the program will be of assistance in providing further explanations and examples which are not possible here, but also they may reveal some of the exceptions and points of disagreement. The title is helpful in that goals are indicated before philosophy, implying to me that this is not to be a philosophical treatment of what secondary education should be. Rather, philosophy, as it serves education in this country, is employed to interpret and make more rational the goals that have been thrust upon the schools and to raise questions about such things as the value and priority of a goal, inconsistencies and omissions among them and their relevance to a secondary education.

The first generalization about secondary education in the United States is that it has evolved in response to political, social, economic, and even geographical conditions. A second generalization is that change has been, and will continue to be, a primary condition of the American society. This means that the culture, which the schools are to impart, is not defined by fixed bodies of knowledge, sets of values, and systems of beliefs. If the schools are to use the culture as a source of content to educate youth to live productively, useful, and fulfilling lives, they are faced with serious questions--not the least of which is: What content shall be chosen, and how will it be taught to be of most use to youth to prepare them for a life which is continuously evolving as education is taking place?

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Prepared for the International Seminar for Middle Eastern Educators, July 1979.

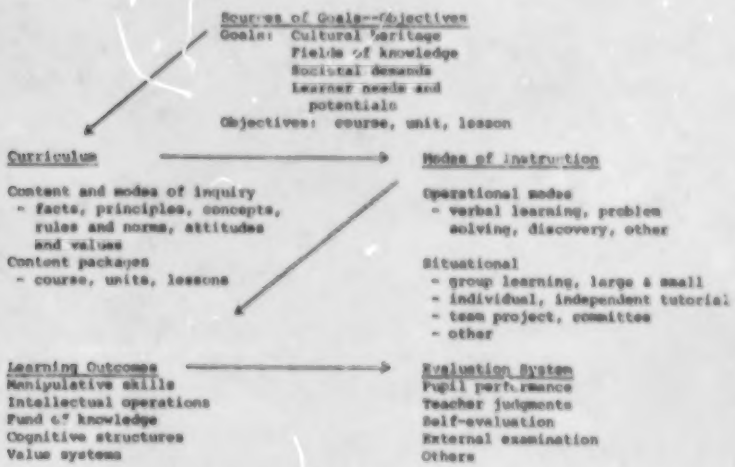
These two conditions--secondary education being responsive to societal needs and a changing culture from which to draw the content of instruction--place a burden upon those, like yourselves, who may not be intimately acquainted with conditions, problems, issues, and trends in this country and its cultural background. Indeed, these two conditions create problems for those who work closely with the secondary schools because, in one sense, public education is itself the arena in which the citizens of the country think about and work upon a philosophy of what the "good life" is and how to attain it. Some do this badly, some neglect to give it the attention it deserves, and some do it quite well. You will have occasion to observe and ask about this as you visit schools.

This brings us to the second portion of the title of this presentation, and an indication of how secondary education became tied to the two conditions noted. The secondary school as one institution for the education of youth implies the arrangements, structures, and nature of its program. Two overriding principles shaped the formation of the secondary school as it evolved in this country. The first is the ideal of equality of opportunity which served to place upon government the responsibility of providing schooling for <u>all</u> youth. Each person was to have an opportunity to prepare himself to compete fairly with every other person in an open society.

The second ideal is that of local control of education which, even though a myth in the legal sense--since education is legally the responsibility of each state--places the governance of schools ~~of~~ in the hands of local boards of education. Thus, schools are responsive to community needs and expectations. Paraphrasing one of our great educational philosophers, John Dewey, each child is to have the opportunity to escape the conditions into which he is born by being provided an education that is as good as a community might desire of its most enlightened citizens.

Elements of an Educational Program

A simple model might be useful to achieve a picture of an educational program and how goals are derived and translated into instruction. This model has come to be referred to as the Broudy-McCleary model of an educational program.




The five elements of an educational program which require attention are: Goals-Objectives, Curriculum, Instruction, Learning Outcomes, and an Evaluation System. This model might be a useful guide in raising questions, examining materials used in a school or just in providing a perspective into which to fit your observations and discussions. The total model can be summarized in one statement: From assigned goals, schools specify objectives which permit a curriculum(s) to be formulated; learners are exposed to the curriculum through modes of instruction in order to obtain certain learning outcomes that are measured by means of an evaluation system.

Goals of Secondary Education.

Goals are those general purposes specified for the secondary school which make up its total offering. As you know, the total school offering is broken down into areas of formal study (languages, sciences, mathematics, etc.), activities (athletics, music, journalism, etc.), and services (guidance and counseling, job placement, health, etc.). The activities and services often have areas of formal study, as in music and health; and the areas of formal study often have activities such as language clubs, science fairs, etc., or services such as community environmental studies, conservation, or assistance to the aged. However, goals are assigned to the school or sanctioned by policy-making bodies such as legislatures, state agencies (State Boards of Education), and local school boards.

A goal statement might be as general as "provide every student with an understanding of citizenship responsibilities" or as specific as "provide instruction in the ill effects of the use of alcohol, tobacco, and drugs." To be useful, each goal statement must be translated into teachable objectives and assigned to, and made the responsibility of, an instructional activity and/or service unit of the school.

Goals are formulated into public policy at national, state, and local levels. Studies, deliberation and debate, and the preparation and advancement of proposals that alter goals and priorities for the schools is a continuous activity. Complex political processes for doing this create a constant appraisal of the adequacy of education to impart knowledge, teach the cultural heritage, respond to society's problems, and meet the needs of youth (as indicated by the model).

Sometimes the debate about the goals and institutional arrangements for providing education has become intense and acrimonious. During the late 1950's debate about the secondary schools' programs in science and mathematics

turned to the question of whether the comprehensive high school be replaced by separate, specialized schools. During the first half of this decade (1970-74) debate centered upon: the isolation of youth from the realities of the community, inadequacies of vocational preparation, treatment of minorities in terms of equal opportunity to quality education, students' legal rights, and the like.

One listing of goals for secondary education might serve to provide a concrete example of what secondary schools are expected to attain for students. This listing resulted from a comprehensive project conducted at the University of Chicago. A study of an exhaustive number of writings about secondary education was undertaken to identify educational tasks which were attributed to secondary schools. Writings were selected from scholars, statesmen, scientists, commissions, etc., and an attempt was made to include critics of public secondary education as well as advocates of it. Statements of goals were collected and screened by a group of scholars to reach an irreducible minimum. The list is as follows:

Intellectual goals

1. A fund of information about many things.
2. Efficient use of the 3 R's--the basic tools for acquiring and communicating knowledge.
3. The habit of weighing facts and imaginatively applying them to the solution of problems.
4. A continuing desire for knowledge--the inquiring mind.

Civic/Social goals

5. A feeling for other people and the ability to live and work in harmony.
6. An understanding of government and sense of civic responsibility.

7. Loyalty to America and the American way of life.

8. Knowledge of world affairs and the inter-relationships among peoples.

Personal, Moral, Aesthetic

9. A well-cared-for, well-developed body.

10. An emotionally stable person, prepared for life's realities

11. A sense of right and wrong--a moral standard of behavior.

12. Enjoyment of cultural activities--the finer things of life.

Economic/Vocational

13. Information and guidance for wise occupational choice.

14. Specialized training for placement in a specific job.

15. The homemaking and handy-man skills related to family life.

16. Management of personal finances and wise buying habits.

Prioritizing of Goals.

A Q-sort technique was developed so that the choices of various groups (teachers, parents, scholars, business leaders) and others can be grouped and compared. A simple sorting process in used in which cards, each containing one statement, are arranged by an individual in the order of importance he wishes. The result is the identification of goals of high agreement/high importance, high agreement/low importance, and those goals about which there is little agreement about level of importance.

Although the list varies slightly in the wording of statements, the following list in rank order of importance was given by a national sample of high school principals in 1977:

| Educational Goal Ranking in 1977-78 | Ranking in 1965 Study |
|---|---|
| 1. Acquisition of basic skills (reading, writing, computing) | 1 |
| 2. Development of positive self-concept (and good human relations) | 7 |

| | (1965) |
|---|---|
| 3. Development of skills and practice of critical intellectual inquiry and problem solving | 4 |
| 4. Development of moral and spiritual values | 2 |
| 5. Career planning and training in specific entry level occupational skills | |
| 6. Knowledge about and skills in preparation for family life | |
| 7. Understanding of the American value system (political, economic, social) | 3 |
| 8. Preparation for a changing world | 5 |
| 9. Physical fitness and useful leisure time sports | 6 |
| 10. Development of skills to operate a technological society (engineering, scientific) | 8 |
| 11. Appreciation for and experience with the fine arts | |

You might compare your own ranking of goals to that of high school principals in this country. The listing by principals in this sample put intellectual and personal/social goals highest in priority.

School Size, Drop Outs and Expenditure Levels.

The secondary school in the United States has changed dramatically in several respects during the past fifteen years. As seen from the ranking of general goals given above, some shifts in priorities probably have occurred between 1965 and 1977. Development of self-concept and human relations moved from 7th place in 1965 to 2nd place in 1977, and moral and spiritual values moved from 2nd place in 1965 to 4th place in 1977. However, size and expenditure levels are two dimensions of significant change. High Schools are now much larger in terms of enrollments with fewer students dropping out before completion, and expenditures per pupil have risen sharply.

In 1965, 65% of all high schools enrolled fewer than 500 students; in 1977, only 23.8% of the high schools enrolled less than 500 students. At the other end of the enrollment scale, in 1965, only 5% of the high schools enrolled more than 2,000 students; by 1977, 12.7% of the high schools had enrollments of over 2,000 students. Size is an indication of the rapid urbanization of the society, but size, for high schools is an important element in providing a comprehensive program. The decade from 1965 to 1975 was a period of turbulence in American schools, but even so, the retention rates of schools improved slightly as shown by the chart. In addition, current estimates indicate that about 85% of all youth of high school age are enrolled in school and that attendance rates have also improved.

School size: 1965 - 1977 (in percents)

| | Under 499 | 500-749 | 750-999 | 1,000-1,499 | 1,500-1,999 | 2,000-2,900 | Over 3,000 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1965 | 65.0 | 11.0 | 7.0 | 8.0 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 1.0 |
| 1977 | 23.8 | 16.2 | 12.6 | 20.4 | 14.1 | 9.9 | 2.8 |

Dropouts: 1965 - 1977 (in percents)

| | Less than 2% | 2% to 9.9% | 10 to 24.9% | 25 to 35.9% | More than 36% |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1965 | 8.0 | 54.0 | 27.0 | 7.0 | 3.0 |
| 1977 | 5.0 | 62.0 | 28.0 | 3.0 | 2.0 |

Expenditure levels are a gross index of school quality. Studies tend to show that the high expenditure schools contain better qualified teachers, more varied programs and services and are ranked as having a greater number of characteristics indicative of excellence than do low expenditure schools. In 1965, 3.0% of all the high schools were spending less than $30.00 per pupil, per year; only 7.0% were spending more than $700.00 per pupil per year; the

median expenditure level was slightly more than $300.00 per pupil per year. By 1977, only 3.0% of all high schools were spending less than $500.00 per pupil per year while 3.0% were spending more than $2,400.00 per pupil per year; the median expenditure level was slightly more than $1,200.00 per pupil.

Expenditures per pupil: 1965 - 1977 (inflation rate 89%)

| 1965 | % | 1977 | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Less than $30.00 | 3.0 | Less than $500 | 3.0 |
| 30 to 99 | 6.0 | 500 to 899 | [illegible] |
| 100 to 199 | 8.0 | 900 to 1,199 | 25.0 |
| 200 to 299 | 15.0 | 1,200 to 1,499 (Md)* | 28.0 |
| 300 to 399 (Md)* | 20.0 | 1,500 to 1,799 | 11.0 |
| 400 to 499 | 15.0 | 1,800 to 2,099 | 6.0 |
| 500 to 599 | 11.0 | 2,100 to 2,399 | 4.0 |
| 600 to 699 | 6.0 | 2,400 or more | 3.0 |
| 700 or more | 7.0 | | |

*(Md) indicates median is located in this category.

These few statistics show rapid increases in school size and expenditure levels with slightly improved retention of students and slightly improved attendance rates. Other presentations will provide evidence of student performance and the nature of specific programs and services.

Types of Secondary Schools

In addition to the ideal of an education for all youth through high school is the idral of the freedom of choice of the type of education to be acquired. This includes the option of attending a school other than that provided by the state. In the United States six classifications of high schools exist. These are: public comprehensive, public specialized, public alternative, parochial (church operated), religious affiliated (church sponsored), and

private. The chart below provides the distribution of schools by type, in percents.

Type of High School: 1965 - 1977, by percent of total

| Type | 1965 | | 1977 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Public Comprehensive | 82.0 | | 82.5 | |
| Public Specialized (technical, fine arts, etc.) | NA | | 2.0 | |
| Public Alternative | NA | | 1.4 | |
| Total Public (tax supported) | | 82.0 | | 85.9 |
| Parochial | 7.0 | | 6.0 | |
| Religious Affiliated | 7.0 | | 7.1 | |
| Private | 3.0 | | .9 | |
| Total non-public | | 17.0 | | 14.0 |

The public comprehensive high school remains the one dominant institution for the provision of formal schooling. Even though under strong attack during the decade prior to 1977, the percentage of public comprehensive high schools increased slightly while the size and total enrollments increased greatly. Public comprehensive high schools enroll about 88% of all youth at the secondary level. These high schools attempt to provide a range of programs, suitable to ability levels and choices, of all youth who come to them. In addition to the comprehensive high school, some communities provide specialized high schools, and some provide what are called alternative high schools.

In the private sector, parochial and religious affiliated schools comprise about 13% of all the schools of the nation and the strictly private schools about 1.0%. Because of economic conditions, both inflation and rising costs of operation, these schools generally have had difficult problems. Their numbers have declined as has their share of the total number of youth attending

secondary schools--their total enrollments are estimated to be under 10% of all youth attending high school.

Educational Issues Surrounding Secondary Schools as Institutions

Surveys of educational leaders and political figures established a list of issues confronting secondary schools. This list was used in a study of the nation's high schools in 1977-78 and was responded to by high school principals in numbers proportional to the types of high schools as shown in the chart above. This list provides the issues thought to be of current importance to the secondary schools as institutions. Nineteen issues were identified as being of highest importance; fourteen of these issues were part of a 1965 study, so that comparisons of principals' responses can be made. Principals were asked to select one of four responses: agree without reservation, agree with some reservation, agree with many reservations, do not agree. The first two responses are classified as agree; the second two as disagree. A statistical test (standard error of proportions) showed significant differences between the responses of principals in 1977-78 and 1965 on all items compared.

Apparently principals in 1977-78 held very different beliefs than did principals in 1965 on every issue. A reflection about the priorities of goals, given in an earlier section of this paper, would indicate that with two important exceptions the goals of secondary education are relatively unchanging. Reflection about the issues surrounding schools would indicate that beliefs about the institutional arrangements for providing education have changed dramatically over a relatively short period of time.

Bread Educational Issues and Principals' Beliefs About Them: 1965/1977-78

| Item | 1977 Agree | 1977 Disagree | 1965 Agree | 1965 Disagree |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Schools require far too little academic work of students. Note: Base your response to this item only with reference to the school of which you are now principal. | 56 | 44 | 16 | 84 |
| The U. S. is not producing enough doctors and research scholars in the field of human needs such as energy, environment, etc. | 63 | 37 | 22 | 78 |
| Youth who are disinterested or hostile toward schooling should not be required to attend. | 59 | 41 | 34 | 66 |
| Schools should provide a general intellectual background and leave specific job training to other agencies. | 10 | 90 | 67 | 33 |
| Court decisions concerning racial segregation are correct as they apply to public schools. | 49 | 51 | 75 | 25 |
| High schools should develop special programs for educating the academically talented students. | 92 | 8 | 19 | 81 |
| The principle of universal secondary education is essential to American society. | 81 | 19 | 76 | 24 |
| Federal aid must be made available to private and religious secondary schools. | 29 | 71 | 19 | 81 |
| Court decisions concerning compulsory prayer and Bible reading are correct as they apply to public schools. | 48 | 52 | 36 | 64 |
| Certain limitations should be placed upon classroom discussions of political "isms" and "anti-isms". | 39 | 61 | 24 | 76 |
| There is a need to justify as practical each subject taught in secondary schools. | 39 | 61 | 24 | 76 |
| Grouping according to IQ or achievement scores is desirable in academic subjects such as math, English, and foreign languages. | 53 | 47 | 82 | 18 |

| Item | 1977 Agree | 1977 Disagree | 1965 Agree | 1965 Disagree |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| The academic year (compulsory) should be lengthened. | 12 | 88 | 22 | 78 |
| School attendance should be compulsory until high school graduation, or age 18. | 15 | 85 | 39 | 71 |
| The United States is not producing enough skilled technicians and "middle" level technical/managerial people. | 62 | 38 | NA | NA |
| High schools should design special programs for the handicapped, ethnic minority, and non-English speaking. | 75 | 25 | NA | NA |
| Equal treatment of the sexes, as embodied in Title IX guidelines, is a positive development in secondary schools. | 68 | 32 | NA | NA |
| Student rights in matters of due process, as being interpreted by the courts, is a necessary development in secondary schools. | 54 | 46 | NA | NA |
| Legislation and court decisions regarding confidentiality of records of students and staff is a necessary development in secondary schools. | 62 | 38 | NA | NA |
| High schools should not undertake major curriculum changes without first securing community support. | 74 | 26 | NA | NA |

Even though the belief patterns of principals changed significantly relative to all issues about the institutional arrangements for secondary schools, note that: 1) for the first five issues in the list there is a complete reversal of opinion from 1965 to 1977-78; 2) for the next five items there is a shift toward stronger agreement about the issue; and 3) for the next four items there is a shift toward stronger disagreement. Relative to the last six items, although the issue of student rights is only 54% agree to 46% disagree, all items are strongly agreed to by principals of secondary schools.

A more detailed examination of educational issues is needed than can be provided here, but special attention might be given to them in discussions. From total presentation, including the data provided, certain assertions can be made about the secondary school as one institution for the education of youth, and some reflections can be presented about its future.

Assertions about Secondary Education and Its Future

1. The secondary school is strongly influenced by federal regulations, court decisions, state requirements, and community pressures screened by local board of education policies and school district administration.

2. Because of continuous cultural change and the expectations (demands) that educational programs respond to social issues, conditions, problems, and trends, schools are one focal point of debate and controversy.

3. In view of the ideal of equal opportunity, achieved largely through the attainment of a secondary education and the ideal of local control, schools need to provide educational programs that will accommodate the total range of ability, potential, and interest of all youth of the community they serve. They can be selective within program areas, but the institution must provide a defensible education for all.

4. The public comprehensive high school will continue to be the dominant model for the provision of secondary education. Although enrollments are declining sharply due to falling birth rates, those high schools will remain relatively large and will need a relatively high level of financial support.

5. Serious problems of a long-term nature will continue to be troublesome, and some will be intensified by declining enrollments and financial retrenchment. These include: a) the maintenance of specialized programs in all areas of advanced studies; b) provision of legally required services for the handicapped, equal opportunities for both sexes and expanded use of technologies in instruction; c) increased need to interact with community agencies to solve

antisocial behavior, combat the use of drugs and alcohol, and deal with crime and vandalism; and d) involve the community in decision making relative to programs, personnel and administration of the school.

6. We can expect to see the following political/legal conditions during the next five years:

a. Federal controls will grow relative to categorical aid, civil rights, Title IX, etc.

b. Desegregation efforts will be expanded in urban areas.

c. Courts will further impose requirements on the school in relation to civil rights, due process, and equal opportunity.

d. Organized teacher associations will become stronger and more militant.

e. Accountability will be more widely imposed to require that schools demonstrate measurable results.

7. We can expect to see the following economic conditions during the next five years:

a. Economic retrenchment involving certain educational funding.

b. Increased resistance to local and state taxes in support of education.

c. Increased pressures to support private/religious schools from public funds.

8. We can expect to see the following social conditions during the next five years:

a. Concern for quality of life and energy conservation will bring major changes in programs and services.

b. Parents and citizens will expect more opportunities to participate in establishing goals and priorities.



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c. Increased crime, drug use, family breakdown, etc., will force program and management changes in the high schools.

d. Values and moral education will receive more emphasis.

9. We can expect to see the following technological and program changes during the next five years:

a. Mini-computers, computer assisted instruction, and related forms of technology will increase significantly.

b. Programs for adults in secondary schools will increase.

c. High schools will become more basics oriented, cutting back on options and special programs.

d. Most of the alternative high schools will disappear.

e. The diploma for completion of secondary school will carry a certificate of guarantee of basic skills.

The immediate future of the secondary school will not be a happy one. Many able teachers and administrators are now leaving, and this trend will continue. However, the secondary schools are strong and resilient institutions with a wide public support. There will be opportunity and challenge in problem solving and bright spots where schools will counter national trends. The picture is not one of expansion and growth, but it is also not one in which the problems are overwhelming.

# OVERSIGHT HEARINGS ON AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

## General Overview

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THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1980

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY,
AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 10 a.m., in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Arlen Erdahl presiding.

Members present: Representatives Andrews, Miller, Kildee, Erdahl, and Buchanan.

Staff present: John F. Jennings, subcommittee counsel; Nancy Kober, staff assistant; Richard DiEugenio, minority legislative associate; and Jennifer Vance, minority senior legislative associate.

Mr. ERDAHL. We will call the meeting of the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education to order.

I am filling in today for Mr. Carl Perkins, the chairman of this subcommittee. Some of our colleagues will be coming along soon.

We do have a session at 11 o'clock and if you have not been here before you will hear the bells ringing in a minute.

We are continuing oversight hearings today on American secondary education.

Yesterday we heard a vast array of statistics about our junior and senior high schools. Today we will continue our general overview of secondary education, moving beyond numbers and into analysis.

We have invited a distinguished panel of witnesses who will discuss the historical development of secondary education, some major research findings about secondary education, and the needs of adolescents.

I would like to emphasize that while these hearings are not linked to any particular bill, they should provide the subcommittee with a broad base of knowledge that will relate to all of our legislative work this year.

For the record I will identify myself. I am Arlen Erdahl of Minnesota.

We will ask all the witnesses who have agreed to testify today to come to the table and, again, I will identify you for the record since all your comments, prepared and oral, will go into the original record of the reporter.

Dr. Scott Thomson, executive director, National Association of Secondary School Principals; Dr. E. Alden Dunham, program officer, Carnegie Corporation of New York; Dr. Harold Hodgkinson, president, National Training Laboratories; and Dr. Joan Lipsitz, director, Center for Early Adolescence, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

We spend a lot of our money on secondary education and we are so glad you could be here today. We will start off in order of the listing, please. Dr. Thomson, if you will, you can have the latitude of presenting your testimony in any way. You can summarize or proceed as you feel most comfortable.

## STATEMENTS OF DR. SCOTT THOMSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS; DR. E. ALDEN DUNHAM, PROGRAM OFFICER, CARNEGIE CORPORATION OF NEW YORK; DR. HAROLD HODGKINSON, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES; DR. JOAN LIPSITZ, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR EARLY ADOLESCENCE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL; A PANEL

## STATEMENT OF DR. SCOTT THOMSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Dr. THOMSON. Mr. Chairman, members of the panel, and guests, I am executive director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals. We have a membership of 35,000 school administrators. If I might have a brief word on our behalf, a brief commercial here: All of the research over the last 5 or 6 years has indicated the critical importance of the secondary school principal to quality education. We do spend most of our time and resources in improving the professional competency of secondary school principals.

The written testimony that I have submitted contains basically five points, one being that secondary schools do have an excellent track record of providing service when the school knows what the public wants it to do.

Second, the secondary goals are remarkably stable. Look at any of the studies on the goals of secondary education. Basically they come down to four areas: (1) Basic skills; (2) health and physical education; (3) career preparation; and (4) civic competence.

The third point in my written testimony involves what I consider a valiant effort on the part of schools during the 1970's to develop success for all students, to make schools more relevant and flexible, and certainly to include all minority and handicapped students.

The fourth point in my testimony includes what I call a crisis of confidence in the public schools today, the crisis of confidence that they face with the public caused by the very changes that occurred in the 1970's.

Finally in my written testimony I make the point that it is terribly important as far as the secondary school principals of this Nation are concerned that the Federal role in education must be one of interest and support for all American youth, for the talented as well as the handicapped, for the college bound as well as the job

bound, and that the Federal role should not concentrate on particular segments of the population.

For oral testimony, I would like to concentrate on two of these factors. I would like to discuss the flight from public schools, and the unintended—I say unintended actions of the past decade of Federal policy in secondary education, and the critical need for a new balance in Federal policy, a new balance as perceived by the principals of the Nation.

There has been in the last 5 or 6 years a rather significant flight to private schools, and there has been a rather remarkable increase in the number of new private schools. These are not just segregation academies located in urban areas or in the South. I was speaking to a group of State administrative educators last spring and I said I know this may not apply to States like South Dakota, Wyoming, and Colorado, and the director of education of North Dakota assured me it does. There were two private schools established in Fargo: one a private lay school and the other a private religious school.

We all know there are long waiting lists in private schools, but the thing we do not have a reading on are the precise reasons for this movement of a large segment of our population from public to private schools.

Based on subjective observation and discussion with principals around the country, I think we could say there might be at least five reasons for this, and they all concern the public school and the somewhat fear on the part of the public that the schools are not doing the job they should be doing.

There is concern discipline is lax; there is fear there is great pressure to use drugs, and that this pressure affects the school. There is concern and anxiety about the large size of schools, and in this regard we would agree with the Carnegie report. There is a belief that the public schools are focusing almost exclusively upon services for special-need students, for the handicapped, the underprivileged, and bilingual student, to the detriment of the average student.

Federal policy has focused almost entirely on Federal-aid students. The problem as we see it, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, is the problem of the single focus. What was intended as a supplement for Federal programs, a supplement for education around the Nation, has in fact come to dominate the funding programs coming from the Federal Government. It has also come to dominate publicity and press and speeches coming from the Federal level from the media to the school districts and local communities.

I think it is fair to say a broad majority of the public is concerned about their public schools and they are asking where is the focus on math and science and on the talented student and the average student? One example to illustrate, Belville Gray is a member of our curriculum committee. We discussed his problem at some length last fall in the committee. Because of enrollment drops he was forced to release 18 teachers at Gainesville High School; at the same time, because of mandated programs, he was forced to turn around and hire 15 special education teachers.

What happens to the average parent? They see the class size being increased for the average child while at the same time special students are in classes one-third or one-fourth that size. This is an unintended outcome of policy at the Federal level which has resulted in increased anxiety as to the capability of the public schools to deliver for the average or typical student.

We have had the kind of benign neglect of the college-bound student and of the lighthouse schools. We have had a kind of benign neglect of some of the more academic subjects.

My plea today is not to eliminate special education programs or special aid. My plea is to regain a balance in Federal policy so that Federal programs represent all of the students of all the people.

If we go back to the days of Sputnik there was perhaps an undue concentration on science, math, and foreign language. Our experience over the last 15 years has been one of recognizing an undue focus on special-need students. So we would urge the Federal role be one of quality as well as equality in education. Particularly this is important, it seems to us, in the 1980's when this Nation obviously must rely on natural resources for its welfare.

So, we urge a new posture of leadership from this subcommittee, because we need that talent now more than ever.

Thank you.

Mr. ERDAHL. Thank you very much, Dr. Thomson.

[Prepared statement of Scott Thomson follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SCOTT D. THOMSON, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF SECONDARY SCHOOL PRINCIPALS

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Subcommittee: I am honored and pleased to have this opportunity to appear before the Subcommittee. I represent today the 35,000 members of the National Association of Secondary School Principals, the only national organization of educators whose professional work focuses exclusively upon youth and their education. Our professional interest is framed by the growth and schooling of early adolescents and adolescents age 12 through 18.

Today I would like to make five points briefly concerning secondary education today and its immediate roots:

(1) Secondary schools have an excellent track record of delivering quality service at low cost when Americans set a clear mission.

(2) The central goals of secondary education have remained remarkably stable over the past 50 years, despite cosmetic changes and the public's whimsies of each decade.

(3) Schools made a valiant effort during the decade of the 1970's to develop success for all students, to become more "relevant" and flexible, and to include all minority and handicapped students as equal partners.

(4) Today, public schools face a crisis in public confidence caused by the symptoms resulting from change which swept schools in the 1970's symptoms which include lower test scores and discipline problems and deteriorating staff morale.

(5) The new Education Department, along with the House Subcommittee on Elementary and Secondary Education, must establish that the Federal role is one of interest and support for all American youth, not just particular segments such as the handicapped or the minority student. Otherwise, the public will continue to secede from the common schools which, they now fear, no longer represent their own interests or no longer particularly care about academic excellence. The comprehensive secondary school in America must represent all the students—the gifted as well as the handicapped and the college bound as well as the jobbound, or it no longer will claim the historical allegiance of a broad public.

THE PURPOSE PROBLEM

Secondary education reflects the priorities of the public. As the electorate feels the need to achieve broad objectives, the schools are asked to reshape the curriculum toward accomplishing those objectives. Serving as the threshold to adulthood,

secondary schools are considered as central to achieving the goal at hand. The manpower requirements, as well as the public commitment, are reflected in the secondary school program. As the secondary school is directed, so moves the nation.

The nation has outlined some clear priorities for secondary schools over the year. The schools in turn, have responded with programs. When the land needed proficient farmers and mechanics, the secondary school developed departments of agriculture and industrial arts. When society desired to make secondary education broadly available, the enrollment of adolescents aged 14 to 17 in high school was raised dramatically, from 51 percent in 1930 to 76 percent in 1950 to 93 percent in 1970. Concern for automobile safety created driver education programs. A new public appreciation of aesthetics resulted in departments of music and art. The desire of citizens to help the handicapped caused the growth of special education. Significant new leisure time led to the development of large-scale student activities programs. The scare of Sputnik led to rigor in mathematics and science. New court opinions about the constitutional rights of minor caused a relaxing of control over student expression. A need for career awareness and for practical learning experiences led to a vast growth in work-study and service-learning programs. With few exceptions the public view has prevailed in the operation of secondary schools.

Schools can be effective when goals are clear. The high schools of America can graduate one million welders, or two million French linguists, or three million trombonists, or whatever, depending upon what society says it must have in the way of human skills and knowledge. Given sufficient lead time, secondary school personnel are content proficient. They also are extraordinarily flexible. Teachers can revamp physics or mathematics instruction with little more than a summer institute. They can develop new courses in ethnic affairs or planetary geography. They can teach Latin or Mandarin Chinese, woodshop or computer technology, according to the demands of the times.

When goals are not clear, however, the task becomes more difficult. A mobile, pluralistic society tends to place temporary and divergent demands upon its educational institutions. Herein lies the nub of the problem faced by the contemporary secondary school. The conflicting desires and values of a highly personalistic, pluralistic larger society press upon secondary schools. A variety of expectations explodes. Pressures build to move in one direction, then another as counteracting forces grow. The requests multiply. The pace quickens. Then schools, in response, are forced to focus upon immediate issues rather than upon more substantive matters.

The burden of responding to a broad spectrum of transient demands can exhaust the secondary school. An element of instability and dissatisfaction may appear under these conditions. While many schools can survive under circumstances of multitudinous pressure, such situations generally are counterproductive. Developing a new approach to the entire situation, then, becomes an appealing alternative.

The NASSP believes that a new emphasis must be placed upon the consensual function of secondary schools. Schools need to assume the leadership for gaining a certain public agreement about the purpose of secondary education. The many viewpoints expressed about the objectives and priorities of secondary education must be blended in each community to provide common ground for school action. The consensual function of schools is of growing and extraordinary significance in these contemporary times of pluralism. Developing a sense of commonality with the public about education is critical to the success of the secondary schools. With school personnel as catalyst, the community must work at this task vigorously.

Gaining agreement on educational goals and objectives is no simple task. The question is fundamentally political, one of public outlook not of professional opinion. Aristotle, for instance, commented about educational objectives in *Politics* and not when writing about pedagogy. His observations are surprisingly contemporary:

"It is clear then that there should be legislation about education and that it should be conducted on a public system. But consideration must be given to the question, what constitutes education and what is the proper way to be educated? At present there are differences of opinion as to the proper tasks to be set; for all peoples do not agree as to the things that the young ought to learn, either with a view to virtue or with a view to the best life, nor is it clear whether their studies should be regulated more with regard to intellect or with regard to character."

The American public is neglecting this political task. Public opinion about secondary education lacks explicitness, leaving secondary schools awash in a sea of anomie. The "purpose" problem, then, becomes the baseline issue to be resolved. A sense of consistent direction urgently is needed.

What of the public purpose? The central problem facing secondary schools that attempt to organize and define public intent for secondary education is that the

values and priorities of a highly personalistic, divergent society often conflict. Still, a pursuit of common ground must be mounted.

A useful statement of educational goals may be obtained from a number of sources. Declarations are available from each of the 50 states and from hundreds of local school districts. The Association views the broad statement of goals developed in 1973 by the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education as valuable guidelines. Earlier general statements of exceptional worth are those of the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education (1918) and the Educational Policies Commission (1938).

But a listing of comprehensive goals provides only a starting point. For any statement to become operational, a considerable degree of specificity is required. A functioning school must probe beyond general themes toward definitions of purpose and of priority that are sufficiently explicit to be acted upon.

A certain consensus and direction can be achieved with appropriate leadership from the school. While it may seem incongruous for schools to intiate a broad effort to determine public intent while at the same time following this intent, contemporary circumstances require this dual role. As in past decades, changing times dictate changing priorities.

The Association believes that secondary school administrators should assume the leadership necessary to move the public mind toward definitive statements about the purpose of secondary education in each community. While educators are expected to participate in discussion and debate during the process of identifying objectives and priorities, the central commitment must be to the demanding task of determining public purpose and reflecting this purpose in school policy. School personnel are responsible for maintaining an honest interpretation of that expressed public viewpoint.

The Association feels that public service agencies, including the public schools, should not assume the elitist position of determining, apart from a public mandate, what is best for the public. The electorate, the legislatures, and the courts determine such matters for society. Schools are instruments of social reconstruction only as directed by the larger public body.

The individual school, as well as the local school district, must move ahead with the task of defining purpose. The building administrator carries a direct responsibility for acting in concert with the immediate community, faculty, and students to develop a set of objectives and priorities appropriate to the local school setting. The completion of this task is basic to the successful operation of a secondary school in today's world.

Community participation should be refocused so that the larger issues of purpose and of priority replace that public attention currently devoted to specific and individual problems, and to immediate crises. The lack of a coherent larger direction is a central cause of these problems and crises. With no strong consensual framework, anxieties arise among parents and students, resulting in unnecessary friction and inefficient use of school personnel.

Determining with the community the major directions to pursue may be an unfamiliar role for educational leaders, but this determination provides a commission for action. Without this commission the leadership of the school administrator can dissipate and become ineffective.

Some school personnel may feel unprepared to assume the responsibility of organizing community opinion to define goals and priorities for education. In such instances pre-service and inservice programs which provide school administrators with these community leadership skills should be developed at the earliest opportunity. Among the elements of such programs is a knowledge about community structure and about ways to focus and define public opinion.

One complexity of the "purpose" problem concerns new responsibilities assumed by secondary schools in recent years, causing a growth of services to youth and parent alike. These new responsibilities most often arose from the emotional or psychological needs of youth. They reflect the social and emotional circumstances of the larger society, particularly the weakening of family influence and the impact of psychological stress in modern life. As increased numbers of students with serious problems appeared at the school doorstep, remedial and supplementary programs grew to accommodate the situation. The secondary school found itself diverting resources toward the rehabilitation of students and away from the instruction of students.

By this process of accretion, secondary schools have become overburdened. By attempting to revive as well as to counsel and teach, the schools now are finding their resources insufficient to total demand. Schools, of course, are only one of several youth-serving institutions in most communities. But secondary schools in-

creasingly are expected to rehabilitate adolescents with severe problems. Whether attempting to lower juvenile crime, to repair family disintegration, to reconstruct alienated adolescents, or to find jobs for the marginally employable, schools generally are the linchpin of the local effort.

A close look at this proliferation of responsibilities, and careful thought about the capabilities of the secondary school to serve realistically every youth under any and all circumstances, must be among the central priorities of local community groups formed to determine objectives. While the Association considers it imperative that restorative services be available to youth as needed, the role of the school in the more serious cases is to guide students to the appropriate rehabilitative service in the community rather than to provide this service within the school setting. The community should explore alternatives to present arrangements from the standpoint of cost and effectiveness.

The Association believes the expectation that schools would provide a major program of therapeutic and rehabilitative services for youth grew casually and without careful thought, and that serious questions must be raised about the impact of such an effort upon the resources available for instruction as well as upon the safety and welfare of the student body generally.

NASSP is equally convinced that society should assume the responsibility of caring for youth who need care. The appropriate organizations for rehabilitative care are the youth and family service agencies in the community. A major problem in the delivery of restorative services to youth is the lack of cohesive, full-service programs. Coordination of responsibilities among the youth and family service agencies needs to be improved. Respective functions should be clarified and relationships firmed. Central responsibilities need to be tied down.

The Association believes that secondary schools should assume the function of coordinating community youth and family service agencies so that student referrals will be timely, appropriate, and articulated with the school environment. Schools should help identify the need for services, locate services, and interrelate services as required by youth. The delivery of rehabilitative services, however, should be by youth-serving agencies in the community whose central mission is rehabilitation rather than education.

Another characteristic of secondary education in more modern times is its focus upon the individual person as the *sine qua non* of all instruction. Self-realization, the development of personal talent and interest, has become the overriding focus of the educational program. Schools have centered their curricular efforts upon serving the individual according to the stated needs of the individual. A theory of the person as preeminent, then, has become the unchallenged rationale of the contemporary American secondary school.

This emphasis tended to ignore a second major purpose of education, service for others and with others. A consideration of the needs of society as well as a consideration of personal needs is important to the concept of democracy. Promotion of the general welfare requires some commitment to that general welfare. Learning, void of social context, can be incomplete learning. The Association believes that because of the nature of modern youth and the interdependence of the contemporary world, particular care should be given to developing the social as well as the personal dimension of education. The secondary school program should focus upon the needs of people collectively as well as individually.

### THE CONSISTENCY OF GOALS

For secondary schools, the basics are defined in countless ways, depending upon the philosophical orientation of the writer. Certainly the three R's are included in most statements, either explicitly or implicitly. But the basics for public schools turn out to be more complicated than the neatly written statements. They tend to reflect the priorities of the times, and these shift with public policy. If schools fail to respond to these priorities, then school board members are replaced and administrators are dismissed.

The basics for schools in the late 1950s included improved math and science instruction. During most of the 1960s they encompassed racial desegregation, first amendment rights for students, "relevant" curricula, and less structure. By the mid-1970s the public understanding of basics took a new turn. People wanted to reverse the decline in test scores and to assure that students could read, write, and compute. The question at school board meetings ceased to be, What is your dropout rate? Rather, it became, What are your reading scores?

Today consensus about the priorities for schools is focused upon the basic cognitive skills. The public apparently wants schools to pull reading, writing, and arithmetic out of the pack of competing concerns and place them up front. If schools do

nothing else, the common argument goes, then at least they should teach the basic skills. This new consensus forms a relatively straightforward priority for schools in contrast to the cacophony of competing and imprecise demands of the past decade. It is a small step from establishing this priority to expecting specific documentation of its attainment through competency testing either by the application of those skills or by more traditional means.

During the late 1960s and early 1970s student activism shook loose some old perceptions about the political and social outlook of youth. Many adults attempted to respond constructively to various student demands but still a strong unease remained. The new patterns seemed contradictory and unclear. Events may have troubled youth, but the causes and effects of hyperactivism distressed adults even more. Somehow the force of the movement seemed more pervasive than could ration- ally be explained by the Vietnam conflict or by experimentation with strong drugs.

Two reports, "Youth: Transition to Adulthood" and the "Report of the National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education," did much to clear the air. These reports asserted that the youth subculture with its attendant behaviors was a product of the larger social environment rather than of one or two separate sources. The social circumstances of youth were summarized as follows:

Youth are segregated from adults by the economic and educational institutions created by adults; they are deprived of psychic support from persons of other ages, a psychic support that once came from the family; they are subordinate and powerless in relation to adults; and outsiders to the dominant social institutions. Yet they have money; they have access to a wide range of communications media and control some; and they are relatively large in number.

Educators began to realize that schools play a part in this segregation. The trend in secondary education over the past hundred years has been to keep students in school to a later age. Meanwhile opportunities in the adult working world have become limited. As youth have grown more and more segregated from adult society, the transition to that society has become more difficult. Youth have found themselves fenced off by abstract, passive, synthetic experiences. The formal and informal links of earlier years between adults and youth have been broken.

The most immediate response to these and other reform reports was to reestablish links through community based work and service experiences. This led, in turn, to focus upon marketable skills, adult proficiencies, job training, and other performance indicators common to the business and professional world. Secondary education began to pay more attention to performance on the job and to the evaluation of specific performance objectives. As schools became comfortable with performance evaluation systems for students in the community, it was a small step to apply this technique to sharpen evaluation practices with the school.

Despite the constant changes in American society the central goals for secondary education have remained extraordinary stable over the past 50 years. When commissions meet to develop broad goals for secondary schools, their formal statements convey a common emphasis. From the "Cardinal Principles of Secondary Education," published in 1918 by the Commission on the Reorganization of Secondary Education, to the "Reform of Secondary Education," published in 1973 by the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, the similarities are striking:

| *Cardinal Principles (1918)* | *Goals for secondary education* |
|---|---|
| I. Health. | Ability to adjust to change. |
| II. Fundamental processes. | Achievement of communication skills. |
| | Achievement of computation skills. |
| III. Vocation. | Acquisition of occupational competence. |
| IV. Civic education. | Acceptance of responsibilities for citizenship. |
| | Respect for law and authority. |
| | Appreciation of others. |
| | Economic understanding. |
| V. Home membership. | Knowledge of self. |
| VI. Use of leisure. | Clarification of values. |
| VII. Ethical character. | Appreciation of the achievements of man. |
| | Attainment of proficiency in critical thinking and objective thinking. |
| | Clear perception of nature and environment. |

The two lists are closely related, except that the 1973 version includes the two distinctly new goals: critical thinking and environmental understanding. The goals of secondary education, then, have tended to be uncommonly stable. Even as new routes to learning have been charted and recharted, the central purposes have remained essentially fixed.

General acceptance of these purposes for secondary education has been confirmed by the annual Gallup education poll. When asked what requirements, if any, they would set for graduation from high school for those students who do not plan to go to college, the American public in 1978 gave the priorities shown here:

REQUIREMENTS FOR GRADUATION

[In percent]

| | Very important | Fairly important | Not important | Don't know |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| How important is it that these students: | | | | |
| Be able to write a letter of application using correct grammar and the correct spelling | 90 | 9 | (1) | 1 |
| Be able to read well enough to follow an instruction manual for home appliances | 86 | 12 | 1 | 1 |
| Know enough arithmetic to be able to figure out such a problem as the total square feet in a room | 84 | 14 | 1 | 1 |
| Know the health hazards of smoking, use of alcohol, marihuana, and other drugs | 83 | 14 | 2 | 1 |
| Have a salable skill, such as typing, auto mechanics, nurse's aide, business machines | 79 | 17 | 3 | 1 |
| Know something about the U.S. Government, the political parties, voting procedures | 66 | 30 | 3 | 1 |
| Know something about the history of the United States, such as the Constitution, Bill of Rights, and the like | 61 | 31 | 7 | 1 |

Source: George H. Gallup, "The 10th Annual Gallup Poll of the Public's Attitudes Toward the Public Schools," Phi Delta Kappan 60 (September 1978): 40.

These opinions support the first four of the seven cardinal principles and eight of the goals of the National Commission for the Reform of Secondary Education.

Basic skills, good health, career preparation and civic competence—these are the areas of secondary schooling which the public takes most seriously. No surprise should exist as to the rapid growth empirically of competency testing. The movement is being pushed by public weal more than by intellectual forces attempting to establish it as a useful conceptual mode. If competency testing sometimes appears to have loose ends and contradicting definitions, this is caused by its formation amidst the heat and dust of hundreds of schools as well as by the current focus upon minimums.

This review of the goals of secondary education also highlights the reasons that school boards and practicing educators have embraced life role versions of minimum competency testing less enthusiastically than the teaching or application of basic skills. Many citizens do not want governing bodies shaping life role behavior beyond narrow limits. Some persons object because they see potential value conflict; others view the prescription of social role outcomes as a totalitarian concept inimical to individual self-determination.

Although arguments could be made that the "general welfare" clause of the Constitution would permit schools to engage in some life roles curricula, the national elections of the late 1970's indicate that the public would favor limiting the programs and powers of government. Citizens apparently want fewer, not more prescriptions from government. They prefer that students be taught traditional cognitive skills first and that those capacities then be applied to practical activities. People want schools to develop tools for students, not blueprints. The commission members who developed the Seven Cardinal Principles 60 years ago may continue to rest in comfort.

### SCHOOLS OF THE SEVENTIES

Americans made a valiant effort during the 1970's to educate and graduate from high school every young man and woman regardless of their personal circumstances. From President Johnson's broad cape of Great Society programs spread a host of special programs for the underprivileged. At the grassroots level people acted with equal conviction to integrate schools, lower the dropout rate, make course more "relevant," reduce classroom structure, provide broader student free-

doms, offer new electives, cut back on graduation requirements, and generally "democraticize" the schools. It was a time of "doing your own thing", in school as well as out of school.

The focus was direct and strong—enroll everybody and retain everybody to graduation or else, Mr. Principal, find a new job! Few concerns were raised about writing; was not oral English sufficient? Little attention was given to rigorous courses or to "lighthouse schools"; were not they already a favored group?

To some degree this thrust was a success. Dropout rates were reduced and special education programs flourished. But then the bomb hit. Suddenly, the SAT score decline and complaints about illiterate graduates hit the nation's headlines. Schools were once again expected to be intellectual, as well as social institutions. Could they, it was asked, be equal and excellent, too?

### THE CRISIS IN CONFIDENCE

The opinion began forming in small corners of community conversation, but it spread like wildfire during the later 1970's. The view, suddenly popular and accepted as fact, was that public schools no longer were doing the job. They had gone soft. Students were not being taught to write. Reading was atrocious. The curriculum had become as formless as jello, soft and sugary. In short, the schools had forgotten how to teach and the students had forgotten how to learn.

Today this opinion is expressed in action, not talk. Public school enrollment is dropping and private schools face waiting lists. New private schools are springing up like mushrooms, some religious and some lay, but all focus upon "the basics", student discipline, and values. Some two million fewer students today attend schools than in 1975 because of the declining birth rate. All of the loss has been in public school enrollment. Whereas a decade ago many private schools closed, today many public schools are closing even as new private schools are founded.

Unfortunately, we cannot cite an authoritative study to provide the underlying causes of this dramatic shift away from the public schools. Subjective observation and informal citizen opinion, however, suggest these as the roots of public disenchantment with public schools:

(1) Concern that discipline is lax and supervision minimal.
(2) Fear that drugs and the pressure to use drugs infect schools.
(3) Anxiety about the size of many schools and the lack of individual attention.
(4) Concern that students will not be academically prepared for college work.
(5) Belief that the public schools are focusing upon services for special needs students—for the handicapped and the underprivileged and the bilingual student—to the detriment of the "average" student.

How much these perceptions are based in fact is debatable. Certainly most schools argue that they serve all students well, and that students are successfully navigating the first years of college. But the anxieties remain, and we find more and more second and third generation families of the public school system looking at the private school option today. These covetous glances come apart from questions of busing or integration or minority mix. They are a broad, nationwide phenomenon based upon, among other factors, fifteen years of Federal policy.

### THE FEDERAL ROLE

This past year at Janesville High School in Wisconsin, according to Principal Bill McBay, he was required to release 18 "regular" teachers and employ 15 "special education" teachers. The release was caused by budget cutbacks, by a small decline in enrollments and by mandatory legislation that requires the employment of the 15 special education teachers. About 80 percent of the salaries of these teachers came from local tax funds.

Multiply this small vignette by a thousand or more secondary schools, and we can begin to understand the concern of the parent majority as they see algebra and English classes moving up to 35 to 40 students per teacher, while at the same time special needs students enjoy classes one-third that size.

The impact of Federal policy upon public schools has caused some unintended outcomes in public attitudes about schools as well as a misallocation of resources. The total effect of substantial Federal categorical funding for specifically targeted groups, together with the attendant publicity and pronouncements has caused the large majority of parents to feel their own students to be increasingly disenfranchised by Washington, D.C. Sensing a benign neglect, at best, the typical parent has become more and more uncomfortable with the narrow focus of Federal policy. What had begun as a Federal program to supplement education for special needs students had come to dominate the entire national education scene. Whether press

release or presidential pronouncement, Federal programs in education came through as solely for handicapped and minority students. The Federal budget reflected this emphasis with $900 million for handicapped students in fiscal year 1979, and $4 million for gifted and talented students. Where was Federal attention to academic excellence? Who was looking to the welfare of the "lighthouse schools," those traditional pioneers to better education in America? Perhaps the singularity of Federal policy for the handicapped student was handicapping the vitality and quality of the nation's entire school system.

The term "comprehensive high school" traditionally means that all the youth of all the people are equally served. It means strong programs for the talented as well as for the marginal student. It supports the college bound student as well as the job bound student. We need today to regain that balance. The new Education Department and this distinguished Subcommittee must represent all of the students of all of the people—not just some of the students of some of the people. The Department needs once again to include science and mathematics and libraries as its concern as well as basic skills or work experience programs.

This appeal, it seems to me, can be made not only on the basis of fair play, but also as a positive response to public fears about the quality and emphasis of public schools today. Most of all, however, a new focus upon excellence would acknowledge the changed world of the 1980's, a decade in which our nation must rely more upon human resources and less upon natural resources for its own welfare. Quality schools, as a concious dimension of Federal policy, are the generators of this human talent.

We urge a Federal policy of quality as well as equality. Thank you.

Mr. ERDAHL. We will proceed with the panel, then if members of the committee or staff have questions, we will welcome those after the testimony.

We will hear from Dr. E. Alden Dunham, program officer, Carnegie Corp. of New York.

## STATEMENT OF DR. E. ALDEN DUNHAM, PROGRAM OFFICER, CARNEGIE CORP. OF NEW YORK

Dr. DUNHAM. I am here to discuss a report of the Carnegie Council called "Giving Youth a Better Chance."

What I would like to do is touch very briefly on five different topics. This report has been in the making for a number of years. It is 317 pages long, very complicated and complex. It is difficult to summarize in a short period, but I will do my best. At the same time, I will probably exhaust my own knowledge of the subject.

Mr. ERDAHL. If I might interrupt at this time, I think this is the proper place to request that report in its entirety be submitted so it can be a part of the record.

Dr. DUNHAM. I have submitted a half dozen copies of the full report and the summary, in addition to my written testimony.

[The report referred to follows:]

# GIVING YOUTH A BETTER CHANCE

Options for Education, Work, and Service

A Report with Recommendations of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education

*Reprinted from:*
GIVING YOUTH A BETTER CHANCE
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# Preface

Most of the work of the Carnegie Council has related directly to problems of higher education, but we have become convinced that those who are concerned with the future of higher education must also give serious consideration to the severe labor market and school problems facing segments of youth, especially minority group youth in inner cities and in some rural areas. This conviction is based on several considerations:

- There are serious inequities between the increasing resources devoted by our society to young people enrolled in higher education and the much less adequate resources allocated to those who do not enroll in college.
- Talent is lost to higher education and to society because of societal circumstances that push or pull potentially talented young people out of the educational stream at too early an age.
- Society must be increasingly as concerned with the qualifications and motivation of non-college youth entering the crafts, trades, and services as those entering occupations that require college training; to paraphrase John Gardner: in the excellence of its plumbers as of its philosophers.
- The costs to society of unemployment and delinquency among youth, as well as of lifelong patterns of unemployment and criminal activity among adults who get a poor start in life, are a drain on societal resources for other purposes, including support of higher education.

- Some institutions of higher education, notably community colleges, are increasingly involved in manpower programs for non-college youth. There is also a strong case for closer linkages than now exist between occupational education and work experience programs for both secondary and post-secondary students.
- More generally, the relationships between secondary education and higher education should be a continuing concern of institutions of higher education. One of the special reports issued by the Council's predecessor, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, entitled *Continuity and Discontinuity* (1973a), was concerned with these relationships.
- Higher education is responsible for training teachers, and there is much evidence that necessary changes in teacher education have lagged behind changing societal needs.
- Some successful experiences in higher education may be applicable to secondary education, such as work-study programs, basic educational grants to cover the subsistence costs of needy students, cooperative education programs, occupational placement centers, and the encouragement of diversity within and among institutions.
- The fact that the size of the teenage population will be declining in the 1980s creates an opportunity for increasing the resources devoted to non-college youth, especially the disadvantaged, without increasing total expenditures (in constant dollars) on youth.
- Recent moves to expand manpower programs for youth are to be commended, but these are in large part rescue operations aimed at youth who have dropped out of school or who have gained little benefit from school. We are concerned about the need for more attention to the trade-off between adequate resources devoted to in-school youth and rescue operations for out-of-school youth.

The United States is by no means alone in facing a problem of critical proportions relating to the education and employment of youth. Rising youth unemployment has been arousing increasing concern in nearly all of the industrial democracies, while it has become more and more clear throughout the 1970s that prolonga-

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tion of schooling has brought with it severe problems of adjustment for many young people who are being held in school through a combination of parental and societal pressures and are not deriving much benefit from the experience.

Because we thought that there might be valuable insights for American policy in more adequate knowledge of how these problems are being met in other countries, we decided several years ago to sponsor the preparation of a group of essays on education and youth employment in selected countries.

Several of these essays have already appeared in the form of separate volumes on individual countries, and the remaining essays are forthcoming. We will also publish a volume that includes summaries of these essays, along with a chapter by Margaret S. Gordon on comparative youth unemployment in Western industrial countries as viewed by an economist and a chapter by Martin Trow on youth problems as viewed by a sociologist, entitled *Youth Education and Unemployment Problems: An International Perspective.* We are grateful to the German Marshall Fund for its support of this international project and to the International Council for Educational Development for carrying out the responsibility of helping to identify, and negotiating with, authors of the essays on particular countries. These volumes are listed in Appendix B.

Participants and observers of the two international symposia in 1976 and 1977 on the problems of youth employment and education are listed in Appendix C.

We also wish to thank the many experts on various aspects of youth problems who have been consulted and who provided assistance in the preparation of this report. They are listed in Appendix D.

In addition, we wish to thank Bay Area youth experts who served as a special advisory committee in earlier stages of this report: Curtis Aller, Department of Economics, San Francisco State University; Bruce Fuller, Assembly Education Subcommittee on Postsecondary Education, Sacramento; Van Dusen Kennedy, School of Business Administration, University of California, Berkeley; David Kirp, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley; Martin Trow, Graduate School of Public Policy, University of California, Berkeley;

David Tyack, School of Education, Stanford University; Lloyd Ulman, Institute of Industrial Relations, University of California, Berkeley; Clair Vickery, Department of Economics, University of California, Berkeley.

Finally, we wish to express our appreciation for the work of our staff on this report, especially that of Margaret S. Gordon, who was assisted by Charlotte Alhadeff and Ruth Goto.

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# Summary of Concerns and Recommendations

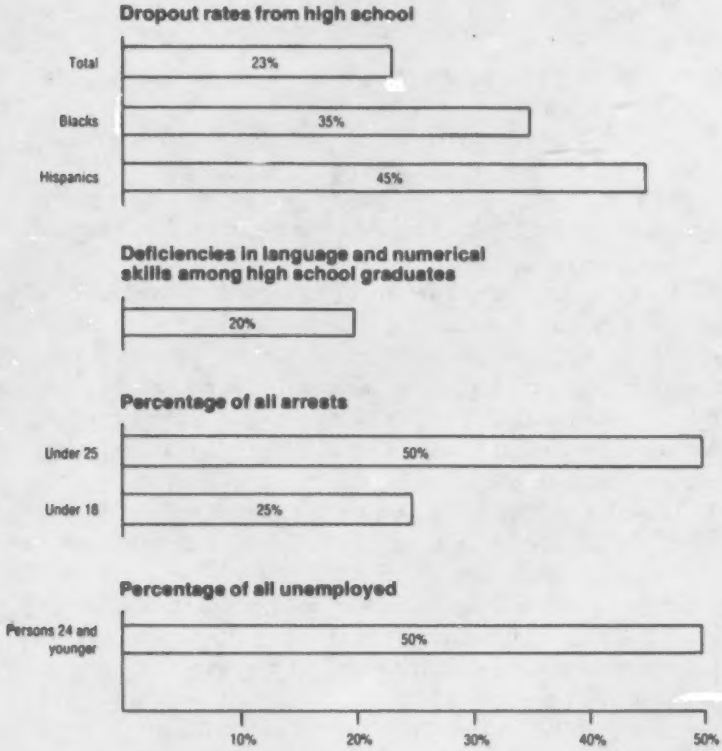
### Essential Facts

1. The "youth problem" in the United States is not going away. Yet our society has a better opportunity to deal effectively with it in the 1980s and the 1990s than we have had in the past two decades. Instead of growing explosively as it did in the 1960s, the youth population will be declining throughout most of the period from now to 2000. This will make it possible to devote more resources to the solution of what have been intractable youth problems, within a budget of stable or even declining expenditures for youth in toto.

What are the problems that are not going away of their own accord?

- Substantial dropout rates from high school continue—23 percent overall, 35 percent for blacks, 45 percent for Hispanics. (See Figure 1 for these and other selected data.)
- Substantial numbers of high school graduates have deficiencies in language and numerical skills—estimated at 20 percent.
- High school is an alienating experience for many young people; like a prison—albeit with open doors—for some.
- A surprisingly large percentage of adults do not look back on their high school experience as rewarding. Nearly one-half of the 1960 high school students in the Project Talent survey,

Figure 1. Selected data on youth




when questioned in a followup survey 11 years later, did not consider their high school experiences to have been "valuable" or even "fairly useful" (Wilson and Wise, 1975, p. v). By comparison, only about 15 percent of college students rate their experience as unsatisfactory.

- Nearly one-half of today's high school students do not consider the work in school hard enough (U.S. National Center for Education Statistics, 1979, p. 73).
- A general environment that would enable youth to make an effective transition into adulthood is deficient in many respects, including little early contact with the world of work

and little opportunity ever for organized service to others. It is "knowledge rich" but "action poor,"[1] or, at least, action poor.

- Specifically, the transition into permanent jobs in the labor market is difficult for many youths.
- A sense of dependency is carried on too long; and, with it, a sense of rebellion against authority.
- Crime rates are high—more than 50 percent of all arrests are of youth under 25, and nearly 25 percent of those arrested are juveniles (under 18).
- Pockets of high and prolonged unemployment exist and will not be eradicated without special efforts—nearly 50 percent of all unemployment is accounted for by persons 24 and younger; and some pockets of youth have unemployment rates of 60 percent and higher, as traditionally measured.
- Nearly 6 percent of youth seem to have opted out of education, the labor market, and other customary pursuits.
- The number of nonwhite youths potentially subject to some form of inequality of opportunity will rise from 15.8 percent of the population aged 16 to 21 in 1980 to 18.7 percent in 1990 and then stabilize at about that proportion. This is a rise of nearly 20 percent in the share of the age cohort. The population of young Hispanics is also growing rapidly and will form a rising percentage of the total youth population. Counting Hispanics, the "minority" portion of youth will be at least 25 percent and possibly as high as 30 percent in 2000.
- Those who fall behind are by no means all members of disadvantaged minority groups. The unemployment rate among low-income white youths is as high as among low-income black youths, and the school dropout rate of low-income white youths is even higher than that of low-income blacks. In terms of numbers, disadvantaged white youths far exceed disadvantaged minority youths.
- As the already advantaged advance, the less advantaged tend to fall farther behind; and social cleavage widens and social

[1]See the discussion in *Youth: Transition to Adulthood* (1973, especially summary, introduction, and the introduction to part 3).

unrest accelerates. We are in danger of developing a permanent underclass, a self-perpetuating culture of poverty, a substantial and continuing "lumpen-proletariat" in the "home of opportunity where every man is the equal of every other man." We are in danger of creating a set of policies that provides a substantially free ride financially for many of the successful and permits, if it does not ensure, a bum's rush for the unsuccessful in the race for life chances.

Even among the most able, many young people fall behind in the race. We estimate that about 100,000 more young people would enter college each year if the percentage of "most able" entrants from low-income and moderate-income families came up to that of the most affluent one-fourth of families. We define the "most able" as the top 25 percent in academic ability, and the loss of the talent of members of this group is particularly costly to the nation.

As a society, we are spending a great deal more to help low-income youth enter college than we are spending to help low-income youth who are in high school, or who graduate from high school but do not enter college, or who drop out of school (see point 9 in the following discussion). Thus, there is a problem of inequity—we need to redress the balance.

Beyond the issue of inequity, however, young people who are failing to learn how to function effectively in a democratic society present a problem to the entire society. We all pay a price in terms of safety in our streets and our homes; in terms of heavy social costs for unemployment, law enforcement, and prisons; and in terms of the social malaise that stems in part from the recognition that we are not meeting the problems of many of our youth successfully.

The problems call for more than just money—although we do recommend certain increased expenditures. They call for mobilization within communities and for leadership on the part of employers and unions, as well as civic and school officials. National leadership and federal and state money can help, but in the end the problems will be solved, if at all, mostly in local communities and partly by private agencies. Money will help,

but by itself it will do very little. It will take a great deal of public and private initiative at the local level.

The quality and nature of the treatment of youth is an incisive commentary on a society in its entirety—on the family, the schools, the economy, the government, the culture, the beliefs of the people, their standards of conduct toward one another. In its youth a society can see itself in a huge but distorted mirror—as in a fun palace. The mirror of youth reflects back to our society a whole series of visions—some beautiful, some horrendous.

2. The number of unemployed youths is bound to go down over the next decade or more for demographic reasons; but, as we have just noted, this will not end the "youth problem." The number of 16-year-olds in 1990 as compared with 1980 (according to the Census Bureau's intermediate projection) will be as follows:

1980 = 100[2]
1990 = 77

The population of 16- to 21-year-olds will reach its low point in 1994, as follows:

1980 = 100
1994 = 74

An even lower Census Bureau projection, which now appears more likely, shows the 16-year-old population reaching its low point in 1995.

Young people generally will be in high demand. Military demand for eligible males, as a percentage, will develop as follows:

1980 = 25 percent
1990 = 30 percent

Higher education will try very hard to retain its number of stu-

[2]Four million persons now reach age 16 each year; the number will be just over three million in 1990.

dents. This will be difficult in the face of a decline in the college-age population (18- to 24-year-olds) of 23 percent from 1978 to its low point in 1997. Private employers and government agencies will also be competing to secure employees within the reduced age cohort.

Youth will be in high demand, not in high oversupply. Two decades of surplus will be followed by nearly two decades of deficit. Many youths will never have had it so good.

3. Youth unemployment has been exaggerated in the recent past. This exaggeration has caused undue attention to unemployment as *the* problem of youth, when there are, in fact, many problems and some of them more serious and harder to handle. The reasons for this exaggeration have been two:

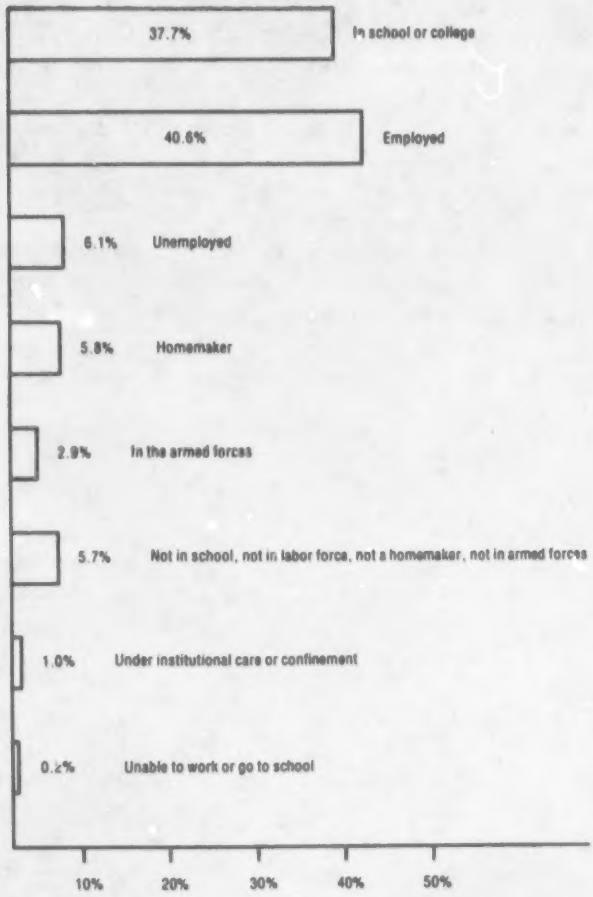
*a.* Military personnel have been excluded from the base.
*b.* All college and high school students who are not in the labor force have also been excluded.

The overall distribution of the age cohort is shown in Figure 2, and distribution by race and sex in Figure 3. For the age cohort as a whole, 6 percent are not in school (on a full-time basis) and not in the armed forces, but in the labor force and unemployed.

What tends to be forgotten is how many young persons (under age 25) have been added to the labor force since 1960 and absorbed into employment—over 10 million; also nearly 10 million adult women; and perhaps 5 million immigrants (legal and illegal). Higher education has also absorbed 7.6 million additional young persons since 1960. The absorptive capacity of the labor market and of higher education over the past 20 years has been enormous; without it, what has been a difficult situation (about 1.2 million youth in the 16- to 21-year-old group unemployed and not in school) would have been an intolerable one.

Unemployment for youth is often short-term due to a rapid turnover in jobs. Whereas, in 1978, 23 percent of all unemployed workers were long-term unemployed (out of work 15 weeks or more), only 15 percent of the unemployed in the 16-

**Figure 2. Activity status of young people aged 16 to 21. 1978**




*Source:* Computed from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census (1979c); U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1979, tables 3 and 7).

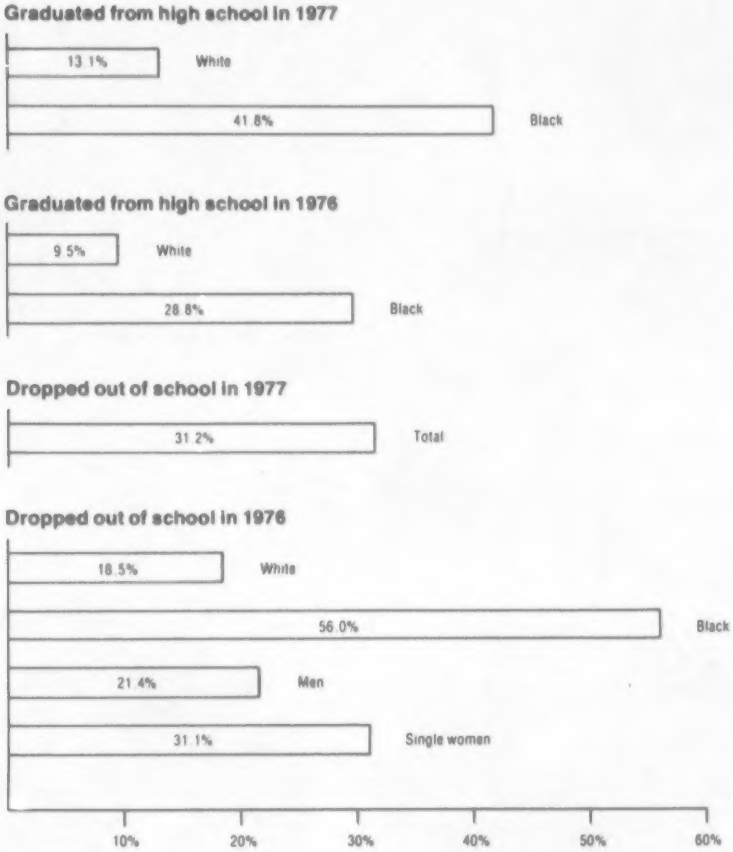
to 21-age group were long-term unemployed. As a proportion of the total age cohort, these long-term unemployed were only 1.3 percent (including both students and nonstudents). Data on duration of unemployment are not available for the two groups separately.

Figure 3. Activity status of young people aged 16 to 21, by race and sex, 1977

*Source:* Computed from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census (1979c); U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1979, tables 5 and 7).

4. Pockets of high unemployment among youth are concentrated in certain groups. Particularly revealing, in view of the concern of this report with the relations between education and the labor market, are the data in Figure 4, which show unemployment rates for recent high school graduates who are not

**Figure 4. Unemployment rates for recent high school graduates (not in college) and school dropouts, by race, October 1977**




*Source:* U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (1978).

enrolled in college and for recent school dropouts. Here we use unemployment rates as generally defined (we fully recognize the many deficiencies in their standard measures), that is, the unemployed as a percentage of members of the group who are in the civilian labor force. As a percentage of the entire cohort, the rates would of course, be much lower. The far higher unemployment rates for blacks are the most striking aspect of the data, but recent white dropouts had a very high rate of unemployment, while single women fared considerably less well than men among the 1976 dropouts (the rate for married women was not published). The unemployment problem for youth is not one of massive denial of jobs across-the-board but of high incidence in specific categories.

5. The problems of unemployment among certain groups of youth will not easily be solved. Full employment, by itself, will not entirely remove their problems. It will take micro- as well as macro-solutions. Unemployment causes social problems, but social problems also cause unemployment.

6. We call attention to the 5.7 percent of the age cohort that is not in any other category. A few of these young people may be in school on a part-time basis, but it is unlikely that this number is significant, because, when asked why they were out of the labor force, young people in this group did not give school as a reason (nor being a homemaker nor being unable to work). They gave "other reasons." Within this "very miscellaneous" category are "discouraged workers" who have withdrawn from jobseeking and "alienated" persons who have withdrawn from participation in organized society. They are not just out of school and out of the labor force; they are "out of society." Figure 3 shows that this group is considerably higher among nonwhites—both male and female—than among whites. It also shows that relatively more nonwhite than white men are in the armed forces, under institutional care or confinement (including those who are incarcerated), and unable to work. Thus, it is not just unemployment that accounts for the lower proportion of nonwhite men who are employed.

The gravest problems are among the long-term unemployed (1.3 percent) and the "out-of-society" group (5.7 percent), which total about 7 percent of youth (16-21) or about 1.8 million persons, with 80 percent of this total in the "out-of-society" category. We say "among" because these are not homogeneous groups and some members may be in quite satisfactory situations, as, for example, in viable communes.

The public attention directed at unemployment has obscured the many other and more serious problems. Youth in America is not suffering from a single malady (unemployment), and no single patent medicine (full employment) will cure the many illnesses. We have instead a growth, more like a cancer in our body politic—causes not fully known, cure not fully known. But it creates great pain in the suffering of ruined lives, crime, drug addiction, lost hopes, social fears, reduced productivity, raised social expenditures, and disdain for authority.

The concentration on unemployment has largely buried from sight the deeper problems. This has been a disservice to the American people. We face a cancer, not a common cold.

The youth problem is more manageable than it has looked because the numbers are smaller than had been assumed and will become still smaller; but it is more intractable, involves more of the many facets of our society, requires more kinds of solutions—more ingenuity, more determination and devotion, more understanding.

7. We make these general points as background for our recommendations:

There are many youth problems.

Unemployment has been only one of them; and, where it has been most intense, it will not easily evaporate.

The "out-of-everything" group may constitute an even more severe problem than the unemployed—the latter at least are still trying to get a job.

8. Constructive activities by individual youths, in some situations, cost the public in expenditures per young person less than the nonconstructive use of time:[3]

[3]For an earlier effort at comparisons, see Alan Pifer (1971).

| *Constructive* | | *Nonconstructive* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Employment | $0 | Unemployment | $ 1,500 |
| High school | $ 2,500 | Juvenile incarceration | $18,000 |
| College | 2,000 | | |
| Military | 10,500 | | |
| Peace Corps | 15,000 | | |
| Vista volunteers | 6,700 | | |
| | CETA | $4,000-$8,000 | |

It obviously costs the public far less to have young persons in school or at work than in jail.

9. Federal government expenditures for education and employment are far higher for a low-income youth attending college than for a low-income youth who is still in high school or who has dropped out of high school, as a special report prepared by the Congressional Budget Office at the request of Senator Harrison Williams, chairman of the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources, shows:

*Federal expenditures on education and employment per young person*

| | *Low-income youth*[4] | *All youth* |
|---|---|---|
| In college | $1,940 | $675 |
| In high school | 278 | 97 |
| High school dropout | 339 | 168 |
| High school graduate | 238 | 78 |
| College dropout | 51 | 21 |

The data show that the disparities are wide for all youth, but they are especially significant for low-income youth, because problems of unemployment and dropping out are particularly severe among low-income youth.

The low level of federal expenditures on low-income in-

[4]Low-income youth include those in the lowest one-fifth in terms of family income. The data are from a press release issued by Senator Williams, July 12, 1979.

school youth largely reflects the fact that expenditures under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 and other child development and child care programs are heavily targeted toward prekindergarten, kindergarten, and elementary school children and not toward secondary school students:

| | *Estimated total expenditures (FY 1980) (thousands)* | *Per participant* | *Per student* |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Title I* | | | |
| Prekindergarten and kindergarten | $ 344 (10%) | $787 | n.a. |
| Grades 1 to 6 | 2,469 (71%) | 782 | $133 |
| Grades 7 to 12 | 671 (19%) | 778 | 35 |
| *Vocational Education* | | | |
| Grades 7 to 12 | 498 | 199 | 24 |

Federal expenditures on vocational education go a little way toward redressing the balance between elementary and secondary education, but, as we show in Section 7, could be used more effectively.[5]

These priorities appear doubtful to us, in view of the serious problems of absenteeism and dropping out in grades 10, 11, and 12; and in view of deficits in basic skills. Federal money is not now being spent in proportions that are geared to the intensity of the problems.

### Fundamental Concerns

10. We concentrate our attention on the years 16 to 21 when the problems of transition to adulthood are most intense. The most troublesome years are 16 to 17, when we are most likely to "lose the game" with and for some youth--when some

[5]Our estimates of the allocation of Title I funds are based on Larson and others (1977, p. 26) and assume the same number of participants as in 1973-74. However, data prepared by the Congressional Budget Office for Senator Williams indicate that only 5 percent of Title I funds nationwide are expended on secondary students.

youth clearly advance but others clearly retrogress. The most dangerous hours are weekdays 2:00 to 6:00 p.m., between the time when many, even most, students "split" from school and the time the parent or parents arrive home from work.

We also concentrate on the areas of schooling, work, and service.

We acknowledge that many problems originate before age 16 and continue after age 21. We also acknowledge that there are many problems for youth outside of schooling, work, and service—in areas of family life, urban living, temptations of drugs and alcohol, uncertainties about the future, lack of respect for the performance of many social institutions, and others.

We note, in particular, that a lot of the problems that have become endemic in many high schools have moved down into some junior high schools, including lack of discipline, absenteeism, vandalism, and use of drugs.

11. We note that a society based on industrial pursuits creates very special difficulties for young persons (as also for the aged—less engaged than in earlier societies in productive labor and less embraced by family ties). For youths, the transition from childhood to adulthood has at least four relatively new and troublesome aspects:

- The transition from school to work is very abrupt. In preindustrial societies, as on the farm or in the family shop, school and work were more melded; there was no sharp break from 100 percent of one to 100 percent of the other. The transition is also more uncertain. Far fewer young persons follow in the footsteps of their parents. Many more possible careers are open before them, but none of them are assured.
- The transition is also very long. We have greatly prolonged youth—the period from adolescence to adulthood. We have created what might be called "compulsory youth"—a substantial time between dependence and independence, a twilight zone of uncertainty and ambiguity of status. There are some good explanations of why this period is now longer; among

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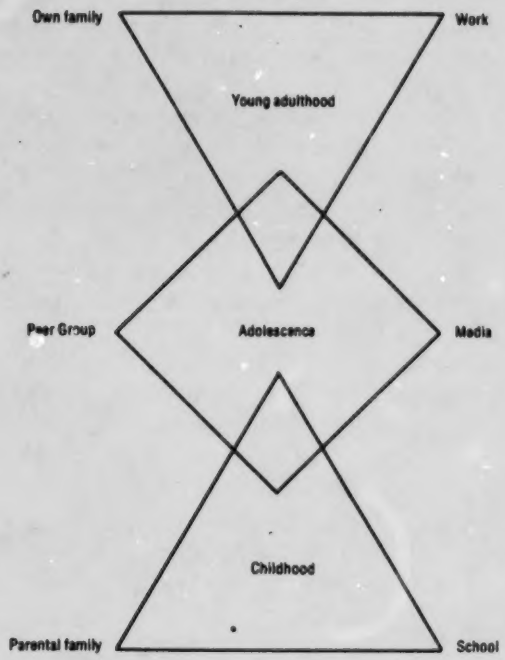
them, in particular, is that biological maturity comes earlier and full acceptance by the institutions of the adult world comes later. And it does take more time than in earlier days to accumulate job skills; to try out the market to see what it wants and what the young person realistically has to offer; to make decisions about lifestyle as well as vocation; to decide on geographical location and possible life companions. We have created a new stage of young adulthood.

- No institution has a clear and fully accepted responsibility for following the welfare of persons through the stage of young adulthood. The influences of the parental family and also of the school have often declined by this stage of life, and youths have not yet established their own families and their own more or less permanent job connections. It is often particularly difficult for them to move from jobs in the insecure, unstructured, secondary labor market to the more structured, primary market.
- Youths are often left largely to the guidance, companionship, and mercy of their peers and the electronic media (Figure 5). They have not yet been embraced by the welfare employer and the welfare union; or, as for the aged, by the welfare state. In a highly organized society, this condition of comparative neglect adds to personal freedom, but it also has its grave perils for those who, for one reason or another, are unable or unwilling to make good use of that freedom.

12. Specifically, these are our major concerns:

- Reducing dropouts and absenteeism in high school.
- Improving basic skills of high school graduates.
- Giving high school students an opportunity to develop useful work habits.
- Reducing the alienating aspects of the high school experience.
- Easing the transition from high school to the labor market.
- Improving the paths into higher education.
- Improving the paths into military service.
- Creating many more opportunities for other forms of service by youth.

**Figure 5. Changing patterns of influence on youth**




*Source:* Kerr (1977, p. 141).

13. We accept, for the purposes of this report, among other aspects of the environment, the following as "givens," whether we like them or not (and some of them we do not like):

- More one-parent families, and more mothers at work.
- The high attractiveness of "street life" for some young people; the high returns for participation in the "subterranean" economy, in "off-the-books" activities; the easy choice of full-time leisure.

- The difficulty the schools and jobs have in competing with the automobile, TV, the radio, drugs, the disco parlors; even with the free and "adult" life of living on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC—given to unmarried or separated young women with children).
- The temporary, dead-end nature of many of the jobs in the unstructured labor market that provide most of the openings for young persons, the unattractive aspects of many of these jobs, and their comparatively low pay.
- A standard minimum wage that applies also to youths, contrary to the situation in many other countries.
- Continuing competition for youths in the labor market from women newly entering employment and from legal and illegal immigrants.
- Heightened aspirations of youths for the types of jobs that they are willing to accept and a growing sense of the entitlements that society is thought to owe to them.
- The continuing existence of some totally alienated young persons whom our recommendations will not reach.
- The insolubility of some problems—which means that it is best to concentrate on problems that can be solved and on those that can be made more tolerable, even if not fully solved.

14. We emphasize that, just as there is no "youth problem" in the singular, there is also no single entity of "youth." We have found useful the typology of Martin Trow (discussed in more detail in Section 14). It has led us to the development of a related typology that is more quantifiable than Trow's and that bears more directly on our specific concerns:

I. *The Advantaged:* young persons from families in the top two-thirds of the income range and who finish high school.
II. *The Financially Disadvantaged:* young persons from families in the bottom one-third of the income range who finish high school but, where doing so, may impose a financial hardship on their families and where attendance in college does impose such a hardship.
III. *The Socially Deprived:* young persons who do not finish

high school for reasons of social circumstances (family and community deprivations, and social prejudices).

IV. *The Personally Deprived:* young persons who do not finish high school for reasons of personal circumstances (mental, physical, or psychological disabilities).

V. *The Opt-outs:* young persons who do not choose to participate in established educational or economic institutions of society for reasons of personal choice or philosophical orientation.

Schematically our version of the Trow typology is as follows:

| | *High school performance* | |
|---|---|---|
| *Family income* | *Complete* | *Dropout* |
| Top two-thirds | Advantaged | Personally deprived<br>Opt-outs |
| Bottom one-third | Financially disadvantaged | Socially deprived<br>Personally deprived<br>Opt-outs |

We recognize that this is a crude way of categorizing a heterogeneous group of young people. We put forward this classification system, however, because:

*a.* It helps to make the point that we are dealing with more than a monolithic entity of "youth."

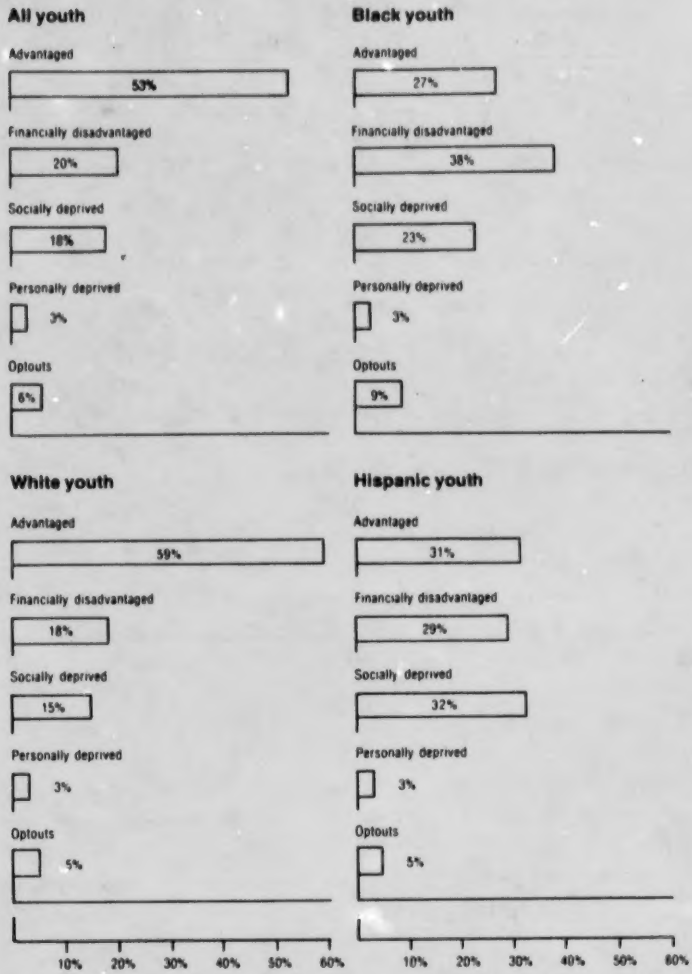
*b.* It makes it possible to quantify these gross classifications and thus to indicate the size of our problem (Figure 6).

*c.* It creates the possibility of relating some of our recommendations, to target groups, as we shall do later.

In particular, we should like to note two problems with this system of classification:

- Young persons may get through high school but not have basic skills in the handling of numbers and language, and thus they may be "internal" dropouts. The external dropout

**Figure 6. Estimated distribution of population aged 16 to 21 by Carnegie typology, by race or ethnic origin**




*Note:* Typology is a modification of Trow's (see Section 14). The percentage shown as "personally deprived" exceeds the percentage classified as "unable to work" or "under institutional care or confinement" in Figure 2, because not all the physically or mentally handicapped are unable to work. Moreover, some of those in institutions are not disabled but are incarcerated.

*Source:* Carnegie Council estimates.

figures do not fully reflect the severity of the problem. Thus, Category III would be somewhat larger if these internal dropouts were added.

- Young persons may, and often do, enter the category of those who withdraw from participation in organized society for reasons of philosophical orientation after they have entered or graduated from college and thus add to the numbers in that category, which also may be understated. Individuals can and do move into and out of this category quite commonly.

We have, however, chosen high school dropout rates as our key figures, because they both reflect past circumstances and future prospects better than any other set of figures; and they are available in precise form. Among blacks, the sizable percentage of opt-outs reduces the percentage of those we define as socially deprived considerably; their social deprivation encourages them to opt out.

In this report we are most specifically concerned with the problems of youth in categories II (Financially Disadvantaged) and III (Socially Deprived), which account for about 38 percent of all youths, or about 9 million persons age 16 to 21.

President Franklin Roosevelt once spoke of "one-third of a nation"[8] as being in deprived circumstances—that figure is now more like one-tenth or one-twentieth. We still have, however, about one-third of our youth ill-educated, ill-employed, ill-equipped to make their way in American society.

We do not wish to suggest that there are no problems for the other two-thirds, for there certainly are. Their problems come in the form more frequently of lack of motivation, boredom, uncertainty and anxiety, lack of faith in the future generally and in their society in particular, lives marked by the mediocrity in their quality and by lack of challenge. But some of these characteristics have marked much of youth in many parts of the world throughout the ages.

[6]"I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished" (Second Inaugural Address, Jan. 20, 1937).

## Priority Recommendations

15. We have chosen to concentrate largely on recommendations of programs:

- that are open to all youth and not just to the more disadvantaged and deprived, although these latter may particularly benefit
- where administrative mechanisms are already in place to effectuate the program
- that are not highly vulnerable to error and abuse
- that have proven successful on trial in the United States or elsewhere
- Where the potential cost is reasonable

We are impressed with the local initiative and successful experiments around the nation and, in particular, cite projects worth emulating in:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Baltimore | Hartford | Milwaukee | Portland |
| Boston | Houston | New York | Seattle |
| Dallas | Los Angeles | Philadelphia | Syracuse |

We are also impressed by the good results that have come from private actions by social welfare and church groups.

We draw on what we consider to be successful programs abroad (see Appendix A) and particularly in:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| China | Germany | Sweden |
| France | Japan | United Kingdom |

By now there is much experience here and abroad with the handling of youth problems, and we believe the time has come to draw on that rich experience in the development of an overall program of attack on these problems.

Our main goal is to present to young persons the reality that "many ways are open to them, no one sanctioned above its alternative, and that upon them and them alone lies the burden of choice" (Mead, 1961, p. 246). We also would like to see the

development of a body of youth, the members of which will know—more so than they now do—when they need more information on which to base their choices and how to get it.

We make these recommendations with the conviction that there has been a plentitude of criticism of youth but a paucity of action to aid youth constructively. American society has been criticism-rich and action-poor.

The recommendations that follow relate to social policy. We wish to emphasize, however, that basic responsibility lies with the family and with the individual young person. Social policy can be greatly improved, but it cannot substitute for good environments in families and good decisions by youths.

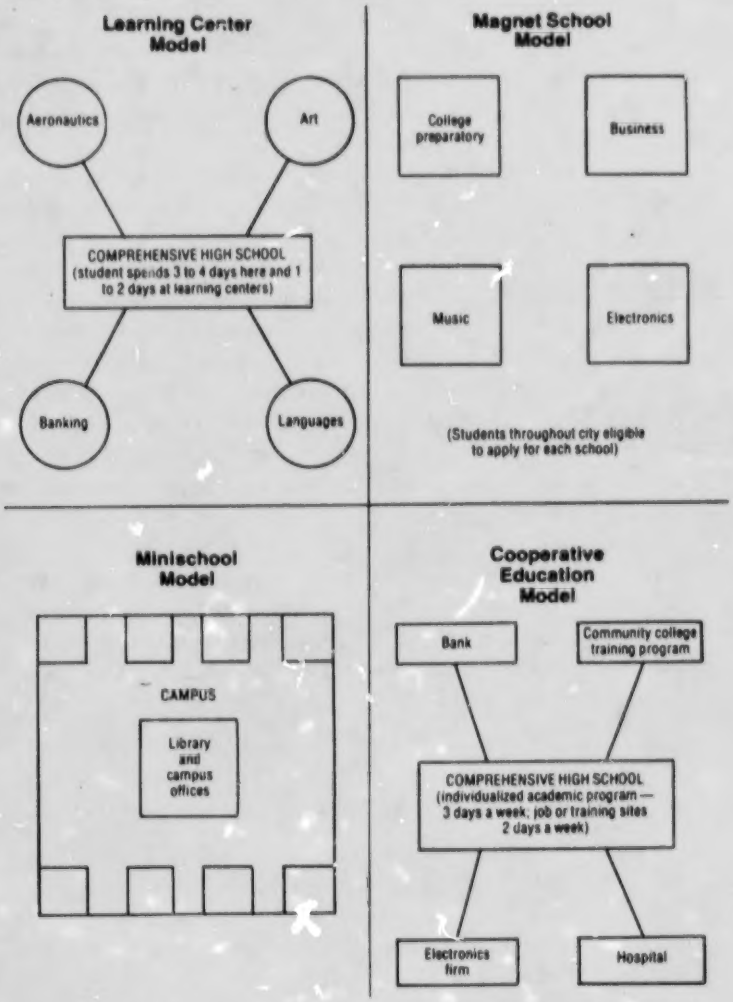
We regret that there are many unknowns about which we wish we could make recommendations that we could have confidence in—particularly, how to prepare and select effective teachers and how to prepare and select effective school administrators. These are absolutely essential ingredients in the performance of schools. It is a tragedy that so little is known about how to ensure their high quality.

1. Make age 16 the age of free choice to leave school, take a job, enter the military service, enter other forms of service, continue in school, enter college, enter an apprenticeship. In particular, we see no clear need for compulsory attendance in school after age 16. At age 21, young persons should be as fully on their own as possible. Special help and the sense of dependency it fosters should not go on indefinitely.

*High Schools*

2. Change the basic structure of high schools by making them smaller or by creating diversity within them or both; by creating full-time specialty schools, particularly for the grades 11 and 12; by creating part-time specialty schools—one or two days a week per student on a rotating basis—by providing one or two days a week for education-related work and/or service. We set forth several such models in Figure 7 and discuss them more fully in Section 8. We must find ways to break up the big, monolithic high school and

**Figure 7. Illustrative models of alternative school plans at the secondary level**




*Source:* Carnegie Council.

its deadly weekly routine. We believe that instruction in basic skills and general knowledge can be concentrated without loss of achievement in three effectively used days per week.

3. Create work and service opportunities for students through the facilities of the high schools, making performance part of the student record. We also favor a renewed emphasis on student out-of-class activities.
4. Stop the tracking of students; all programs should be individualized programs.
5. Put applied skill training in private shops (with the exception of clerical skills and home economics), when not moved to the postsecondary level. The basic vocational (and academic) skills for the high school to concentrate on are the skills of literacy and numeracy—and good work habits.
6. Finance needy students through work-study programs and more effective efforts to place them in jobs.
7. Create job preparation and placement centers in the high schools that will follow students for their first two years after graduation or other termination.
8. Improve the capacity of secondary schools to teach basic skills by allocating more federal funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to secondary schools. We strongly support the "Push for Excellence" program led by Reverend Jesse Jackson.
9. Encourage earlier entry from high school into college and more programs combining the last year or two of high school with college.
10. Experiment with vouchers and greater freedom of choice, particularly among *public* schools. Bureaucratic controls have not assured quality: competition to survive may.

*Postsecondary*

11. Concentrate most applied skill training at the postsecondary level and particularly in the community colleges (in four-year comprehensive colleges where a community college is not in the locality).

12. Create programs in community colleges (and selected comprehensive colleges) where young persons can be prepared for jobs and placed in jobs on a part-time basis while attending college.

    More broadly, the community college should take on a residual responsibility for youth. This can become the sixth great role for the community college in addition to (a) academic transfer programs, (b) technical training, (c) terminal general education, (d) community service programs (instruction in nonacademic, nonvocational subjects as requested by members of the community), and (e) community-based programs (such as conferences, cultural events). It would involve being available to all youths in the community to advise on academic and occupational opportunities, to offer job preparation classes, to make job placements, to work out individual combinations of employment and classroom instruction, to develop and to make referrals to service opportunities, to make referrals to CETA employers, to make referrals to sources of legal and medical advice, to refer to and to create apprenticeship programs. Additional and specialized personnel will be required for this purpose. These might be known as "youth service functions." Youths would be given an institutional base of operation. We badly need better and more encompassing "institutions for the young" (Coleman, 1973, p. 398).
13. Revise student aid programs to target them more to low-income students (as recommended in our recent report on *Next Steps for the 1980s in Student Financial Aid*, 1979).
14. Have all colleges create offices of community services to help students find off-campus service opportunities as part of their work-study assignments or on a volunteer basis.
15. Improve teacher training programs, including workplace experience for teachers.[7]
16. Encourage colleges and universities to assist local schools in basic skills training.

[7]See recommendation of Husen (1979, p. 162).

*Labor Market*

17. Eliminate special "protective" legislation in the employment of youth that restricts the work they can do as compared with adults.
18. Eliminate social security taxes for teenage youth and their employers—making it more profitable for the one to accept employment and the other to offer it.
19. Create nonprofit "job corporations" that will prepare and place students in jobs, and handle their pay and fringe benefits—in effect, acting as contractors for them and making it easier for others to employ them. Care would need to be taken that such an approach did not result in corruption and exploitation.
20. Provide a system of retention bonuses for young persons who have suffered long-term unemployment or heavy turnover to encourage them to stay on jobs, as part of the CETA program and possibly after participation in prior CETA programs.
21. Augment current apprenticeship programs and create new ones including:
    - Civil service apprenticeships
    - Military apprenticeships for 16- and 17-year-olds, and for persons 18 and over not eligible for service but who can be made eligible through such a program.
22. We do not recommend, at this time, a general program of wage subsidies for the employment of youth. Such programs have not proved very effective and appear too open to abuse and error. But we strongly favor training subsidies for employers who provide on-the-job training for disadvantaged youth or who expand apprenticeship opportunities.

*Service*

23. Create a multifaceted voluntary youth service, with initiative for most service projects coming from the local level and with educational benefits attached to the service program.
24. Create a National Educational Fund into which service credits and other contributions can be paid and then drawn

upon later in life. We see a future in which students, with few exceptions, have a chance to earn the subsistence costs of their college education and some (but not always all) of their tuition; a future in which they are on a self-help basis.

25. Keep the draft voluntary. We see no current need for a compulsory draft, although there are possible circumstances when it might become necessary later. We see great problems in making the draft compulsory. We note that military policy, however it develops, will have a crucial impact on all youth policy.

*Community*

26. Develop in every sizable community a work-education council as proposed by Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute (1975, pp. 65ff.), which will bring together school officials and representatives of employers, unions, and public agencies to coordinate programs for youth.

We started this list of recommendations by saying that the age of free choice should be 16, but we have added that free choice should also be among more and better paths:

*a.* Improved high schools
*b.* More assurance of financial support to the needy in attending college
*c.* More opportunities in the labor market and better transition mechanisms into the labor market
*d.* Earlier and easier entry into the military service
*e.* A vast expansion of other service opportunities

The proposals we advance should:

- Marginally aid the Advantaged.
- End the category of the Financially Disadvantaged by providing more opportunities for earnings, work-study grants, and student assistance, particularly in high school since much has already been done at the college level.
- Substantially reduce the category of the Deprived—for rea-

sons of social circumstances, and, perhaps, over time, it can be cut in half. To wipe out this category entirely will take major renovations in living conditions in urban and rural slums, many improvements in the quality of family life, and the end of racial discrimination.

- Slightly affect, if at all, youth deprived for reasons of personal ability.
- Slightly affect, if at all, the numbers of the opt-outs—for reasons of strictly personal choice or for reasons of philosophical orientation. There is an irreduceable number of such youths in any society, and American culture as a whole seems to induce some expansion of this category.

Thus, slightly more than one-quarter of all youth would significantly benefit: the 20 percent who are financially disadvantaged and perhaps one-half of those (or 9 percent of the total) who are socially deprived. This amounts, currently, to 7.3 million persons. Problem groups would still remain, representing the impacts of the most intractable problems of all. However, potentially, nearly all of youth would be aided to some appreciable extent by the measures we support.

The net costs of our suggested programs to the federal government range from $1.4 billion to $1.9 billion in 1980-81, depending on the severity of the current recession. If unemployment rises substantially in 1980, increased expenditures for youth programs will be needed. Several of our proposals, moreover, such as the work-study program and the comprehensive youth service program, call for gradually increasing expenditures during the course of the 1980s, but these rising expenditures should be at least partially offset by reductions in the social costs associated with dropouts, juvenile delinquency, and school security measures, among others.

Against the costs of our proposals, we set greater equality of opportunity for all of our youth; the liberation of talent now lost to society; a higher average level of basic skills; a smoother transition into the world of work; more certainty that most youths will have set before them one or more acceptable choices; the prospect that more youths will reach adulthood prepared to contribute constructively to the welfare of others;

and a declaration that American society is a caring society in relation to its youth.

We need a full-participation society as much as we need a full-employment economy.

16. Should a depression come, we urge quick action on the following in particular:

Item 6—financing needy students in high school
Item 14—targeting student financial aid in college more toward low-income students
Item 21—creation of civil service and military apprenticeships
Item 23—creation of a multifaceted voluntary youth service

The energy crisis adds to the importance of trying to hold students in high school in the afternoons, as compared with "tooling around," and to reduce absenteeism:

Item 2—breaking the deadly weekly routine
Item 3—creating work and service opportunities
Item 9—creating opportunities to get an early start on college-credit studies

17. We see, overall, a better future for most youth—even a much better future—for the next two decades than the past two, barring war and depression; the most favored generation since the 1950s. The possibility, and we think the likelihood, of better social policies is one reason. The certainty of a deficit of youth—and the resultant competition to attract young persons by colleges, by employers, by the military, by the churches, and by the unions—is another reason. There should be and can be more and better choices for youth; less segregation of youth from age, of race from race, of education from work and service, of youth from employment, of opportunities for the poor from those for the rich; less sense that youths are "outsiders" in relation to the rest of society—unwanted and often uncared for. These developments can help to restore some of the largely lost challenge to youth that you "have the world before you."

# Appendix

## List of Experts on Aspects of Youth Problems

The following experts on the problems of youth education and employment provided assistance and counsel in the preparation of this report.

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Michael Timpane
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National Institute of Education

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Donald Vial
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California Department of Industrial Relations

Roger Yarrington
Vice-President
American Association of Community and Junior Colleges

Barbara Yoder
Director
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City of Berkeley, California

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*Roy Radner, Charlotte V. Kuh*

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*John T. Grasso, John R. Shea*

Dr. DUNHAM. I would like to spend just a half minute on some background comments, then turn to the question of why would a council on higher studies in higher education address noncollege youth problems?

Third, I will talk for just a minute or two of what I see as the significance of this report; and fourth, deal very generally and quickly with some of the major recommendations; then mention this report in connection with the President's youth initiative as we heard described in last night's state of the Union address.

Clark Kerr, the chairman of the Carnegie studies, regrets he cannot be here. He is the one who should really be talking about this; I am a poor substitute. My own background in school problems, however, might have some bearing, in that I did work with James B. Conant back in the late fifties and early sixties. This was a long time ago, but I think there is relevance, particularly with regard to the book "Slums and Suburbs." I take credit for the phrase "social dynamite" referring to unemployed out-of-school youth. I am afraid that phrase is just as apt today as it was then.

The report itself was released in November. It has received a great deal of attention. There have been hundreds of editorials written all over the country; there are many in agreement. The report itself is in its third printing.

Just Monday night, the Institute for Educational Leadership run by Sam Halpern held a staff seminar here in Washington. There were 150 administrative and legislative aides who tried to attend the session; they could only take 60. Youth is a hot issue here in Washington at the present time.

Now, why would a council on policy studies in higher education do a report on noncollege youth? This goes back about 5 years ago. There are really three reasons. First of all, higher education is beginning to be recognized as inheriting a series of problems which the schools had been involved with for some time, lower test scores, complaints about boys and girls who could not read and write adequately.

Second and more important perhaps is that the members of the Carnegie Council had a sense of guilt. Why guilt? Because of the inequity of distribution of resources spent on college youth as opposed to noncollege youth.

Then third—and I think most important, perhaps—has to do with the changing demographics of the youth population. I think this is very important. As you are well aware, we are now moving from an era of youth surplus to youth deficit over the next 20 years. We are involved with an aging society. We have a smaller youth cohort, something like a 23- to 25-percent drop overall. That means there will be fewer young people to do more work, fewer people to do the work of the society.

The Carnegie Council estimates by the year 2000, 30 percent of that youth cohort, that smaller youth cohort, will be minorities. In short, it will be young people who traditionally have not participated fully in the social and economic life of the country.

We face a practical type of crisis. Social justice and affirmative action are reasons enough to do something significant with youth, but as a practical matter, this country can afford no educational casualties, no employment casualties over the course of the next 20

years. We do not have enough young people; we have to make the most of what we have. The Carnegie Council estimates at the present time that one-third of our youth aged 16 to 21 are ill-educated, ill-employed, ill-equipped to make their way in American life. We are in the process of creating a permanent underclass in the United States. In my view, we have a major crisis on hand.

Sputnik was mentioned. What Sputnik was to the late 1950's, I would suggest the demographic change is to the 1980's. I think it is that serious a problem.

The significance of this report, in my view, its significance rests primarily with its comprehensiveness; it deals with school problems, employment problems, and problems with youth service. My own observation is that in talking about youth, we too often tend to think of particular avenues of approach, either through the schools or through employment or through national service routes. As you know, there have been hundreds of reports on all three of these areas. In my view, this is the most comprehensive, the most thorough and complete analysis available covering all the areas, putting them together in a comprehensive program.

The report reviews research, reviews Government programs, local experiments. There are dozens of consultants involved. There were two major international conferences held over the last couple of years. As you know, all the industrial nations of the world are now facing something of a youth crisis. The transition from youth to adulthood is a problem. The main focus but not the complete focus in this report is on disadvantaged youth. The report would affect all youth in their transition from youth to adulthood. The report estimates it would affect one-third of the 16- to 21-year-old youth in the United States.

The recommendations have to do with social policy. The council recognizes full well the basic responsibility will lie with the families of individual young people. Social policy can be improved, but it cannot substitute good home environments as well as good decisions by youth themselves. The council regrets it makes no recommendations with confidence as to how to prepare and select effective teachers and administrators. The council recognizes the importance of what Scott Thomson has said about the principal. How you select these people is important.

The following are recommendations with respect to schools:

One. Make age 16 the age of free choice to leave school, take a job, enter the military service, enter other forms of service, continue in school, enter college, enter an apprenticeship. In particular, we see no clear need for compulsory attendance in school after age 16. At age 21, young persons should be as fully on their own as possible. Special help and the sense of dependency it fosters should not go on indefinitely.

HIGH SCHOOLS

Two. Change the basic structure of high schools by making them smaller or by creating diversity within them or both; by creating full-time specialty schools, particularly for the grades 11 and 12; by creating part-time specialty schools—1 or 2 days a week per student on a rotating basis—by providing 1 or 2 days a week for education-related work and/or service. We must find ways to break

up the big, monolithic high school and its deadly weekly routine. We believe that instruction in basic skills and general knowledge can be concentrated without loss of achievement in 3 effectively used days per week.

Three. Create work and service opportunities for students through the facilities of the high schools, making performance part of the student record. We also favor a renewed emphasis on student out-of-class activities.

Four. Stop the tracking of students; all programs should be individualized programs.

Five. Put applied skill training in private shops—with the exception of clerical skills and home economics, when not moved to the postsecondary level. The basic vocational—and academic—skills for the high school to concentrate on are the skills of literacy and numeracy—and good work habits.

Six. Finance needy students through work-study programs and more effective efforts to place them in jobs.

Seven. Create job preparation and placement centers in the high schools that will follow students for their first 2 years after graduation or other termination.

Eight. Improve the capacity of secondary schools to teach basic skills by allocating more Federal funds under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to secondary schools.

Nine. Encourage earlier entry from high school into college and more programs combining the last year or two of high school with college.

Ten. Experiment with vouchers and greater freedom of choice, particularly among public schools. Bureaucratic controls have not assured quality; competition to survive may.

POSTSECONDARY

Eleven. Concentrate most applied skill training at the postsecondary level and particularly in the community colleges; in 4-year comprehensive colleges where a community college is not in the locality.

Twelve. Create programs in community colleges and selected comprehensive colleges where young persons can be prepared for jobs and placed in jobs on a part-time basis while attending college.

More broadly, the community college should take on a residual responsibility for youth. This can become the sixth great role for the community college in addition to (*a*) academic transfer programs, (*b*) technical training, (*c*) terminal general education, (*d*) community service programs—instruction in nonacademic, nonvocational subjects as requested by members of the community, and (*e*) community-based programs, such as conferences, cultural events. It would involve being available to all youths in the community to advise on academic and occupational opportunities, to offer job-preparation classes, to make job placements, to work out individual combinations of employment and classroom instruction, to develop and to make referrals to service opportunities, to make referrals to CETA employers, to make referrals to sources of legal and medical advice, to refer to and to create apprenticeship programs. Additional and specialized personnel will be required for

this purpose. These might be known as "youth service functions." Youths would be given an institutional base of operation. We badly need better and more encompassing "institutions for the young."

Thirteen. Revise student aid programs to target them more to low-income students.

Fourteen. Have all colleges create offices of community services to help students find offcampus service opportunities as part of their work-study assignments or on a volunteer basis.

Fifteen. Improve teacher training programs, including workplace experience for teachers.

Sixteen. Encourage colleges and universities to assist local schools in basic skills training.

### LABOR MARKET

Seventeen. Eliminate special "protective" legislation in the employment of youth that restricts the work they can do as compared with adults.

Eighteen. Eliminate social security taxes for teenage youth and their employers—making it more profitable for the one to accept employment and the other to offer it.

Nineteen. Create nonprofit job corporations that will prepare and place students in jobs, and handle their pay and fringe benefits—in effect, acting as contractors for them and making it easier for others to employ them. Care would need to be taken that such an approach did not result in corruption and exploitation.

Twenty. Provide a system of retention bonuses for young persons who have suffered long-term unemployment or heavy turnover to encourage them to stay on jobs, as part of the CETA program and possibly after participation in prior CETA programs.

Twenty-one. Augment current apprenticeship programs and create new ones including: Civil service apprenticeships, military apprenticeships for 16- and 17-year-olds, and for persons 18 and over not eligible for service but who can be made eligible through such a program.

Twenty-two. We do not recommend, at this time, a general program of wage subsidies for the employment of youth. Such programs have not proved very effective and appear too open to abuse and error. But we strongly favor training subsidies for employers who provide on-the-job training for disadvantaged youth or who expand apprenticeship opportunities.

### SERVICE

Twenty-three. Create a multifaceted voluntary youth service, with initiative for most service projects coming from the local level and with educational benefits attached to the service program.

Twenty-four. Create a national educational fund into which service credits and other contributions can be paid and then drawn upon later in life. We see a future in which students, with few exceptions, have a chance to earn the subsistence costs of their college education and some, but not always all of their tuition; a future in which they are on a self-help basis.

Twenty five. Keep the draft voluntary. We see no current need for a compulsory draft, although there are possible circumstances

when it might become necessary later. We see great problems in making the draft compulsory. We note that military policy, however it develops, will have a crucial impact on all youth policy.

COMMUNITY

Twenty-six. Develop in every sizable community a work-education council as proposed by Wirtz and the National Manpower Institute, which will bring together school officials and representatives of employers, unions, and public agencies to coordinate programs for youth.

Let me underline the importance of that. It involves schools, employment, and service, which in turn means the cooperation of all the various agencies.

We started this list of recommendations by saying that the age of free choice should be 16, but we have added that free choice should also be among more and better paths (a) improved high schools; (b) more assurance of financial support to the needy in attending college; (c) more opportunities in the labor market and better transition mechanisms into the labor market; (d) earlier and easier entry into the military service; and (e) a vast expansion of other service opportunities.

The proposals we advance should:

Marginally aid the advantaged.

End the category of the financially disadvantaged by providing more opportunities for earnings, work-study grants, and student assistance, particularly in high school since much has already been done at the college level.

Substantially reduce the category of the deprived—for reasons of social circumstances, and, perhaps, over time, it can be cut in half. To wipe out this category entirely will take major renovations in living conditions in urban and rural slums, many improvements in the quality of family life, and the end of racial discrimination.

Slightly affect, if at all, youth deprived for reasons of personal ability.

Slightly affect, if at all, the numbers of the opt-outs—for reasons of strictly personal choice or for reasons of philosophical orientation. There is an irreduceable number of such youths in any society, and American culture as a whole seems to induce some expansion of this category.

Thus, slightly more than one-quarter of all youth would significantly benefit: the 20 percent who are financially disadvantaged and perhaps one-half of those or 9 percent of the total, who are socially deprived. This amounts, currently, to 7.3 million persons. Problem groups would still remain, representing the impacts of the most intractable problems of all. However, potentially, nearly all of youth would be aided to some appreciable extent by the measures we support.

The net costs of our suggested programs to the Federal Government range from $1.4 billion to $1.9 billion in 1980–81, depending on the severity of the current recession. If unemployment rises substantially in 1980, increased expenditures for youth programs will be needed. Several of our proposals, moreover, such as the work-study program and the comprehensive youth service program,

call for gradually increasing expenditures during the course of the 1980's, but these rising expenditures should be at least partially offset by reductions in the social costs associated with dropouts, juvenile delinquency, and school security measures, among others.

Against the costs of our proposals, we set greater equality of opportunity for all of our youth; the liberation of talent now lost to society; a higher average level of basic skills; a smoother transition into the world of work; more certainty that most youths will have set before them one or more acceptable choices; the prospect that more youths will reach adulthood prepared to contribute constructively to the welfare of others; and a declaration that American society is a caring society in relation to its youth.

We need a full-participation society as much as we need a full-employment economy.

It is my understanding that the President has called for roughly an extra $2 billion to be spent in youth initiative, perhaps the only new major domestic initiative his administration will put forward. What I understand is that he put forth that amount, that he has given general direction, but that the program is unclear. I would submit that here is a program which offers just what the President has been talking about and within the very price range the President is talking about. I think it is a report worthy of consideration by Congress.

[EDITOR'S NOTE. The paragraphs in the written statement which were omitted in oral testimony follows:]

Attached are two tables that show the impact of Carnegie Council recommendations upon the costs of selected federal youth programs in both the Education and Labor departments.

Finally, one might note that the Council's recommended federal outlay of an additional $1.4-$1.9 billion is obviously in line with the administration's recently announced request for an additional $2 billion for youth programs. The Council report could well provide the basis for the allocation of these funds between education and labor and among the many alternatives.

Table 3. Selected federal youth programs: Carnegie Council recommendations for new or reallocated expenditures, 1980-81 compared with 1979-80 (in millions of constant [1979] dollars)

| *Programs* | *Administration budget for 1979-80*[a] | *Council recommendation for 1980-81* |
|---|---|---|
| U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare | | |
| Increased funds for secondary schools under Title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act | $3,478.0 | $3,978.0 |
| Vocational education—change name of act to Occupational Skills and Work-Study Act; add $300 million for work-study and reallocate $300 million for 75 percent matching grants for work experience, cooperative education, and related programs | 682.0 | 982.0 |
| Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education—increase allocated for programs of colleges and universities to aid disadvantaged youth | 14.0 | 20.0 |
| Teacher Corps | 37.5 | 40.0 |
| Push for Excellence | 1.0 | 2.0 |
| Trio Programs | 150.0 | 150.0 |
| Total for selected programs | $4,342.5 | $5,172.0 |
| Net increase | | $ 829.5 |

Table 5. Selected federal youth programs: Carnegie Council recommendations for new or reallocated expenditures, 1980-81 compared with 1979-80 (in millions of constant [1979] dollars)

| *Programs* | *Administration budget for 1979-80* | *Council recommendation for 1980-81* |
|---|---|---|
| U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare | | |
| Total for selected programs included in Table 3 | $4,342.5 | $5,172.0 |
| National Youth Service Foundation (incorporating ACTION) | 105.0 (ACTION) | 705.0 (NYSF) |
| U.S. Department of Labor | | |
| Employment and Training Administration | | |
| Special programs for youth | 2,131.0 | 2,131.0 to 2,631.0[a] |
| Total for selected programs | 6,578.5 | 8,008.0 to 8,508.0 |
| Net increase | | 1,429.5 to 1,929.5 |

Thank you.

Mr. ERDAHL. Thank you very much.

We want to welcome Mr. Miller of California who has joined us up here.

Mr. ERDAHL. We will next hear from Dr. Harold Hodgkinson, president, National Training Laboratories.

## STATEMENT OF DR. HAROLD HODGKINSON, PRESIDENT, NATIONAL TRAINING LABORATORIES

Dr. HODGKINSON. I am Harold Hodgkinson, president, National Training Laboratories. Also in my past, I have been a high school teacher.

My report consists of six pages of material, which I would like permission to read, and five tables, and then an article which I published in November called "What is Right with Education?" It is in the third printing.

I would like to have that included for the record.

Mr. ERDAHL. Without objection that will be done.

[The attachments to Harold Hodgkinson's statement follow:]

FACT-FILE

# Changing Numbers in High-School Graduating Classes

**Projections show decline in all but 10 states between 1979 and 1995**

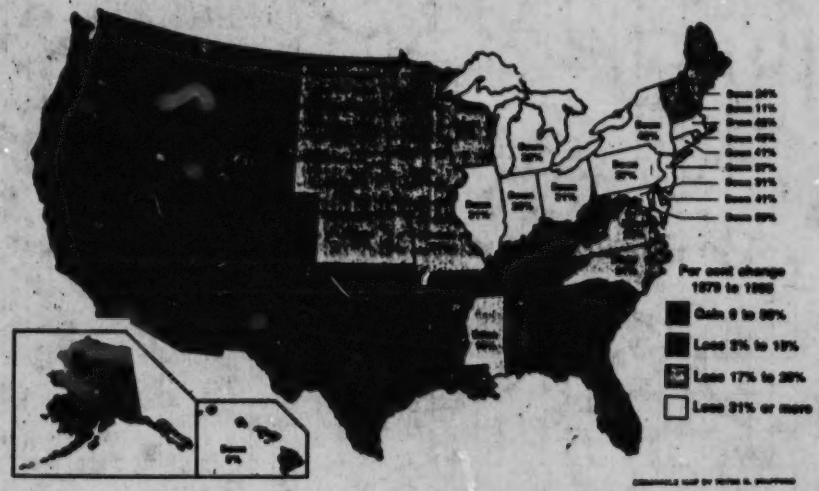
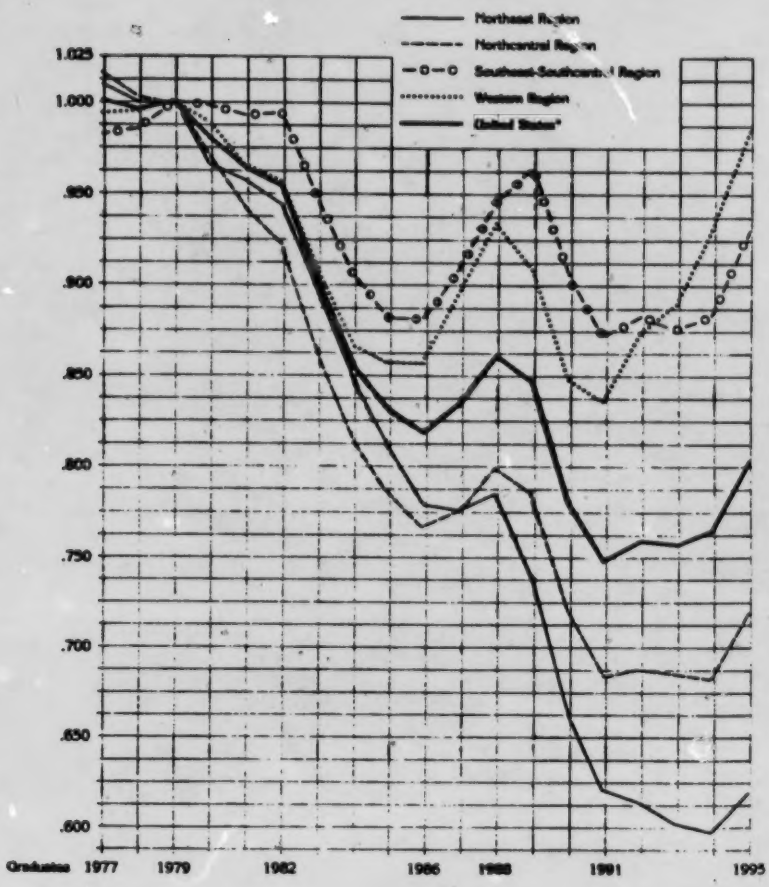


**Figure 3**
**Pattern of High School Graduates by Region, 1977-1995**



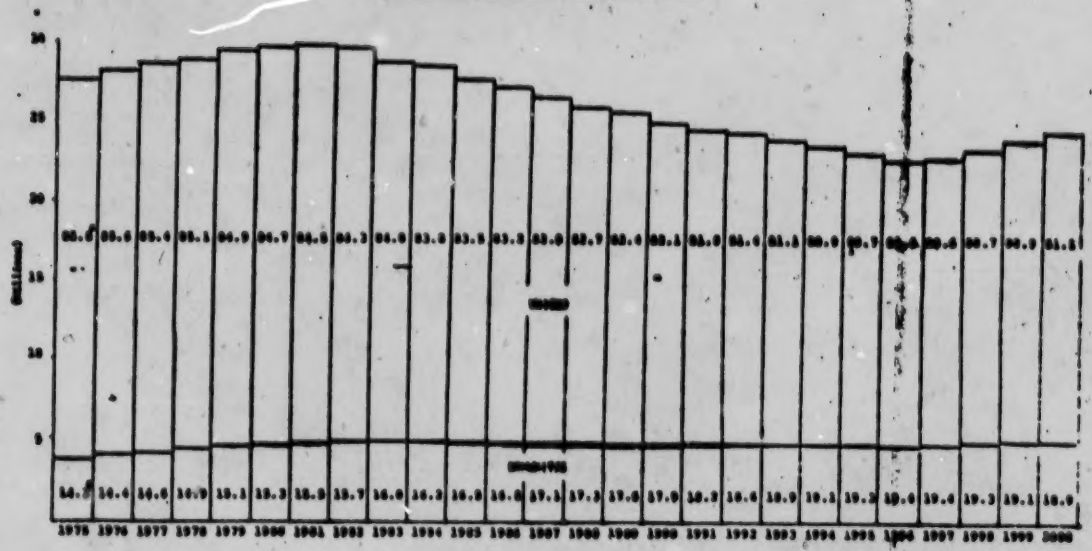

*Based on sum of projections for states

19

EXHIBIT 2

TRENDS IN THE 18-24-YEAR-OLD POPULATION, 1975-2000,

INCLUDING PROPORTIONS OF WHITES AND HISPANICS




[a]In 1975, 85.8 percent of the total 18-24-year-old population (27.6 million) were White; 14.2 percent were available according to Census classifications.

SOURCE: Same as Exhibit 1.



57-261 O - 80 - 15

"HOW WOULD YOU GRADE THE SCHOOLS IN YOUR COMMUNITY:
A, B, C, D, OR F?"

| | COLORADO | IDAHO | MICHIGAN | OREGON | AVERAGE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A | 19% | 11% | 15% | 18% | 16% | |
| B | 39% | 45% | 35% | 38% | 39% | 84% |
| C | 29% | 28% | 31% | 27% | 29% | |
| D | 6% | 10% | 12% | 10% | 10% | |
| F | 6% | 6% | 7% | 7% | 6% | |

(ECS - FINANCE FACTS, OCTOBER, 1979, DENVER)

HIGH SCHOOL COMPLETION RATES:

| | 1950 | 1978 |
|---|---|---|
| BLACK | 25% | 75% |
| WHITE | 56% | 85% |

Reprinted from the November 1979 KAPPAN

# What's Right with Education

by Harold Hodgkinson

*Evidence of the success of the public schools and colleges is very clear, says the former head of the National Institute of Education. But we haven't done very well in teaching the citizenry about these successes.*

Let's start with the problem: Compared with other professions, education is an easy mark for any journalist trying to score points. This tendency caused William Grinker of the *Washington Post* to respond with a fierce commentary on his colleagues called "Stop Knocking Our Public Schools."

By contrast, when we think of medicine we think of elaborate surgical techniques (which are good), not of Americans' health (which is very bad). We are now fourteenth in the world in infant mortality and losing; driving from Harlem to Forest Hills is to move from 41 infant deaths per 1,000 births to 14. There are few nations in the world in which one can take a drive like that. Males in 18 other countries live longer than in the U.S. And in Los Angeles, when surgeons went on strike, the death rate went down!

Indeed, the damage done by doctors and lawyers is so extreme — burial or execution — that their professions seldom allow the public to see this information. (How many Americans are seriously damaged by lawyers every year?) Education is particularly vulnerable in this regard, as we must report data on every student-"client" for every day that person is being educated. That data is in the public domain. We have almost no facts on the performance of many of today's non-school education programs in assisting youth — CETA and Job Corps, for example, and community-based programs.

The press is not necessarily hostile toward education; it's just that we hand them such excellent information on our failures. What follows is an attempt to correct that balance, to present evidence of the very real and solid accomplishments of America's schools and colleges.

### Opinion Surveys

Any careful reading of the poll literature establishes several things:

Decline in American faith in institutions is not a new development. It began in 1967 and is linked to the pervasive effects of inflation on savings and the "American Way." Harris polls show that faith in the leadership of seven social and political institutions such as major business corporations, Congress, and medicine dropped an average of 34 percentage points between 1967 and 1972 (see Table 1).

Compared to other institutions, schools rate very high in the confidence of Americans. Proposition 13 to the contrary, one-third of all Americans would actually pay *more* taxes for improved services from schools, more than any other institution. Twenty percent would pay more for community colleges (see Table 2). Many people would be willing to pay for more research on the educational system and would *actually pay more taxes for better public schools.*

**Table 1. Harris Poll Showing Percentage of Americans Who Express Faith in U.S. Social and Political Institutions, 1967 and 1972**

| | 1967 % | 1972 % |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Faith in leadership of major business corporations | 55 | 27 |
| 2. Faith in banks and other financial institutions | 67 | 37 |
| 3. Faith in the military | 62 | 27 |
| 4. Faith in the Congress | 41 | 19 |
| 5. Faith in the chief executive | 41 | 23 |
| 6. Faith in the scientific community | 55 | 32 |
| 7. Faith in medical doctors | 73 | 61 |

*Source: Social Education*, March 1972.

**Table 2. Public Opinion On Support of Government Services**

| | Would Cut % | Would Hold % | Would Increase % |
|---|---|---|---|
| Recreation, parks | 22.0 | 56.4 | 18.0 |
| Police & fire | 4.2 | 62.0 | 30.8(2) |
| Sanitation | 5.9 | 72.1 | 11.6 |
| Public schools | 13.3 | 48.7 | 31.3(1) |
| Community colleges | 16.5 | 53.9 | 20.0 |
| Welfare services | 61.8 | 25.4 | 8.8 |
| Health & medical | 16.6 | 48.1 | 30.8(3) |
| Streets & highways | 18.5 | 56.0 | 16.3 |
| Day care | 34.0 | 48.6 | 20.3 |
| Libraries | 14.7 | 63.0 | 15.0 |
| None of the services | 30.0 | 3.8 | 28.0(3) |

*Source:* Education Commission of the States, *Finance Facts*, February 1979.

The most important indicator of improved quality of life for Americans is "achieving a quality education for my children."[1] Eighty-nine percent of all respondents to a 1976 Harris poll agreed on this point.

### Performances of The Education System

*Openness of the System* — We forget that as recently as 1930 only about half of all white students and a quarter of black

*HAROLD HODGKINSON (Harvard University Chapter) is president, National Training Laboratories, Arlington, Va. He was director of the National Institute of Education, 1976-79, and executive director, Professional Institute, American Management Association, 1970-75. Portions of this article were presented as the Cook Memorial Lecture at the Thirty-seventh Phi Delta Kappa Biennial Council in St. Louis on 19 October 1979. A slide-tape presentation using the same title but presenting more data than can be offered in this article is available from Phi Delta Kappa. (For rental and purchase information, write or call Director of Program Development, Phi Delta Kappa, Box 789, Bloomington, IN 47402. Ph. 812/339-1156.)*

**In 1950 only 50% of white and 25% of black students finished high school. The figures are now 85% and 75% — and academic performance is actually *higher*.**

students graduated from high school (so the school didn't need to worry about the "lower half"). Today 85% of whites and 75% of blacks complete high school. The "lower half" is now very much a responsibility of the public schools — and increasingly of the colleges as well.

The remarkable thing, as shown by a comparison of Indiana high school students in 1944 and in 1976, is that academic performance is slightly better in 1976, even though today's scores represent a much wider range of student backgrounds than was the case in 1944.[3]

Access to college has increased markedly for women and minorities in the last decade. They now are present in college in about the numbers they represent in the population at large (see Table 3). And 1.5 million Americans over age 55 are in colleges and universities today, according to the American Association of Retired Persons (reporting on an institute on lifelong learning held in January 1979).

**Table 3. College Enrollment By Sex and Race, 1970-78**

| | 1970 | 1978 | Change |
|---|---|---|---|
| Black | 520,000 | 1,100,000 | +580,000 |
| White | 7,400,000 | 10,000,000 | +2,600,000 |
| Female | 3,000,000 | 4,700,000 | +1,700,000 |
| Male | 4,930,000 | 6,400,000 | +1,480,000 |
| Total students | 7,920,000 | 11,100,000 | +3,180,000 |
| % black | 6.5% | 9.9% | |
| % female | 37.8% | 42.3% | |

*Source:* Conference Board Report, December 1977.

This diversity means that we need new ways of measuring achievement, as we move from meritocratic to egalitarian commitments. Today we must be able to affirm specific knowledge and skill gains for every student rather than rely solely on group means. "Every high school graduate must be able to read at least at the tenth-grade level" is the current requirement. Not long ago it was, "We only take the top 20%, regardless of performance level." Employers now rely on increasingly specific measures of actual job knowledge and skills, not educational degrees attained.

### Some Success Stories

One of the best recent studies of schooling is *The Enduring Effects of Education*.[4] It tested 18,000 adults of a wide age range on 250 items of general and specific knowledge. The conclusion: The longer you stay in school, the more you know. A 60-year-old high school graduate knows more than a person of the same age who only completed elementary school. Schools teach people things, and these effects last.

Increased years of schooling for blacks have had a major impact on their earning capacity. A recent study has reported that although blacks still make less than whites for the same job, the gap is narrowing for black males; and black women now make 100% of white women's salaries. (Remember, however, that women still make less than men.) The major reason for the improved earnings is increased number of years of schooling, and improvements in the quality of education for black students, according to a Rand Corporation study.[5]

Literally thousands of communities have desegregated their schools without either violence or declines in student performance. Indeed, the Southeast, now better desegregated than most regions of the U.S., is showing marked improvement in tests of academic skill.

### Our Knowledge Base: We Know What Works

Even though systematic study of the education system is relatively new compared to our efforts in agriculture (100 years of federal support) and medicine, we now have a very useful information base in education. For example, we know what correlates with learning, and we know the strengths of these various relationships. They range from race and social class to birth order, nutrition of the mother during pregnancy, region, body chemistry, parental occupations, etc.

It is startling, but probably the best way to eliminate major student learning problems would be to make sure that every pregnant woman in the U.S. had one prenatal exam and an adequate diet during pregnancy. Researchers estimate that this would eliminate 40% of later learning problems. (At the moment, Aid to Dependent Children support is only available after the mother has given birth, which is too late.) Just as cancer researchers have discovered important environmental characteristics that relate to susceptibility, so education specialists have discovered that people learn much better in some environments than they do in others, and that nutrition before birth establishes the ultimate size of the brain. (With poor nutrition *in utero*, the baby has a one-in-four chance of being 250 grams below the normal 1,400 grams in brain weight at age 6. Brain growth is basically completed by age 6 — before we get children in school. This is why heavy emphasis is placed on the first four years of life in the USSR education system.?)

To a unique degree, the performance of the education system is linked to the quality of family life, nutrition and child care, parental interest in schooling, etc. It is clear that a society gets the school system it deserves. As Urie Bronfenbrenner and others have pointed out, the amount of time American parents spend in non-TV activity with young children has dropped alarmingly in the last decade. This is "prime (educational) time" for families; it cannot be paid back when the children are past age 10. This is not to say that parents are *the* problem, only that when schools and families do work together, the results are uniformly positive.

We know the characteristics of successful reading programs. A variety of techniques can be successful, but only with a set of dimensions that define the program: Parent involvement and support, a principal who plays a leadership role, a "critical mass" of teachers who support each other, and local ownership of innovation are all vital. These statements are supported by several studies reported by the U.S. Office of Education.[6]

*The Head Start Program* — This section on our knowledge base would not be complete without some reference to new facts about the federal Head Start program. Head Start was part of the yearning of political forces in the liberal Sixties to reduce inequalities based on race and class. Assumptions regarding the scale of such programs and the time needed to show differences were naive (the Westinghouse evaluations of the impact of Head Start on schooling were completed before the children had completed even one year of school!). Now we know that these programs *do* produce real differences in children, but some of these differences are "sleeper" effects that don't show up until

grades 3 and 4.

In a special session at the American Association for the Advancement of Science meetings in 1977, the first "sleeper" findings were announced, causing Bernard Brown to say, "The score is now 96 to zero in favor of the early childhood programs." He stated some constants:

> Programs involving home visits by program professionals showed the greatest gains. Combining preschool classes with home visits produced IQ gains of around 10 points; without home visits, six points. With home-based programs, only 1% of children needed special education by the fifth grade; without the program, 30% needed special classes.[7]

These findings, although spectacular, attracted no interest in the educational or commercial press, only being reported in *Science News*. In 1979 some new attention is being given: Congress has increased the Head Start budget to $735 million for 1980. But there is little enthusiasm in the Carter Administration for this good news, even though the Head Start task was clearly as difficult educationally as getting a man on the moon was technologically. We simply no longer believe in social reforms as we once did, and even news of success falls on deaf (yet liberal) ears. Styles have changed, low profiles are the order of the day, and programs like Head Start are perceived as part of the past, not the future.[8] They work, but few people care. The influence of Arthur Jensen, Christopher Jencks, and others has taken its toll, and it is now often thought naive to assert that schools can alter social conditions and life chances. Yet the evidence is clear that when the environment of the school and the home work together, and the characteristics noted here are present, students can gain in performance.

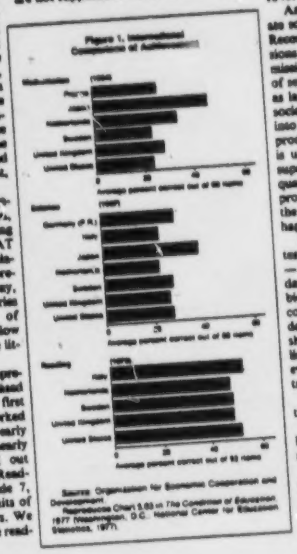
*Test Scores* — Of all the issues involving the knowledge base in education, none is as explosive as the issue of testing — minimum competency testing, SAT score declines, and truth-in-testing legislation. Yet data on the issue are often presented in a one-sided or ridiculous way, exemplified in many newspaper stories suggesting that as many as 50% of American students are reading "below average." Any adequate review of the literature would report the following:

1. Reading scores on both comprehension and vocabulary have increased steadily over the past decade for the first three grades of schooling.[9] (We've worked very hard on the techniques of early reading, and here is the result: In nearly every school, students can sound out words and read simple sentences.) Reading scores begin to decline in grade 7, when the task is to handle larger units of material — paragraphs and chapters. We need to work on these later cognitive reading skills.

2. National Assessment of Educational Progress data suggest that students age 9, 13, and 17 know basic skills rather well, but they have trouble applying them in new situations.[10] Students know how to add and subtract but not when. They can read a 10-page report and retain facts but have trouble writing a tight précis in one or two paragraphs of their own prose. "Basics" in the sense of reading print, performing math operations, are well learned; the problem is in critical thinking. We need to know more about these skills and their acquisition.

3. American students at age 14 do very well in comparison with students of other nations in reading. In science they do better than their counterparts in Britain, the Netherlands, and Italy but not as well as those in Japan and Germany. They do as well in math as Swedish youngsters but not as well as those in Japan or France (see Figure 1).

4. On the Scholastic Aptitude Tests over the past decade, score differences by sex are from four to eight times larger than any declines in mean score. The SAT verbal and math test profiles are quite unlike those of the ACT, even though both measure the same aptitudes with similar populations.[11] Test scores on these tests went up in the late Fifties, which they are not supposed to do. ("Aptitudes" are not subject to the same short-term changes as are achievement scores.) The increase in the Fifties and the decline in the Seventies (on a few tests, not on most) are a phenomenon with many causes, but certainly in the Fifties we were seeking to reject large numbers of "baby-boom" students seeking college admission, while in the Seventies the system of higher education became much more diverse in terms of race, sex, and age. Tests are used in this large sense in meritocratic or egalitarian ways; they are in no way culture-free.




Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development Reproduce Chart 5.63 in The Condition of Education 1977 (Washington, D.C. National Center for Education Statistics, 1977).

It seems that both test results and reports from college faculty members assembled by Howard Bowen and John Minter indicate that in terms of *those who go on to college*, preparation for college by the public schools has not declined in quality.[12] (The only areas in which college faculty members report declines of significance are in math *reasoning* — not operational skills — and in writing, particularly précis and summary writing.) Given the fact that over 50% of high school graduates (and remember that 70% to 85%, now graduates from high school) now try for further education, compared to the 10% to 20% in 1950 who entered postsecondary education, it is a remarkable achievement that American public schools are now doing for half of the school population what they used to do for only the top 10%.

Another interesting point is that graduate school admissions tests (the Graduate Record Exam, the Law School Admissions Test, and the Medical College Admissions Test) have not shown a pattern of serious decline during the decade, even as large numbers from a wider sector of society, have been taking the tests to move into the professions (see Figure 2). If the products of public schools were so bad, it is unlikely that colleges, no matter how superb, could compensate for the inadequacies, and very inferior graduate and professional school entry scores would be the logical result. Logical, but it has not happened.

A final point is that the *achievement* tests offered as a part of the SAT battery — tests of student knowledge in the standard academic areas of American history, biology, algebra, etc. — have shown no consistent pattern of decline over the decade. Certainly *achievement* scores should have fallen consistently if the public schools were failing. But they have not, even though a more diverse group is now taking the tests.

A summary of the college testing literature follows:

— Small declines on an 800-point test have been used by cynics to indicate that all is lost with American schools.

— There being no evidence from other countries to support a genetic hypothesis, we must assume that Americans *want* girls to do poorly in math and science and males to do poorly in verbal skills, es-

pecially poetry. (What a shame for the ancient Greeks, who believed that athletic and artistic prowess should go together!) Why is this so? When the test scores make clear how large these sex differences are in America, what are we educators to do?

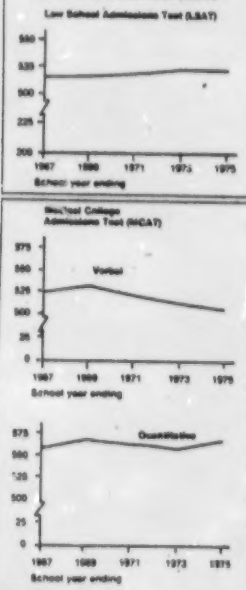
— We need to work on the teaching of writing and math reasoning in the public schools.

— The U.S. does well internationally.

— Aptitude and achievement measures do not agree.

— Given the enormous diversity of high school graduates now taking college admissions tests compared to 1950, it would be reasonable to expect a 150- to 200-point drop on an 800- or 900-point scale test. The schools have risen to the challenge, preparing 50% of the high school population for college about as well as they did the top 10% to 20% in 1950.

**Figure 2. Graduate School Entrance Test Scores**




Source of Data: Educational Testing Service, Association of American Medical Colleges.

Reproduces a portion of Chart 5.05, *The Condition of Education*, 1977 (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1977).

## Conclusion

Generally, we have now succeeded with an educational agenda, kindergarten through college, for the "top half." Some complain that a few of the top half today are not as good as the top 13% were three decades ago, but we have completed the agenda we were given and no one told us whom to neglect. No other nation has carried such a high percentage of its citizens so far.

In the next decade the agenda may well shift to the "bottom half." Many of the advocates of community-based education, CETA, and the Job Corps are serving in on the "lower half," with enormous amounts of funds and little in the way of performance data. Public school supporters are seldom included in meetings with Department of Labor and CETA-Job Corps personnel. Current debates on youth employment and reauthorization of certain vocational education legislation make clear how little influence the education establishment possesses, either in White House or congressional circles.

It is probably time for education organizations to begin to work together, as the Forum of Education Leaders is now doing. If the American Federation of Teachers, National Education Association, National Congress of Parents and Teachers, National Association of State Boards of Education, American Association of School Administrators, National Association of Elementary School Principals, and National Association of Secondary School Principals can meet together at the national level in order to explore areas of cooperation, it is time for local and state groups to do the same.

It is also clear that the functions of higher education are increasingly being performed by a variety of agencies — industry, the military, proprietary schools, museums, professional associations, etc. The College Board estimates that about 12 million people are studying in colleges and universities of the U.S., while 46 million adults are studying elsewhere (see Table 4). We must learn to collaborate with these new educational forces to improve coordination at the interfaces — local-state-federal, elementary-secondary-collegiate, and public-private-industrial-military.

Evidence on the success of the public schools and colleges is very clear, although seldom presented to the public. It is my thesis that all educational leaders are teachers regardless of their job. Teachers teach parents as well as students; principals teach the faculty, the PTA, and other community groups about the schools; and the superintendent teaches the board of education and city government. In terms of teaching the citizens about our school successes, we have not done well. The evidence is clear, and the time is most appropriate. If we are to call ourselves educational leaders, we must present our case, which is an excellent one, to the broadest spectrum of American citizens.

**Table 4. Who Is Learning What and Where?**

| | |
|---|---|
| Agricultural extension | 12.0 million |
| Community organizations | 7.4 million |
| Business and industry | 5.8 million |
| Professional associations | 5.5 million |
| Part-time college | 5.3 million |
| City recreation | 5.0 million |
| Churches, synagogues | 3.3 million |
| College and university extension | 3.3 million |
| Government services | 3.1 million |
| Public school adult programs | 1.8 million |
| Federal manpower programs | 1.7 million |
| Armed forces | 1.5 million |
| Graduate and professional | 1.5 million |
| Trade unions | .8 million |
| Community education | .5 million |
| Free universities | .2 million |
| Total | 58.4 million |
| In schools | 12.4 million |
| Non-school settings | 46.0 million |

*Source:* College Board, *New Directions for a Learning Society*, 1978, by Rex Moon.

National averages for some of the test scores generally used as one criterion for admission to graduate or professional schools have shown some fluctuation since 1967. Whereas scores have declined on other graduate admissions tests, performance on the LSAT and MCAT quantitative tests has risen from 1967 scores.

1. Harris Poll report, 1 November 1976.
2. Roger Farr and Lee Fay, *Then and Now: Reading Achievement in Indiana (1944-5) and 1976* (Indianapolis: Indiana Department of Public Instruction, 1977).
3. Herbert Hyman, Charles Wright, and John Shelton Reed, *The Enduring Effects of Education* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975).
4. J. P. Smith and F. R. Welch, *Race Differences in Earnings* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, 1978).
5. "Human Age and Brain Weight," *Unesco Courier*, January 1976, p. 20.
6. U.S. Office of Education, National Diffusion Network, *Summary of Reading Research* (Washington, D.C.: USOE/NDN, 1978).
7. As reported in *Science News*, 5 March 1977. See also *Summary: The Persistency of Preschool Effects* (Washington, D.C.: HEW, 1977).
8. See *Psychology Today* for September 1979, especially the interview by Maya Pines.
9. David Wiley, *Declining Achievement Scores: Do We Need to Worry?* (St. Louis: CEMREL, 1977).
10. *The Rise of National Assessment* (Washington, D.C.: National Center for Education Statistics, 1977).
11. Wiley, op. cit.
12. Howard Bowen and John Minter, *Report on Private Higher Education* (Washington, D.C.: National Association of Independent Colleges and Universities, 1977).

Mr. ERDAHL. Maybe you can get closer to the mike. While we can hear up here, it may be difficult for the people sitting behind you.

Dr. HODGKINSON. I am delighted to see students here, too. That is a marvelous idea.

The Carnegie Council report, "Giving Youth A Better Chance," is a broad-brush treatment of a number of related areas, including youth employment, education, and service. As such it is courageous and in some ways very useful.

However, the general tone of the report assumes that schools generally, and high schools in particular, are bad. Although youth are classified carefully by amount of disadvantage, schools are just schools. What were the high schools the council has personally visited that could be models for future development? Where does the best teaching go on, and why? Why do some urban schools, located in impoverished areas with limited facilities, produce students whose academic achievement is equal to that of wealthy suburban schools?

There are some "givens" in the Carnegie report with which I am in agreement.

One. The youth cohort nationally will be in decline for most of the period to the year 2000. However, 10 States are already reporting significant gains in youth populations, and every expectation is that they will continue to do so. The report says little about the new imbalances caused by increases in youth populations in States that are not supposed to increase. The best data I know of on this point is from a State-by-State study done by WICHE and NIICU.

Two. As the national cohort declines, there should be a decline in the number of unemployed youth. However, the national decline in youth population has been almost entirely a Caucasian phenomenon; minority births have not declined appreciably. Table C indicates the white decline, and at the bottom of the chart you can see nonwhites, which runs steady out to the year 2000. Given the degree to which minority youth are overrepresented in the unemployed pool, it is premature to say that we can solve this problem by waiting for the youth cohort to decline. I realize that is not the Carnegie Council's strategy alone. I agree with the report that the labor market has absorbed a large number of young workers in the last decade, and the options for additional expansion of jobs for youth is unclear.

Three. It is commendable that we begin thinking of problems from the perspective of the groups affected. For young people, their education is related to their home circumstances, and both are related to their access to meaningful work, or to work of any kind. Our policies should be integrated in similar ways. We should avoid when possible the kinds of conflicts that result when Federal authorities concerned with jobs—DOL Job Corps—deal with Federal authorities concerned with education—Department of Education.

I was particularly interested in the recommendation that our high schools are too big and should be split up into smaller units. It was not too many years ago that a Carnegie recommendation suggested that we need to bring together a number of smaller units and make single, comprehensive schools out of them.

Let me point out also that most Americans feel that their schools are doing a good job. See table D. A recent census report indicated,

Americans are generally pleased with their local school performance. Only 1 in 20 urban and suburban residents indicated that their public schools were unsatisfactory. In addition, those who have children in the schools are even more favorably impressed with the schools than those who do not.

More specifically, the report suggests that schools succeed with students in a way that is directly related to the socioeconomic status of their pupils—the higher the status, the higher the achievement. Although there is a general relationship of this sort, there are many schools in big cities whose students are socially and personally deprived and financially disadvantaged—and how do these categories overlap in real people?—yet whose scores on achievement tests are superior to those of affluent suburban schools in the same area. In November I was in France and my report to the foundation includes this quote:

> France is very different. The elementary schools could be called ruthless in weeding out the unfit at a very tender age. In 1973, three out of every five children in French elementary schools had failed at least one grade; 25 percent of first graders, 35 percent of third graders and 45 percent of fifth graders fail in any given year. The social and economic costs of such a system are great, particularly when one considers the very great importance of socioeconomic factors in school success in the early years.

As the recently reported British restudy of 15,000 hours indicates, high schools with very similar student populations vary enormously in results. In addition, there is now a body of empirical data on school success which indicates that we know the characteristics of high-performing elementary and secondary schools, although the Carnegie Council does not trust this data source. In my opinion as a research person, this data is more trustworthy than the Carnegie summary report page 19, dealing with the percentage of youth who fit each of several categories of deprivation.

It is interesting that it is the local school that is the unit of most variation in achievement. The building principal is a genuinely important leadership figure in successful schools, when supported both by the parents and by the superintendent's office. Yet we find from a recent study of those leaving the principalship, that the major reasons for leaving—and many more are leaving early, before retirement—include excessive time and stress demands, little support from superiors, and little opportunity for leadership. What can be done about this critical problem?

Problems of student discipline, incidentally, were a very negligible factor for those leaving the principalship. They are not leaving because they cannot discipline the kids. A number of young secondary school principals are leaving because the job did not allow the amount of leadership they had to give. Largely, this is a matter of delegation of authority from superintendent and board, and support for the school building leader. Preparing and selecting school administrators, mentioned in the Carnegie report, is only half the battle. More importantly, how can we keep the good ones in the field?

Most disturbing for me—and apparently other members, also—was the complete lack of suggestions regarding the improvement of teaching in American high schools, certainly one of the most important aspects of the problem. Given the fact that in virtually

every community in America, a high school teacher with a master's degree makes less than a garbage collector in the same town, we are obviously faced with some major motivational problems. In addition, once hired, how do we keep our able teachers interested and motivated, so that their competence increases? What should be done to encourage teacher centers, or the Teacher Corps projects, conspicuously absent from the summary of the Carnegie report. Mr. Dunham did fortunately provide a table on teacher courses.

Let me mention just one example of the large number of possible test cases of school improvement going on. In the Atlanta public schools, achievement scores have risen by 10 percent, at all school levels, for the last 3 years. How did this come about?

One. A citywide consensus in Atlanta has been reached on system goals for basic skills.

Two. Resource allocation is consistent with these goals. The local school sets its goals for the year first.

Three. At least quarterly, all Atlanta citizens are informed about progress toward these achievement goals.

Four. Staff development programs are held continuously and are related to instructional goals of the school and the system.

Five. Teachers in high school teach reading, and are rewarded for good student performance in the reading area.

This is not a temporary phenomenon. One could easily add 50 more large city school systems that have systematically begun to increase student achievement levels, and with major success. Most of these efforts have not relied on heavy Federal funding, although it is clear that Federal dollars can be much more effectively used in programs that are based on local school characteristics than those which do not.

In my view, the problem of pulling students out of school for alternative experiences would create more problems than it would cure. Why not bring these alternative experiences into the school? As the *Washington Post* editorial on the Carnegie recommendations mentioned, "Unspecified jobs and voluntary service could take people away from educational opportunities as easily as motivate them to get more education." And while we are at it, what is the performance record of programs such as Job Corps? How many of their program completers are still working in the area for which they were trained a year after the training program? I have found that data very difficult to obtain.

The final table I want to refer to indicates in 1950, only one of four blacks completed high school. It is important then to know where we have come from.

The report does not, in my opinion, even address the major issue—how can we improve the quality of the American high school? We will do it by increasing the desirability of teaching as a career for college students, by providing for teacher inservice education throughout his/her career, by building even more relevant curricula and testing procedures, by focusing on the individual school site as the locus for improvement, by linking elementary, secondary, and higher education programs, by providing reaccess to secondary schools for adults who at a later time in life wish to continue secondary education, often jointly with community colleges, by helping local and State school boards make better educa-

tional decisions, and by providing more visibility for successful school programs.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ERDAHL. Thank you very much Dr. Hodgkinson for a very thought-provoking analysis.

Our next witness is Dr. Joan Lipsitz, director of the Center for Early Adolescence, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Congressman Andrews wanted to be here personally to welcome you, but he has sent his regrets.

## STATEMENT OF DR. JOAN LIPSITZ, DIRECTOR, CENTER FOR EARLY ADOLESCENCE, UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT CHAPEL HILL

Dr. LIPSITZ. I am aware of the press of time, but I want to take 1 minute to welcome the young people behind me. In a nonscientific survey, I found they were all in senior high school, which I think has some import for what I am about to say now.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee: My name is Joan Scheff Lipsitz.

I am director of the Center for Early Adolescence at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I am a former teacher at the senior and junior high levels. I established an after-school community tutoring program in reading and math skills for junior and senior high students. I worked at the Learning Institute of North Carolina on curriculum and staff development for junior high schools. The Ford Foundation asked me to conduct a national status study on research and programs concerning 12- to 15-year-olds in an attempt to answer the question, "Who is doing what, and where, in research and in programs for young adolescents in America?" The study resulted in a report, now a book, entitled "Growing Up Forgotten."

The title, "Growing Up Forgotten," says it all. That is why I am here today. I am concerned that early adolescence, a crucial time in human development, is the most overlooked school-age group in America, and that the consequences of this are serious.

I have been asked to set the stage for today's discussion on high schools by discussing the extent to which we are meeting the needs of students at the junior high level. I have submitted lengthier written testimony. For now, I would like to make three points.

First, the junior high years desperately need the national attention that the early elementary grades and, to a lesser extent, the senior high years receive. We will continue to reap the bitter harvest of our neglect of 6th to 9th grade schooling if we do not focus our attention on these formative years.

Second, schooling for grades 6 to 9, the middle grades, is in a state of chaos.

Third, public policy will fail if we do not design them so that they are appropriate to this age group. We cannot assume that what works at the elementary or senior high levels in, for instance, basic skills, desegregation, programs for the handicapped, or vocational education, is also effective in schools for young adolescents. In fact, it is safer to assume that what works at other levels will not work for young adolescents.

I would like to expand briefly on each of these points and then make several recommendations. First, early adolescence is a critical time in life that we cannot afford to continue ignoring. If you look at statistics of social distress, you will see a disturbing clustering in the early teen years. Junior high boys in seventh grade are the most physically assaulted of our school children. Teenage pregnancy, juvenile crime, alcohol abuse, drug abuse, and running away have their onset or actually peak during early adolescence. The decision to drop out of school at age 16 is often made in junior high school.

Who are young adolescents? What makes them special? There is no other time in life during which so many changes occur within us, and occur so rapidly. A young adolescent's body changes so quickly that the adolescent growth spurt is even faster than an infant's growth—and unlike the infant, the adolescent knows it is happening and is acutely self-conscious. Young adolescents are growing physically, changing biologically, socially, emotionally, intellectually, all at one time, all unevenly. I wonder if any of us now could cope with such rapid growth and change in ourselves and our peers. This is a difficult time in life, a turning point, and we do little to help ease or direct the transition. Instead, we write off the age group, we put these young people on hold, tell them to stay out of trouble and prepare for life, as if they were not living it so intensely now, and we will get back to them later when we understand them and when we like them more. For we do not like them very much. We have failed to see that with all the changes in early adolescence comes a second marvelous opportunity for early intervention. We do not know how much human and social distress we could prevent later on if we directed our attention to this age group, because we have not really tried.

I wish that some of the members of the subcommittee would take several days to follow the class schedules of a few young adolescents back home. Except in special cases, you would find a stultifying sameness of offerings for students, despite the fact that this is the most wildly diverse group of students in the whole spectrum of schooling. You would find a school mentality that is obsessed with control, despite the fact that the same young people who are supposedly irresponsible between 8 a.m. and 3 p.m. are the babysitters of this Nation between 8 p.m. and 3 a.m. You would find a lot of pretend teaching and pretend learning by teachers who have never been prepared to work with the age group and by students who have still not learned to read. You would find kids sitting, and sitting, and sitting, despite their astonishing physical and social energies that need to have constructive outlets in their schools and communities. You would find them segregated from adults in the outside world, despite the fact that this is the first time in their lives when they begin to think about their futures and need a variety of adult models. You would, in short, find a lack of responsiveness to the needs of an energetic, questing, insecure group of young people going through one of the most fragile but promising times in life. And you would find a lot of frightened, angry, demoralized teachers who were never prepared to deal with all this.

Which leads to my second point, that schooling and teacher preparation for young adolescents are in a state of chaos. Where do

young adolescents go to school? Most of them are in junior high schools, consisting of grades 7–9, or comprehensive 7–12 schools, or middle schools with grades 6–8 or 7–8. In North Carolina in school year 1978–79, young adolescents were in schools with 34 different grade configurations, like 7–9, 6–12, 6–8, 5–8, and so on—34! And North Carolina is not a special case. Grade organization for schools for young adolescents is in total disarray. There is no consensus about where or how these young people should be schooled or about the kind of training and certification teachers of the age group should have. Some teachers have elementary preparation, emphasizing children's developmental needs, some secondary, emphasizing knowledge of subject matter. Now there is a movement across the country for middle school certification. This movement is probably on the right track but how can we train and certify teachers for these schools when we have not yet defined what middle level schooling is and what needs it should meet?

There is not a cadre of strong, talented, committed professionals with high morale to upgrade the quality and expand the options in schooling for young adolescents. Without a major new professional development effort, we run the risk of acting out an all-too-familiar scenario: We will authorize Federal funds for school and work initiatives, programs will be put in place, 1 to 3 years later they will be evaluated, and once again we will be told that they failed or had disappointingly mixed results and that you cannot throw money at problems. You cannot if you have not defined the problem well, and if there are not enough people out there to use the money well.

Finally, how can we make public policy effective for this age group?

Others will speak today, offering recommendations for senior high schools. I hope that you will ask yourselves the question, "Will this work with young adolescents, with their teachers and in their schools?" We must examine each proposed secondary school policy in light of young adolescents. For instance, in considering issues of sex equity, we should be aware that it is in early adolescence that many female and minority students decide not to continue in math. This decision carries lifelong negative consequences, since the mathematics filter prevents these students from entering many technical fields, including those relying on computer technology. The junior high years also have special import for desegregation, for dropout prevention, and for teaching basic skills. We cannot look exclusively at grades 10–12.

I would like to highlight three recommendations made on the basis of these observations and others in my written testimony.

First, we must have a national, comprehensive review of intermediate and junior high schooling in America. The major reports on secondary schooling of the last decade, including the latest Carnegie Council report, almost completely ignored these early years of secondary education. We need a blue ribbon panel to make sense out of the chaos.

Second, we must have a professional development assistance program that focuses on middle grade administrators and staff. Effective schools are marked by strong administrative leadership. We must upgrade the quality and commitment of the professionals who

work with this age group. Third, given the singular diversity of 10- to 15-year-olds, we need alternative schools, alternatives within schools, specialty programs, and a wide array of out-of-school and after-school learning options, including work and service programs. There are many ways to teach basic skills.

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, money spent on young children does not inoculate us from the need to help them as they grow older. Money spent only on older adolescents defies everything we know about prevention. I think if we could turn our attention to the young adolescents' growth, we could tap their potential for positive development during a crucial time in life.

Thank you.

[The complete statement of Joan Lipsitz follows:]

## Prepared Statement of Dr. Joan Lipsitz, Director, Center for Early Adolescence, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee: My name is Joan Scheff Lipsitz. I am Director of the Center for Early Adolescence at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. I have a doctorate in education, specializing in curriculum and instruction at the secondary level. I am a former language arts teacher at the high school and junior high levels. I established and ran an after-school voluntary tutoring program in reading and math skills for junior and senior high school students. I worked for six years at the Learning Institute of North Carolina on program and staff development for junior high schools. During those years I conducted a national status study for the Ford Foundation on research and programs concerning 12- to 15-year-olds in this country, in an attempt to answer the question, "Who is doing what, and where, in research and programs for young adolescents in America?" The study resulted in a report, now a book, entitled Growing Up Forgotten.

The title says it all. That is why I am here today. I am concerned that early adolescence, a crucial time in human development, is the most overlooked school-age group in America. Despite the critical importance of this age group, our 10- to 15-year-olds, the intellectual and economic resources of our country are not being allocated to these young people. Our continuing ignorance about and ignoring of young adolescents reflect a deep mistrust, fear, or even dislike of young people in formative years of their lives.

Early adolescence is a time of growth and change unique in human experience. The paucity of programs appropriately serving young adolescents, the small number of professionals and policy-setters knowledgeable about and dedicated to their welfare, the small number of training programs for future professionals, the inadequate dialogue about this age group, all point to our confusion, fears and dislike.

I am here today because I have been asked to talk about the needs of junior high-aged students and the extent to which they are or are not being met. I am also here because I believe, as a professional and as a mother of adolescents, that we must take every opportunity we can to create a new social concern for this exciting and critical time in the life of every human being. We must end the dangerous confusion and fragmentation of services for young adolescents by defining, in part through legislation about schools, how we want young people to grow up in America.

OVERVIEW

Secondary education in America is caught up in a maelstrom of contradiction. Schools, it is argued, must provide more and more services to students as the church and family weaken; but others argue that schools can do best only what they are really intended to do, and that is to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic. Some say schools must return to teaching the basics; but others insist that schools must provide socialization experiences for personal fulfillment and for living in a pluralistic society. Some propose that schools stop trying to teach all students, by lowering the compulsory attendance age; but others insist that schools must institute vigorous dropout prevention programs to retain as many students as possible. Most of us argue that schools must prepare students for productive life in the marketplace; but we also insist that schools must preserve and inculcate what is best in the legacy of human civilization.

Middle and junior high schools are strangely removed from these swirls of controversy, as if existing in the eye of the storm. They are in a no-man's land in American schooling, not quite bona fide secondary schools, but not elementary schools either. They are "intermediate" schools, in limbo like the young adolescents in their charge. They have a serious identity crisis, unsure of their instructional purposes, graced by the least skilled pool of professionals in public education, and confused about the needs of their students and how to meet them.

The talent of this country is not dedicated to this age group. The early years of secondary education, the junior high years, desperately need the national attention that the early elementary grades and later years of secondary schooling receive.

Schooling for young adolescents--middle grade education--is the weakest link in the chain of public education. It is the misfortune of young adolescents that just at the point in their lives when they are seeking definition, two areas of confusion and ignorance converge: confusion about the purposes of schooling for

young adolescents and ignorance about early adolescence as a critical developmental stage in the life span.[1] The convergence of these two areas of confusion and ignorance--what a school for young adolescents should do and what a young adolescent should be--dangerously undermines the day-to-day functioning of our schools. In the senior high years we will continue to reap the bitter harvest of our neglect of middle grade schooling if we do not focus our attention on these formative years.

It is at the very least cost-ineffective to spend considerable amounts of money on the very young in the early grades of schooling without following through to make good on our investment. Likewise, it is an inefficient use of our public monies to concentrate on remediation and re-education at the time of transition into the labor market, while failing to support necessary programs in the middle grades that could reduce the need for later widespread remediation. Most importantly, it is tragic to fail to place more of our resources at a key point in education, a time of maximal growth and stress, when the possibilities for positive intervention in young people's lives are almost boundless.

Early adolescence is a time during which life-changing growth occurs. It is a time when young people begin to define themselves as social beings with a sense of commitment to their personal futures and their society. It is a time to begin considering how to function on one's own. It is a time for establishing a firm sense of racial identity and for sorting through feelings about sexual identity. It is a time when the capacity for hypothetical, abstract thought begins to develop. Physically, it is a time of the most rapid growth and change in the entire human experience. It is, in other words, a critical time of development that can determine the quality of one's future.

Why should we turn our attention to young adolescents? Because, like early childhood, it is a time of such remarkable growth and change that positive prevention and intervention are possible; because, unlike early childhood, we are overlooking early adolescence; and because the personal and societal losses that result from our neglect can no longer be ignored.

Statistics indicating considerable distress among approximately 20 percent of the young adolescent population should rivet our attention on this age group. The National Institute of Education's (NIE's) Safe School Study tells us that boys in the seventh grade of junior high schools are the most victimized of our students.[2] The only part of our population for whom first admissions to mental hospitals increased in the 1970's were adolescents under 15.[3] The only age group for which the birth rate is increasing are girls fifteen and under.[4] The incidence



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of running away peaks around ages 14 and 15. Alcohol abuse is becoming a serious problem for adolescents. The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism reports that 19 percent of 14- to 17-year-olds experience alcohol-related problems.[5] The average age of initiation to alcohol is 12.9. Sixty-two percent of seventh graders and 80 percent of eighth graders drink.[6] Beginning at age 10, there is a steady rise in youths' contact with police and courts. Studies indicate that juvenile crime begins to "bloom" during early adolescence.[7] The national school dropout rate is at about 25 percent. In North Carolina, 37 percent of students entering first grade do not complete high school. The decision to drop out of school at age 16 is often made during the preceding junior high years.

This litany of woes continues unabated, as venereal disease, drug abuse, suicide, truancy and other behaviors bearing witness to personal and social tragedy increase in incidence among young adolescents.

We do not know what role schools play in contributing to or alleviating the distress among this age group (although in some parts of the country the juvenile crime rate goes <u>down</u> during summer months and <u>up</u> during the school months). Given our inattention to young adolescents, we have barely begun to explore alternatives to current school practices that might relieve some of this expensive human suffering among a minority of the age group and, even more importantly, might enhance the healthy development of the majority of young adolescents who manage, often despite us, to cope during this time of remarkable growth and change.

We have the greatest number of alternative schools at the senior high school level and many at the elementary level. Unfortunately, we have very few alternatives at the intermediate level. As a result, we offer very little respite to young adolescents who need different school environments. Also, because of this lack of alternatives we have had almost no opportunities to learn about intermediate schooling options. We need to establish and study at least as wide a spectrum of alternatives for middle grade schooling as is available for elementary and senior high levels.

At the same time, we must insist upon the normalcy of early adolescence. The onset of puberty, with all its attending physical and behavioral changes, is all too often seen as a pathological time in life during which adults feel that all they can do is to wait it out. In fact, for the large majority this is not a time of crisis and tumultuous acting out. By assuming that it is and putting young adolescents "on hold," we fail to define what makes sense for them, what it is that

we want young adolescents to be able to do. While we need to establish alternatives to traditional schooling for some of the 20 percent or so who are distressed, we must also begin to establish a spectrum of educational opportunities for the approximately 80 percent who are coping adequately. We need to reverse our present policies and spend a greater amount of our human and financial resources on socializing and educating the young adolescents in our schools.

Young adolescents pose a unique problem for educators. The central characteristic of this age group is its diversity, caused by extreme variations in the rates of physical, social, emotional and intellectual development. There is no age group that is as variable in the entire continuum of schooling. John Money has pointed out that "it is very difficult for some youngsters to be caught in that no-man's land between their chronological age and their physique age, trying to keep up their social age, their academic age, their personality age, and their psychosexual age, in conformity with their chronological age."[8] It is also very difficult to be a teacher of 25 or 45 such students, each juggling so many different and varying ages, especially since variability occurs both within each individual and among the many individuals in the class. Certainly it is also very difficult to administer a school for this age group or to be on a school board setting policy for such a school. If for no other reason than the fact of this unique variability, intermediate schooling is in need of our targeted attention. Policies and techniques that are effective with other age groups are defeated daily by this one central fact of intermediate school life: variability. And so, we must look at each educational issue as it relates specifically to the developmental characteristics of this age group. We cannot assume that what works at the elementary or senior high levels in, for instance, compensatory education, basic skills, desegregation, programs for the handicapped, vocational education, the arts, or professional development is also effective in schools for young adolescents.

Why? What is going on in the lives of young adolescents? How do schools respond to their developmental needs? We cannot set policy until we look at development.

## EARLY ADOLESCENT DEVELOPMENT

Intellectually, adolescence is an exhilarating time in human development because many young people acquire the capacity to think abstractly, to understand theories, theorems, values, metaphors, to think about thinking, to go beyond individual concrete facts to classifications, generalizations, and principles. Given the variability of adolescent development, some young adolescents have already acquired

these intellectual powers, others are beginning to, and others will not for several years, if ever. Chronological age, and therefore grade placement, does not assure what stage of intellectual development an individual student has attained. Unfortunately, most curricula, including most textbooks, assume a steady chronological growth. They present abstract materials prematurely for many junior high students while not encouraging the new mental capacities of students who mature rapidly.

The shift to thinking abstractly is a crucial developmental phenomenon that most school people are unaware of, a fact of life as remarkable, diverse in timing, and out of individual control as the adolescent's physical growth spurt. There is almost no recognition of this phenomenon in junior high schools. Were educators to recognize this uniquely human potential and its importance during early adolescence, schooling for young adolescents would assume an importance in our education systems that it now lacks. Curricula and teaching techniques would also be revolutionized.

Physically, early adolescence is marked by the adolescent growth spurt, the appearance of secondary sex characteristics, and the onset of puberty. At no time after birth do human beings grow as rapidly as during early adolescence. The velocity of change is unique in our experience. Because adolescence is generally viewed as a healthy time in life, we fail to do the screening necessary to insure that we have in our schools the one undeniable prerequisite for successful learning: an intact child. We also fail to give young people adequate information about their physical development. A great deal of the "inner static" that seems to keep young adolescents from attending to school work concerns their feelings about their physical change. School people for the most part function as if such change were irrelevant, thereby making themselves appear irrelevant to their students.

Above all, it is the social and emotional changes in young adolescents that are ignored or resisted by adults in schools. When asked what they like most about school, the great majority of adolescents say that school is the place where they see their friends.[9] Instead of building activities around friendships, many junior high schools constantly fight this support group, separate friends as much as possible, and thereby create distractions and behavior problems. Also, programs that select individual students for special attention or services will not be as attractive as programs that work with the peer group.

Young adolescents need to be with as diverse a mix of adults as possible. We need more programs like Philadelphia's affective education program that places adult learners in the junior high classroom, thereby giving students immediate access to adults and helping adults to gain new skills while having a calming effect on the classroom. Adults and young adolescents can and should learn side-by-side.

In our age-segregated society, it is difficult for young people to gain access to a variety of adult models. We need to get more young people out of the schools in order to learn. Many educators have similar backgrounds and cannot by themselves provide the spectrum of role models that could help expand the personal horizons of adolescents. Our credentialing procedures, combined with our tendency to keep young adolescents in the school building at all times, severely limit the experiences we provide these young people and their sense of possibility.

That sense of possibility is central to young adolescents' development. For the first time in their lives they have a sense of personal destiny.[10] They begin to define their futures. They need to explore as broad a variety of experiences as possible. A sense of future is a powerful motivator. We fail to meet the needs of this age group for defining possible futures and for making present tasks meaningful. We hand them a watered-down version of senior high school programs rather than experiences that are appropriate to their new questing for inner direction.

Part of the questing takes the form of a growing sense of commitment to a social as well as a personal destiny. Because of intellectual growth, a young adolescent can for the first time say, "I am part of a generation." Most schools fail to give junior high-aged students opportunities to make short-term commitments to be useful to their communities. There are unusual, isolated cases like the St. Paul (Minn.) Open School, where young adolescents are providing a variety of services to their community, including legal research. For the most part, we have an image of young teenagers as being irresponsible and therefore do not trust them with meaningful, responsible work; yet these are the baby-sitters of our nation!

One speaker at the national conference sponsored by the Committee for the Study of National Service (May 1979) summarized well how vital service activities are for youth below age 16: "Such service activities make schools more meaningful places in which to live and learn. They help cut down on discipline problems,

they make the curriculum more reality-based, they make values learning possible in a non-sermonistic way." They are also totally in line with what we know about early adolescent development. "The peak age for joining things, for wanting to be a part of 'project-type learning,' is age 11, not 17 or 18." Youth feel they are getting real experiences that help them with their career choices. They feel they are helped in getting answers to their pressing questions about their identity. They are given an opportunity to work with an adult who cares. They learn "the basics" through service. "There is no necessary dichotomy between basic-skills learning and service-learning."[11]

Young adolescents must be given many ways to feel competent. They are at a stage in life when their self-esteem is shaky. We must stop the "pretend teaching" and "pretend learning" going on in too many of our junior high schools. A 12-year-old who cannot read well cannot feel good about much of anything in the mainstream of our society. At a minimum, we must commit ourselves to assuring every student possible the acquisition of those skills that lead to literacy and numeracy.

But there are many ways to teach "the basics." Some students may respond best to one-on-one, "hothouse atmosphere," high intensity coaching. Others will respond to learning through vocational education, to service learning or to learning through the arts. It is not possible to prescribe one method that will meet the needs of this diverse group of students, developing so rapidly and at such different rates intellectually, physically, socially, and emotionally.

It makes no sense that the most developmentally diverse group of students in our entire continuum of schooling is offered the fewest alternatives in schooling. Special schools, comprehensive community schools, work experiences, community service, specialization in vocational, academic, aesthetic and physical programs, schools without walls -- a whole gamut of alternatives should be available to this age group making one of the most critical transitions in life.[12]

SCHOOL ORGANIZATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Given the importance of early adolescence, schools for this age group must have a coherent set of purposes and a well-trained corps of professionals staffing them. Unfortunately, this is not the case. There is no other level of public education for minors that is so poorly defined and that so obviously needs more extensive and careful policy-setting.

Where do young adolescents go to school? Marketing Data Retrieval (MDR) cites 31 different grade combinations of schools serving young adolescents nationwide, excluding K-6 and 1-6 schools and including schools with grade 6 and/or 8 (they

missed grade 7 only schools using this definition). Within these, as of December 21, 1979, there were the following:

| School Grade Organization | | Number |
|---|---|---|
| Junior highs | 7-9 | 4,004 |
| Comprehensive | 7-12 | 3,662 |
| Middle schools | 6-8 | 3,070 |
| Schools | 7-8 | 2,628 |
| Elementary schools | 1-8 | 1,315 |
| Middle schools | 5-8 | 1,024 |

These were 19,650 schools for young adolescents other than K-6 or 1-6 elementary schools.[13]

MDR may have missed some combinations, but not many. In North Carolina in school year 1978-79, there were 34 different grade combinations of schools including grade 6 and/or 8, composed of only grade 7, and excluding K-6 and 1-6.[14]

A 1977 survey indicated that the number of middle schools, defined as a school serving at least three grades, no more than five grades, and including grades 6 and 7, had quadrupled since 1967. Middle schools, however, were no more distinguished in program from junior highs, or even from high schools, than in 1967.[15]

In sum, aside from other considerations, the disarray of grade organizations creates serious barriers for intervention strategies by the federal government or the states. Targeting programs for ninth graders, for instance, would require working with 17 different school organizations as to grade. Working with eighth graders would involve 21 different school structures. Working with grades 11-12 requires dealing with only 7. But to exclude grades 7-9 from policy initatives is to exclude over 10 million public school students from their benefits.[16]

Teacher certification and education for this age group are in a state of flux. In 1968 only two states required teacher certification standards for middle schools. In 1977, 27 states had established or were in the process of establishing certification standards for middle school personnel. Special middle school certification, as of 1977, was granted in 15 states. Only one state (Kentucky) issued special certification for middle school administrators. (Nine states are working toward special certification, so these numbers will rise.) Even in states with special middle school certification, teachers with elementary certification are allowed to teach grades 5 and 6 in middle schools and teachers with secondary certification may teach grades 7 and 8.[17]

More important than certification requirements is the quality of pre-service preparation and in-service training that are available to teachers and administrators. I have not been able to ascertain basic information about the preparation of teachers for this testimony. For instance, there are no available figures on the number of teacher preparation programs that offer training in teaching reading for poor readers at the secondary school level.[18] There are over 1,340 institutions of higher learning currently training teachers. Of these, 37 offered degrees in junior high education in 1975-76.[19] A growing number are offering degrees in middle school education. A study now being prepared for NIE on the preparation of teachers of young adolescents should provide this rudimentary information that we do not now have. And again, we will need to be concerned with quality, not just numbers (although in this case, the sheer lack of availability of training presents a serious barrier to good schooling).

There is a cycle of mediocrity that plagues teacher preparation for young adolescents. Teachers enter the classroom inadequately prepared to work with young adolescents and take as their models more experienced teachers who appear to be surviving. Departments of education wishing to break out of traditional elementary or secondary programs for future teachers of young adolescents find few classrooms where their student teachers can practice alternate methods. The practicum experience is therefore less than successful. Also, there are usually no courses offered, much less required, in adolescent growth and development. Future teachers choose between secondary certification, which is highly subject-oriented, and elementary certification, which is more student-oriented but lacks the depth of commitment to disciplines that must enrich classroom experiences for adolescents. Teachers, inadequately prepared, enter the classroom... The cycle of mediocrity is difficult to break into.[20]

Were school districts to break into the cycle through revamping educational programs, they would find only minimal help from the federal effort to disseminate information and provide technical assistance on "educational programs that work." The National Diffusion Network gives local aid to set up programs approved by the Joint Dissemination Review Panel. There are only a handful of programs on basic skills targeted to the young adolescent population, even fewer on educational alternatives, and again, a handful on programs for the "educationally disadvantaged" that involve communication skills, remedial reading, or mathematics. The 1978 edition of Educational Programs That Work lists three programs that link career education with basic skills for the junior high-aged population, only one of which emphasizes dropout prevention.[21] There has been such a serious lack of

attention to this level of schooling for so many years that only concerted efforts at the local, state, and national levels will create the pool of talent, the ideas, the programs, the curricular resources, and the morale to upgrade the quality and expand the options in schooling for young adolescents.

A new educational professional development assistance act similar to EPDA, focusing on middle grade/junior high teachers and administrators, is badly needed. The Middle Schools Needs Assessment conducted in Boston, Mass. in March, 1979 is a case in point. The Middle Schools Task Force asked 1,107 teachers in 27 schools what their primary concerns are. Among the concerns reported are "the impact on the school situation of the stresses of adolescence" and "the need for time for teachers to develop curriculum for an ethnically, cognitively and developmentally diverse student population." Nearly one-half of the teachers say the students do not have adequate reading and writing skills. Two-thirds believe that only half have adequate math skills. Some teachers say that they are not prepared to teach grades 6-8. At the same time, "teachers do not see the need for more training in the teaching of reading, instructional methods, or in methods of accommodating the wide range of student abilities." They want students to have opportunities to learn more about the physical, emotional, and social changes experienced in adolescence; they want clear direction from school administrators; they want a consensus of goals about middle school programs.[22] They want others to change.

There is no question that we must achieve consensus about the purposes of schooling for young adolescents, that we must have strong administrators for their schools, and that we must help young adolescents negotiate their way more comfortably through their rapid, changeable development. But we must also have a cadre of teachers who are prepared to teach basic skills through subject matter, to open up the range of experiences by which young adolescents learn about themselves, their creativity, and their worlds, to promote social well-being, and to meet the wildly diverse needs of this highly variable group of students. Without professional development assistance, we run the risk of acting out an all-too-familiar scenario: we will authorize federal funds for school and work initiatives, programs will be put in place, one-to-three years later they will be evaluated, and once again we will be told that they failed or had disappointingly mixed results and that you "can't throw money at problems." You can't if there's no one out there to use it well. In-service professional development is a prerequisite for the success of any public policy initiative for the later years of elementary education and the early years of secondary education.

In addition to professional development, the creation of centralized networks of information about research and programs concerning young adolescents is essential. Because of the lack of attention paid to this age group and the lack of prestige associated with working with it, "early adolescence" is a nonentity, a non-field. Gaining information about it is agonizing. Statistics are reported in terms of aggregate age groups like "12-24," "17 and under," or "secondary school-age", terms that mask what is happening to the younger adolescent population. Policy-setters as well as researchers and administrators must have access to better disaggregated data if we are to design policies and programs that are appropriate to the needs of young adolescents.

There is a growing network of people dedicated to rectifying this situation, but it receives miniscule support from private foundations and almost none from the federal government. The Center for Early Adolescence, at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, is the first and only center in the nation devoted to young adolescents and the professionals and volunteers who work on their behalf. Cases that come to this field-based center indicate the lack of networks of information and the isolation of caring professionals: the Denver school system is considering switching away from junior high schools to middle schools and has no research information or access to consultants to help with this policy decision; a school administrator in Kentucky needs trustworthy information on good experiential reading programs for young adolescents and can't find out how to find out; principals in junior high schools in Mississippi want a resource person to help them with school discipline problems and don't know where to turn; a research and development firm in California is having trouble identifying after-school programs for young adolescents; a teacher in North Carolina who has a certificate in special education is overwhelmed in her first assignment in a junior high school because she has no background in early adolescent development; a private foundation in Michigan cannot locate information about school/parent programs at the junior high level.

Almost all the requests that come to the Center for Early Adolescence have several factors in common: they have no access or inadequate access to information about successful programs; they lack a base of information about 10- to 15-year-olds; and they lack the personal professional networks that would enable them to know whom to contact for help. The federally sponsored ERIC system for information on education has no indicators for Early Adolescence. Census data are reported in such broad age clusters that it is often necessary to go back to the original tapes for information on young adolescents. We must create easier access to data, program and research information if we are going to improve the state of schooling for young adolescents.

MAJOR POLICY CONCERNS

There are signs that, after almost three decades of neglect, local and national attention is turning slowly to the junior high-aged population. School systems around the country are questioning the wisdom of the 7-9 junior high school grade organization. These are citywide reviews of schooling for young adolescents. (Denver and Boston are notable examples.) There have also been statewide reviews, as in California's Reform in Secondary Education (RISE) program. Agencies of the federal government have begun to show a new level of commitment to schooling for young adolescents, as seen in new categories of funding in research and development in science education for young adolescents at the National Science Foundation, the small but significant amount of attention paid to junior high schools in the National Institute of Education's (NIE's) legislatively mandated review of vocational education, and NIE's present and proposed studies of teacher preparation for middle grade education, local efforts to change from junior high schools to middle schools, exemplary school programs for young adolescents, and desegregation in junior high schools. Especially welcome is the potential commitment to junior high school students evidenced in the White House Initiative on Youth Employment.

All these efforts combined by no means represent a groundswell in public attentiveness to 10- to 15-year-olds, but there is at least the sense of an ice floe shifting, maybe breaking up. For those of us who have been working on behalf of young adolescents in this country to promote their healthy development, the signs are a little encouraging.

When we look at characteristics of early adolescent development, we see the inadequacy of school response to a crucial time in development. We fail on a day-to-day basis in too many of our school efforts because we do not base these efforts on the developmental realities and needs of our students. Likewise, our policies will fail if we do not design them so they are appropriate to the needs of the age group. The critical nature of the developmental tasks during early adolescence requires that we review major youth policy issues to insure our attentiveness to this age group.

John Hill, a distinguished researcher on adolescent development, has called for a "blue ribbon panel" on schooling for young adolescents. The major reports and panels on secondary education in the past decade, including Youth: Transition to Adulthood, The Report of the Panel on Youth, the Report of the National Panel on High Schools and Adolescent Education, the report of the National Commission on the Reform of Secondary Education, and now the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education's report on secondary schools, work and service, all focus on senior

high schools.[23] We have had no major report on junior high schools. As Michael Timpane, currently Acting Director of NIE, has said, "The intellectual chaos surrounding the institutions of intermediate schooling (junior highs and middle schools) is in the United States complete and unique enough to call for a separate intensive nationwide review of their purposes."[24]

In the intensive nationwide review that Timpane recommends, it would be incumbent upon us to make sure we are looking at every pressing educational issue as it impinges on this age group. One area demanding immediate attention is the search for effective schools. What works? We desperately need such information in reference to schools for 10- to 15-year-olds.

In a very modest definition of "effectiveness," Edmonds and Frederiksen have looked for schools that teach poor and/or minority children how to read and compute. An effective school, using their criterion, is one that is at or above the city average grade equivalent in math and reading.[25] Unfortunately, intermediate education is not part of this search. Similarly, the frequently cited study by Weber on schools that successfully teach reading was conducted only in the primary grades.[26] The studies that have been given four-star ratings in the press tell us very little about what we need to know. At the insistence of the Chief State School Officers, the National Assessment of Educational Progress, for instance, was specifically designed so that we cannot draw any conclusions about the effectiveness of individual schools. The Coleman Report determined the influences of school resources on students after controlling for social background characteristics. The Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education points out that school factors have greater impact on the achievement of minority group students than on majority students. Coleman's methodology washed out these effects. (Even so, according to the Coleman data, teacher quality is a major determinant of scholastic achievement among black students.)[27]

Tinto and Sherman, reviewing the research on intervention programs to promote equality of educational opportunity, criticize the programs for concentrating on reading and math skills without paying much attention to alternative modes of educational intervention. We have lacked a wide array of program types that employ diverse models of learning and educational attainment.[28] We, therefore, have little information to guide us about intervention strategies that might augment the power of initiatives like ESEA Title I programs.

We are badly in need of studies that tell us about specific programmatic and policy effects for pupils of differing family and social backgrounds at the intermediate level. If, as more and more people are suggesting, we must concentrate on individual schools as the unit of change,[29] then we must know more about the effectiveness of individual schools that serve 10- to 15-year-olds.

There are studies that point the way. For instance, Michael Rutter and his colleagues studied 645,000 students in more than 4,000 schools in London. They were less interested in whether schools lessened gaps in IQ or income inequality, our standard definitions of "effectiveness," than in whether schools have an effect on outcomes like school behavior, delinquency, and passing specific required exams. They found that schools make an enormous difference in achievement and patterns of delinquency.[30] We are desperately in need of such information in the United States.

What makes a school effective in not just desegregating but in integrating its student body? There are several studies that present us with disturbing preliminary data about the difficulties of integration at the junior high school level.[31] We need more help from studies like Classrooms and Corridors: The Crisis of Authority in Desegregated Secondary Schools, which analyzes the strikingly different life in two desegregated junior high schools, one that is in chaos and the other where students learn peacefully in a well administered setting with teachers whose morale is high.[32]

To be effective, a school must establish a climate in which children can learn. As concern about school safety grows, especially at the junior high level, we need to examine not just troubled schools but, even more importantly, orderly schools. Orderly Schools That Serve Children, a report from the Citizens Council for Ohio Schools, is a first step in the right direction.[33] We need more examples of schools where young adolescents are learning so that we can learn from their example.

There are curricular issues that must be resolved in relation to intermediate schooling. They have their origin in developmental phenomena at early adolescence. These areas include reading, health education, vocational education, and career education. One example, and an extremely important one, has to do with mathematics and science.

For some students the decision not to continue taking mathematics occurs as early as seventh grade, when eighth grade algebra becomes optional. This decision carries serious negative consequences, since the "mathematics filter" prevents these students from getting later learning in technical fields. All fields entailing the use of mathematics, including those relying on computer technology, are closed to these young people because of a decision made during early adolescence. This problem is especially acute among women and minorities.[34]

The United States government is spending millions of dollars on equity programs in order to provide equal opportunities for women and minorities in and through public schooling. Special attention needs to be devoted to curricula and counseling

for young adolescents. Mathematics and science, where NSF is able to make a small effort, are only two examples from among many badly in need of help because of what is considered "sex-appropriate" behavior during early adolescence.

The issue of dropout prevention is an interesting one in regard to young adolescents. In October, 1977 (latest figures available) 1.4 percent of 14- and 15-year-olds were dropouts. The figure rose sharply to 8.6 percent for 16- and 17-year-olds.[35] These figures suggest that a prime time for dropout prevention programs is in the junior high schools and intermediate schools, before adolescents turn 16. Estimated retention rates in public and non-public schools indicate that per every thousand pupils who entered fifth grade in 1969 and were or would have been twelfth graders in 1977, schools retained 984 in the ninth grade, 959 in the tenth, 876 in the eleventh, and 789 in the twelfth. (These are cumulative figures.)[36] Again, the first big jump came between ninth and tenth grades, indicating a need for dropout prevention strategies prior to senior high schools.

A look at the federal youth budget is instructive to see whether we are providing the financial resources to meet the needs of young adolescents in schools. In direct services, according to a study by Columbia University's Conservation of Human Resources program, distribution of expenditures to youth between 1964 and 1976 shifted to favor ages thirteen and over as against twelve and under. This shift is explained, according to the study, primarily in demographics because of the growing teenage cohort, not because of new programs or policy initiatives. It is also explained by an increased emphasis on higher education and employment programs for older adolescents.[37]

One-third of all expenditures for youth go to education (16.1 percent) and nutrition (16.7 percent) services. The $4.8 billion in education involves eighteen programs, but activities under ESEA account for nearly $2.2 billion, or 45 percent.[38] ESEA Title I programs, however, have focused predominantly on the early elementary years. As a result, the middle years have been underserved, as youth employment allocations have gone to older adolescents while compensatory education monies have been spent mainly on young children.

Money spent on young children does not obviate the need for special attention in later years. There are learning needs specific to adolescence that cannot be met by earlier intervention. As Larsen and Dittmann argue, special programs should end at grade 3 if our goal is to provide students with grade 3 skills. If we want grade 8 skills, we must provide assistance at least through grade 8.[39]

And it cannot be stressed too often or too strongly that such programs cannot succeed without adequate staffing, including school administrators. Study after study has told us that effective schools are marked by strong administrative leadership. We do not have as talented a pool of administrators at the middle grade level as we do at other levels. If we are going to strengthen the weakest link in public schooling, we will need a new form of Educational Professional Development Assistance (EPDA), this time one that focuses strongly on middle grade administrators and staff.

Finally, youth employment conditions help determine school climate. To be thirteen or fourteen, experiencing for the first time in one's life a sense of one's future and facing a high youth unemployment rate, is to be robbed of an important motivator for learning. Available employment for older youth gives younger adolescents hope.

But hope is not always enough. Young adolescents need to try out different skills, to find out what they feel competent in and enjoy doing, and to make a meaningful contribution to their schools and communities. A nationwide study of 2,000 high school students conducted in the mid-1970's by ACTION and the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) found that community service projects had reached a new high in popularity, with 42 percent of high school students involved in some form of community service and an estimated 50 percent employed. The ACTION/NASSP team looked at service and employment opportunities in Portland, Oregon, the D.C. metro fringe, and Sheboygan County, Wisconsin. They found hundreds of volunteer and job opportunities available in schools, hospitals, waste recovery projects, day care centers, sanitariums, senior citizen centers, and the like. The opportunities are there. What is needed is help with transportation, insurance, supervision, and job skills.[40]

This study was conducted only for senior high school students. It is equally appropriate for junior high-aged students, especially in the service sector. In addition, given individual variability in rates of maturing during early adolescence and sub-cultural differences in adult expectations regarding maturity, many junior high-aged students are ready for paid employment experiences and should not have to wait to become "of age," a chronological age that has little bearing on personal and cultural expectations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In summary, I submit the following recommendations to the subcommittee:

- establish an educational professional development assistance act to upgrade middle school and junior high school administrators and staff

- establish a national panel to review the purposes and practices of intermediate schooling in America
- establish centralized sources of information on data, research, and programs concerning young adolescents for professionals and policy-setters
- establish an array for schooling options that are responsive to the developmental diversity of the young adolescent population
- establish in-school and out-of-school learning, service, and recreation programs that give young adolescents greater access to adults
- fund out-of-school and after-school learning programs for young adolescents in their communities
- identify and study effective, orderly schools for young adolescents
- conduct research on and establish programs to alleviate the special stresses of desegregation in junior high schools
- establish a broad spectrum of programs that teach basic skills to young adolescents through the arts, the humanities, the sciences, the social sciences, health sciences, environmental studies, and vocational education
- provide periodic health screening, diagnosis, and treatment for needy young adolescents as they sustain the physical and emotional stresses of puberty
- provide coordinated health, guidance and social services to students to enhance their physical and emotional well-being as they enter adolescence
- increase the percentage of federal funds allocated to research on early adolescent development, schools, and other service institutions for young adolescents.

In addition, many recommendations of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education in regard to high school youth apply and should be applied to junior high-aged youth:

- make junior high school programs more diverse
- create part-time specialty schools
- break up the big, monolithic junior high school and its deadly weekly routine
- create work and service opportunities for young adolescents
- finance needy students through work-study programs and more effective job placement efforts
- improve the capacity of junior high/intermediate schools to teach basic skills by allocating more federal funds under ESEA to the intermediate grades

- improve teacher training programs, including workplace experiences for teachers.[41]

Most important, beyond the scope of these recommendations, are the living and learning environments that we share with young adolescents. While the human quality of schools cannot be directly legislated, a belief in its attainment must undergird all legislative policy. Literacy and numeracy are essential, but what is most important is that our young people be in caring, respectful environments during all those hours of human interaction in school.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate having the opportunity to submit this review of the status of junior high schools to the Subcommittee.

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Mr. ERDAHL. Thank you very much, Dr. Lipsitz. I think we have heard from all of you some things that give us reason to pause and think.

I have a couple of children in those very ages that you talk about and it is true, that this is a time of adjustment. They are not quite children; not quite adults. All the pressures on them far exceed those at an earlier age.

Before we ask questions, maybe members of the panel have some reaction to what has been said. Since there were some questions about the Carnegie report, Dr. Dunham, I am not asking you to get into an argument or debate, but perhaps you would like an opportunity to respond to some of the observations we have heard.

Dr. DUNHAM. I am not trying to respond——

Mr. ERDAHL. If you would, get a bit closer to the mike.

Dr. DUNHAM. I would personally agree with many of the things that were said, particularly by Dr. Hodgkinson. He was getting at many of the things which the Council deliberately did not get into. The problem, as he well knows from talking about the quality of education, impossible to define, one person's quality is somebody else's inequality or shame, trying to define what quality education is and proceed from there and talk about public policy I think is very difficult.

The Carnegie Council tried to, as he indicated, paint with a broad brush in three large areas something which has not been done before. I think the whole thing adds up to a very positive kind of step forward, albeit there are gaps, there are bound to be. One of them is in the curriculum, another is in teacher education.

Teacher education in the United States in my view remains a scandal. That is my personal view. The Carnegie Council did not try to get into that. We talk about upgrading basic skills in the secondary schools. I agree completely with Dr. Lipsitz about the importance of the junior high school years. The problem is that secondary school teachers do not know how to teach reading, they do not know how to teach writing, they do not have any courses in it. It is an absolutely ridiculous situation.

We have high schools in the United States where children cannot read or write and teachers who do not know how to teach reading or writing because they themselves have never been taught to do so. So there is a whole vast arena of things which the Carnegie Council did not address, deliberately so. What it did try to address was from the point of view of public policy, and particularly the expenditure of public funds, how we could make a dent in this transition from youth to adulthood of a large number of our people today who are not making that transition. We are as a nation in difficult straits if we do not do something about it very quickly.

Mr. ERDAHL. Does any other member of the panel wish to make a statement?

Dr. LIPSITZ. I want to respond to one thing about that. It is true secondary teachers do not know how to teach reading for the most part. When I was teaching I promised I would not go back into the classroom unless I learned how to teach reading to nonreaders. I could not find any place to take that course that I wanted.

In preparation for this testimony I tried to find out whether now—that was in 1971—whether now it would be different. I could not gain access to that data in any way. I could not get information.

What I could find, however, was that of all of the programs offered for teachers around the country during the summer, not including the specific inservice programs, there were only 20 that had anything to do with secondary reading in the entire country, with summer upgrading. Most of those were not about basic skills but about interpretative reading.

Mr. ERDAHL. That is interesting, and rather disturbing.

Dr. THOMSON. Commenting for the secondary school principals, there are some elements of the Carnegie report that we certainly would agree with. For example, we do believe that large secondary schools cause more problems than they solve, particularly today where so many students come to school without any kind of a family or neighborhood structure.

I think the large comprehensive high school made a lot of sense when you had a solid home base where the kids come from. Today they need to be known as people and it is hard to be known as a Jimmy or Joe in a large high school.

We support work experience programs and voluntary and youth service programs. On balance, however, I think we have more to argue with the Carnegie Council than we would support. The argument ranges widely.

For example, the suggestion that students should be moved more rapidly to the college level, there is tremendous cost implications of that. We would say in rebuttal that a more inexpensive and effective approach is to do what many universities and high schools are doing in New York State under Project Advance; that is simply to begin teaching college courses for college credit at the high school level, which provides families the opportunity for their young people to remain at home, many of whom are not ready to leave home, and still have a quality college level education experience for college credit. This is going on under the Project Advance and also is spreading around the country. That is one particular, as I say, area of disagreement.

Perhaps the most central disagreement would come down to what we consider to be a good learning condition for basic skills, for example. We know—we do not know enough about learning but one of the things we do know is that time on tasks makes a difference. We simply do not understand how we can improve the basic skills of young people if they are to be gone from the classroom and from special programs on teaching reading, if they are to be gone 2 days a week in the community, because one of the recommendations is for the older students to be out there working at least 2 days a week.

Concerning tracking, we would disagree, unless we do not understand the definition. All tracking is a crude attempt at individualization. It is nothing more. Now it is fine to talk about individualizing instruction so that each student has a channel of learning that is appropriate to him. But that begs the question, physically impossible to do with 30 or 35 students coming at you 5 times a day in that classroom. So in a sense if you believe in individualization,

you have to accept grouping as a crude attempt and then from that point on refine it.

Well, I will not go into the whole litany of the area of disagreement, but I would say if we had a panel of 10 secondary school principles, I believe we would probably give the Carnegie report about a C-plus.

Mr. ERDAHL. At this time because there is a quorum call on the floor. We will go and check in and vote. But before we do, I will ask the Members of Congress, if they have some questions or observations.

Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. I will stay.

Mr. ERDAHL. Dale?

Mr. KILDEE. I will go answer the quorum and come back and ask questions.

Mr. ERDAHL. Mr. Buchanan, do you have any observations or questions at this point?

Mr. BUCHANAN. No, Mr. Chairman. I will go answer and come back.

Mr. ERDAHL. I will be leaving too.

One of the points you made in your very helpful but very controversial report from the Carnegie Foundation is what could be interpreted by some editorial writers as encouraging dropouts. One of our problems is trying to keep people in schools. Your argument is to make the schools attractive so the students would be willing to stay, but doesn't opening up this possibility of dropping out after attainment of age 16 really aid and abet the problems people find in living full lives, of encouraging a young person to go into the Marines instead of staying in school?

Part of the problem we have in society is that when we cannot cope with the adolescents, we try to push them into adulthood. Could this be interpreted as a reaction to that?

Dr. DUNHAM. No, I think that is a fair comment.

I think the assumption behind this recommendation, that students be allowed the option of leaving at 16, which as I say, they already do in most States anyway, has to do with the high rate of dropout we already have. Students are out, in the big cities. They drop out of school, the dropout rate is horrendous among blacks, Hispanics in particular, as well as high absenteeism.

This is something school people do not like to talk about because it affects their average daily attendance and their financing. But we have some suspicion, the data are very difficult to get at, that absenteeism is absolutely horrendous, particularly in the big cities. Kids, if they are there in the morning, split just as soon as they can.

What I am getting at is students are gone, they are gone already, they are not there. And if they are—what the Carnegie Council is trying to do is to recognize that fact, start with that and proceed to build programs which are going to make constructive use of the time of these students, hoping to engage them in activities of the school while at the same time making them productive citizens. So they are gone already, but let's do something constructive with them would be, I think, the response.

Mr. ERDAHL. Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Andrews, do you have questions?

Mr. ANDREWS. You go ahead.

Mr. MILLER. Let's pursue that a little further.

You stated that the students are gone already, that the absentee problem is a horrendous one and the figures are probably inaccurate because the figures affect reimbursement from the State or whatever the mechanism is in the various localities. So we just say OK, go ahead and go, because you are gone anyway.

I do not understand the thinking there.

Dr. DUNHAM. No, we are not saying go ahead and go. We are building programs.

Mr. MILLER. What programs?

Dr. DUNHAM. Programs involving education, involving work experience, moving, for example, the report is filled with examples of the kinds of activities we are talking about; for example, the college work study program down to the high school level, lots more work experience of all kinds, service opportunities which are supervised activities, which do not simply throw students out in the street which is, as I say, what is happening at the present time. They are out in the street without anything to do.

Mr. MILLER. Why can't that be done within the compulsory system of attendance?

Dr. DUNHAM. Why can't it be done? It can be up until age 16. We are not recommending—already the age is 16 in most States. Now if you are going to recommend that they be kept in school longer—is that the question?

Mr. MILLER. I do not know. That is why we are having these hearings. I do not understand—it seems to me you are simply saying in a sense that the existing dropout rate is legitimate so let's legitimize it and drop this foolishness of compulsory attendance.

Dr. DUNHAM. The question is why are students dropping out, why do we have such high absenteeism? The Carnegie Council report attempts to deal with answers, to get at answers to those questions.

Mr. MILLER. What is your answer?

Dr. DUNHAM. The answer is that the school is almost like a prison to an awful lot of young people. They obviously do not relate to what is going on in school, they drop out, absent during the day. The goal is to try to arrive at programs which will keep them interested in school while at the same time making them better citizens, more productive citizens for the marketplace. That is the goal.

Mr. MILLER. I do not understand what that has to do with compulsory attendance? Why can't you do that with a 14-year-old?

Dr. DUNHAM. You could. That is what is being recommended, all secondary school students. It is not just aimed—one of the reasons for doing away with the tracking is because tracking, labeling people vocational students, they are the only ones who now get some kind of work experience.

What we are talking about is setting up work experience programs for all kinds of kids, not just those in so-called vocational tracks.

Mr. MILLER. I do not understand this, wait a minute. What is the opposite of work?

Dr. DUNHAM. Work and education go together.

Mr. MILLER. Wait. Vocational students are the only ones who get work-related experience. What does a college-bound student get? Could a college-bound student come to work in my office and consider that a work-related experience and not be a vocational student?

Dr. DUNHAM. Sure, sure.

The recommendation of the council is that we give students much greater opportunities to participate in the life of the community; this is going to engage them. Now they are not engaged in the life of the community, there is little purpose to what they do that they see. To give them work experience is going to help them develop habits of work, hopefully will improve their basic skills, hopefully we are going to make them more productive with a positive outlook toward their future, which many of them do not have now. That is what it is all about.

The business of compulsory education I do not think really is relevant, myself.

Dr. HODGKINSON. Could I add a comment?

The only data I have is on the city of Atlanta. In that city 90 percent of those students who are of school age are in school on any given day. That is the average daily attendance. I do not know any national numbers. As Alden says, it is very difficult to get. But that is one school system with a high percentage of poor students from white as well as black backgrounds where the attendance levels have been significantly up.

Mr. MILLER. I think the suggestion here is that the students show up at 8:30 in the morning, take one or two classes, and then they are gone.

Dr. DUNHAM. There is lots of evidence, for example in New York City, 50 percent of the students gone by noon sometime. That is hearsay evidence, nobody wants to document it.

Mr. MILLER. I guess I am still a little bit at a loss. I just think that to some extent I would be interested and, as you say, State laws exist in a number of locations. I am a little concerned about putting that responsibility on the child, and then having that tug-of-war take place in the family, if putting that responsibility there and encouraging that situation is to make up for an inadequate system. It is sort of like the volunteer Army. It is not working very well for a lot of reasons people around here recognize, and we know what we can do to make it work better. But rather than spend all of that money and really acknowledge the cost of making the system attractive, we will draft people.

Dr. DUNHAM. Let me put it this way. Let's get away from the business of the absenteeism, and so on.

I am a parent with four children. My children go to school regularly 5 days a week. There is no absentee problem, there is no dropout problem. I think their education would be immeasurably improved if they had at least a day a week active out in the community doing things, working with private agencies, working with public agencies, internships, doing all kinds of things I think would be an invaluable kind of educational experience for them.

In short, I personally reject the notion that education particularly for kids, ought to take place entirely within a classroom for 5 days a week, 8 hours a day or 6 hours a day, whatever it is. I think the education can be improved for all children, not just for the disadvantaged, all children, if they had a chance to get out and gain work experience, including the teachers, which is one of the recommendations of the Carnegie Council.

Mr. MILLER. Again this is my impression, correct me if I am wrong, by my impression is that this is—it is suggested it is inconsistent with the notion of being a college-bound student.

Dr. DUNHAM. I used to be a director of admissions at one of the major private prestigious universities and I assure you that if I ever found a student who had experiences other than the classroom, that student got an edge because the chances are that student brought a wider experience to college. College admissions officers are not simply looking for high test scores and dutiful attendance to books. They are looking for people with a broader view, at least in the selective colleges. So I guess you and I differ over what we really mean by education.

Mr. MILLER. No; my concern is that there is a suggestion of a break between the rewards and the goals and the aspirations of somebody who wants to go to college, and the reward and goals and aspirations of somebody who says he or she is going to go to work. My point is they are both going to end up going to work.

I am concerned that we are making a decision that the level of skills that they need to function in their life is in fact greatly different and we are prepared to start making that decision at the age of 14, 15, and 16.

My real concern is that if the student is put into these kinds of programs and determinations, there is a job for them in my home community, let's say at one of the refineries or at the cannery, then the assumption is made that the skills that are necessary to provide that student—let's say to discharge the school district's responsibility—are the skills attendant with working at the refinery. I do not think 16-year-old people are prepared to say that.

I hope an educational system is not prepared to say we have discharged our duty, because you know the student may get married, find out how much it costs to live, may have other experiences that lead that individual to believe they want to go on. My concern is that you talk about getting rid of the tracking system but I suspect there is still an element of the tracking system in these suggestions.

I do not understand what is wrong with having a fully literate individual who drives a cab, works at the refinery? And I think we are back to the system that there is a lower threshold of knowledge that goes with somebody who is in the so-called blue collar trades as opposed to somebody who is going to be a politician, lawyer, doctor, scientist, what have you.

Dr. DUNHAM. No, I do not think there is any.

Mr. MILLER. I would like to work on a tugboat.

Dr. DUNHAM. I agree completely with that, but that is not what the council is saying.

Mr. MILLER. That is my impression. I am getting a sense we can discharge our duty, we can end up with an orderly group of kids who remain in school.

Dr. DUNHAM. There is not an earlier form of tracking, sidetracking people into different occupations at all. The notion is everybody would do well, just as I indicated with my own children. Everybody would do well to have experiences outside the classroom while they are growing up.

Mr. MILLER. Assuming they have skills.

Dr. DUNHAM. Assuming they have skills. But this need not be an either/or. I think you would find an awful lot of agreement with educators about the importance of out-of-classroom activities. We just heard Dr. Lipsitz say that, Bud would say that, and Scott would agree. There is no notion of sacrificing skills at all, it is not an either/or.

Dr. THOMSON. If I might add one point of information.

The only thing that bothers me about this discussion is that there seems to be an assumption that there are not many work experience programs in schools today. The fact is that during the late seventies, based on Jim Coleman's report called "Transition to Adulthood", there was a tremendous growth in opportunities for young people within the regular high schools to take work experience programs.

Our latest research says that 87 percent of the high schools in the country today offer work experience or service learning experience of the kind you were discussing to any high school student who wants to take it; it is a course. So that it is an option that the student and his counselor and a parent may make for maybe one afternoon a week, or 2 hours, 2 days a week, or whatever. Maybe it is just on weekends. But the assumption I think that these kinds of things are not going on and have not been going on in high school are erroneous, they are going on and for college-bound students.

As a matter of fact, we have been supporting work experience opportunity for kids as an option, not as a mandate, for 5 years. It is actually the American middle class that is most concerned about this. We found in the minorities and among blue collar and working class peoples as well there is a very grave suspicion of this, that we are trying to push them back into a noncollege track, if you will. That was not the intent at all.

As I say again, it is an interest area that the American middle class seems to have, white and black, seems to have to quite a high level.

Mr. MILLER. Let me just reiterate my concern.

My concern was, and I guess we draw on our own personal experiences, and I agree with what you have said and if it is put forth in that fashion I do not have a great quarrel with it. But my concern is that as I viewed my hometown high school when I was there, and I look at it now and visit other high schools around, that something takes place currently; it seems to me that when a young person decides that they want to opt for the vocational track, if you will, that different thresholds are established, different attitudes are established; if you want to go to art shop, welding shop, all of a sudden we do not have the obligation to teach you calculus. What

they forget to tell you is if you want to be a good welder on a nuclear submarine you have to learn calculus.

I am worried if we fall back into the old tracking system where you can get by on bonehead English, get by and that is it. My concern is, I just believe there is a great deal more excellence in young people than we give them an opportunity to show.

I am concerned that we do not implant an attitude that says, if you decide that you want work experience you have to forgo these other opportunities, this incredible bit of learning. That is my real concern, that I am afraid sometimes teachers who are so destined to have order in that classroom would really like to see a few people take the afternoon off because along about 2 o'clock you do not want to deal with those four hooligans.

I am worried that the teacher says, "I discharged my obligation because my students are working at Burger King." You have not done anything. That is my concern, the attudinal one.

I think it is a marvelous proposal. Like the other gentleman here, I have children in this age bracket. They are dying for actual life experiences, work experiences, what have you. But I hate to see somebody decide that when they make that choice they owe them a lesser education. I do not think we do.

Dr. DUNHAM. You are exactly right. All of us would agree with that.

It is kind of interesting, some of the criticism of the report has been that if you take 1 day, one-half day, or 2 days out of the 5-day week for students, you are going to lessen their ability to develop academic skills. Just as a footnote, it is kind of intriguing that the most prestigious private schools in the United States for years and years operate classes meeting three and four times a week, not five times a week. Wednesday, most of the private schools in the Northeastern United States, private boarding schools, is a free day, kids are off doing all kinds of things just like this.

Mr. MILLER. We tried this a few years ago, the gym teachers would never go for it.

Mr. Andrews.

Mr. ANDREWS. Thank you.

First of all, let me if I may apologize not only for myself but for a number of Members. Today is unusual. All days here are hectic but particularly today.

I guess every Member is being called by people back home, either individuals or radio stations or newspapers, about our reaction to the President's speech and various questions that arise from some suggestion of reinstitution of the registration; does that lead to the draft, are we near war, some such thing?

I guess most of the Members are on the telephones and as soon as they leave somebody hands them a note of another urgent call. I hope it does not indicate to you that the subcommittee, the full committee is not very much interested in the subject about which you are here today. I have not heard a lot of what you said but I did have an opportunity in recent time to read some articles and talk with some people along the same general line.

I do not have any misgivings or fears. I agree with you very much. I hope this will be instituted, or pursued, I should say. It has already been instituted.

I guess my only question or concern, and I hope this does not seem to you to indicate some extreme conservatism or States' rights or some such thing, I do not think I am an extremist in that regard, though I realize that is "compared to whom," but it just concerns me that in this instance, this is just one of more than a thousand a year, that people somewhere, probably in most instances properly, conceive to be something that is good, something ought to be done, somewhere, all the time to make things better.

It just bothers me that so many of them therefore conclude that the place to go to get the good done is to the Congress. Go to the Federal Government again. I do not think that I agree that this is one of those instances in which the Federal Government need necessarily be, in the forefront. I think the people who are of like mind about this matter, wherever they may be, Federal Government, State government, local government, out of government altogether, parents, students themselves, teachers, all of us who believe this should be involved.

I am not suggesting that the Federal Government should not be mindful of these needs and supportive of the needs, but I just wonder if the force of the effort, if the principal mover should be HEW or the Department of Education or Congress or somebody up here. I wonder, if this is a matter of what you ladies and gentlemen and others think should be done in your schools, why don't you just do it in your schools?

What is the point, what is the need for having another Federal level of spending and dictates and mandates and guidelines and do you comply or don't you comply; inspections, interrogations, lawsuits? Why go this route every day?

We want to innovate something in the schools or elsewhere; we have school boards, State superintendents, are they not qualified and authorized to institute such a program if they wish to? What do you need the Federal Government to do about it?

Dr. DUNHAM. Can I just take one quick shot at that, at least with regard to the Carnegie Council recommendations?

There is basic agreement with what you say. In fact, the council recognizes fully the State responsibility technically for the schools; all their recommendations call for State action, State money, State and local money, in some instances, some additional money from the Federal Government to bring forth matching funds from the State government. But in other instances basic changes in legislation, Federal legislation, are called for, particularly in vocational education, a rather fundamental shift. That requires Federal legislation.

Of course it goes back to 1917. So there is a long history of legislation in being.

Dr. HODGKINSON. There are some very good examples of partnerships. The experienced coeducation programs were begun with Federal funds to establish models that work. All of those programs are now in place supported by State funds. So the Federal Government initiated these new efforts to get kids into a work setting, but in the hands of a school. They were still in school but spent a certain amount of time out on a work setting. Those programs were effective largely because the Federal Government initiated the proto-

types and States picked up the expense and expanded the programs.

Dr. LIPSITZ. I share your concern and all the time that I was working at the Learning Institute of North Carolina I could not answer that question that you asked, why don't the schools just go ahead and do it? I do share your concern.

However, the Federal Government is making an investment. The point—one of the major points I was trying to make in the comments that I made earlier is there is no way we can make good on that investment if we concentrate only on very specific age groups like the very, very young and then the transition to the labor market and leave out that chaotic middle.

Let me give one or two examples.

The ESEA title I money that goes into the schools, without the cadre of people who know how to teach reading at the junior high level, you cannot have kids reading in an eighth grade level if you put all your money up through the third grade. If you put your money through the third grade, you will have kids reading up to the third grade level but not fourth through eighth.

Where does that money come from? If the regulations do not require that that be done, and if there is not a group of professionals out there who can do it, then you are not making good on your investment.

Another example. We care very much about the health and nutrition of our very young children. There are new stresses, physical stresses that occur with the onset of puberty. If we are in agreement that the basic prerequisite for teaching and learning is an intact child, we are going to have to worry about the physical intactness of adolescents if they are going to be able to learn, but we do not pay any attention to that until we do the screening for the Job Corps and find out just disastrous results from those screenings, really serious physical problems.

You say no wonder those kids could not learn. Why didn't anybody ever find out about them? The point I am trying to make is not there be this enormous new, all these new areas in which the Federal Government gets involved, but that we look at those areas in which we are involved, like desegregation, vocational education, programs for the handicapped, for the basic skills, inservice learning, and say can we in fact succeed with these programs if we are looking only at very, very narrow age groups?

Mr. ANDREWS. That is well put and I again totally agree. Without being expert about it, I am somewhat inclined from my own observations to agree that we start with kids quite early, Head Start, even before that with child care, and so on.

It does seem that the emphasis slackens off most considerably at about the early teen or preteen years. I would agree with that. But I still do not think that quite answers the question of from whence should this thrust, new thrust, not maybe a new thrust but accelerated thrust, from whence should that come?

I think to focus national attention on it in terms of some studies and some results of some studies that cannot really be made comprehensively by the individual school there in Chapel Hill or whatever you might be talking about—I think there is a proper Federal role to ascertain nationally what the problem is and to bring

together on a national basis the best minds and experiences and studies and reports and so forth that are available, and to disseminate those, both publicly and through the appropriate channels, particularly to the schools, but to the public in general.

I notice in your summarization given to me of some of your principal thoughts, Doctor, you expressed the opinion there should be a national focus as to the problem. With that I would agree. But the actual implementation, it seems to me, should as nearly as possible not be Federal.

I just—maybe I have become, I don't know, just disillusioned. It seems to me practically every time you start some—it can be new, it can be an increased focus on something, from up here, through some [illegible] of legislation, it always sounds real good, you can hardly vote against it. It is like motherhood, apple pie, helping old people, children, [illegible] born children, anybody you want to talk about, that is fine, but it isn't long before you start going home on weekends or reading your mail and everybody is all wrong and mad and HEW tries to have some uniformity throughout the country.

This problem I am sure varies just tremendously. I know of areas wherein this would be absolutely ridiculous. The kids this age are back home working on the farms, milking cows, helping get in crops; they are already too overburdened with nonacademic work. In many communities that would be essentially true. They are not going to school and leaving at 10 and nobody knows where they are. It is a small community. If the kid is wandering down the street everybody in the community knows the kid, knows the parent, knows the kid is supposed to be in school. The parent would know it within an hour. That has nothing to do with New York City. It is an altogether different matter.

I think the people in those various communities, various school districts, certainly in those States, can know what is needed in those particular communities better than George Miller or Ike Andrews or somebody up here that spends at most, could not spend more than 10 hours, if that, on the problem and try to come up with some bill. I just doubt that is the way to go about it.

I think we should be cooperative. Certainly I am pleased we are being made aware. I think perhaps a report from this committee, if it should be the Members agree with you, that it become a part of the Congressional Record, somebody to be quoted, a general agreement of encouragement, encourage the department to continue its studies, to report its findings and hopefully be supportive of your position, I think all that would be just wonderful. And if we can, after a period of time, if you can identify some places where this is—where your recommendations are being followed extensively, perhaps at various places throughout the Nation, I don't question but what the appropriate Federal department can make some further investigations; hopefully it could ascertain some improvement in circumstances of the children by reason of innovation of these programs. Again, let's publish that.

I am not suggesting there is no role for the Federal Government, no. I think there is a supportive role, a role of assisting, but I hope you don't think that the basis, the initiative, the followthrough, the thrust, and so forth, should be a Federal effort.

I am not inclined to think that. What do you think as to what extent—I know that is hard to answer—you are getting into a matter of percentages or degrees and so forth. I don't know really what I am saying when you become that finite about testimony. I guess I am saying that I hope the Federal effort will be reasonably modest but supportive, certainly that it will not become more than 50 percent or some such thing, of a Federal program.

Dr. HODGKINSON. One way to think about that, sir, is to look at the cost/benefit analysis of categorical grants compared to prototypes. People get used to categorical money very quickly. It becomes a birthright. So local school boards assume it is always that way, where, as the prototype, you don't have access to that automatically. It is developed around a local school system and each individual system in the country can look at that and decide whether they want to buy into it with their own money.

That being the case, I would think you would want to consider some prototype or demonstration funding which could then be supplemented with other funds.

Mr. ANDREWS. That certainly sounds reasonable to me. I would tend to support that, as well as again making the subsequent studies, investigate reports of the ascertained benefit or lack of benefit as the case might be of those prototypes.

In order to serve their best function, they would have to be fed throughout the country.

Yes, again, a very appropriate Federal role, it would seem to me.

Dr. THOMSON. Mr. Andrews, if I might make a brief comment, I think there is an important Federal role beyond that of money. It is simply one of leadership. I spoke earlier to what I consider to be currently an imbalance in Federal attention for special need students as contrasted to students at large. The interest of this subcommittee, the interests of the Education Department, whatever, as expressed through speeches, through the media and even through general aid programs which we would support, it seems to me would substantiate what I see as the Federal role in education and that is to serve all of the students of all of the people, not just to serve special need students or separate categories of students.

So I would urge this subcommittee to look again at Federal policies and see if it is not just as important to have interests in and support for the program and comments and information about, as I say, the college-bound student as well as the noncollege bound student, talented as well as handicapped student.

I think we need to rebalance the scales in terms of Federal policy and Federal interest.

Mr. ANDREWS. Certainly that goes a long way to solving it. I think the reason—maybe you can help me—I think the reason Federal programs are more than less is because we rather try to address peculiar problems, particular problems, rather than general.

That goes back, in an indirect way, to what I was saying earlier. I think at least at one time it was considered that the basic role of educating these kids was not Federal. Then all and sundry reports and so forth showed that within the total of the public school population there were people who, for financial reasons or otherwise, placed unusual strains on the local school system, perhaps

beyond its capacity, in terms of handicapped children, or children for one reason or another that were not able to cope and couldn't be addressed in numbers of 30 or 32 per teacher; where the Federal Government began to get into the role of backup, where the problems were most acute and considerably more than normal funds per student, per semester hour-type thing was needed, and more or less as aid in that sort of role, but yet every session here, as you suggest, it moves into more Federal total support, not only of public school children but everybody, at every age.

Eventually it just becomes a Federal initiative to take over assistance to everybody who thinks they need assistance and that becomes everybody.

I feel we are just moving more and more, and the people out there in the country are saying for God's sake stop, back up, please, Federal Government.

Yet every group that comes agrees, yes, generally speaking we ought to do that, but in this particular interest we need to have more Federal involvement. That is what we had altogether. We are approaching now 6,000 political packs in the United States, all of them organized to further, to get the Federal Government more into whatever that particular group wants to talk about.

Yet the majority of us are saying at the same time simultaneously, get the Federal Government out of some things.

How do you do both at the same time?

Dr. DUNHAM. Just a comment, if I may.

My plea would be to this subcommittee, whether the role of the Federal Government is—more money or no money or leadership alone—my plea would be that in looking at the problems of youth, don't just think of them as school problems, just as the people over in Labor should not just think of the problems of youth as employment problems.

The two are joined. There has to be some way of linking schooling and employment more closely together; the two operate now separately from each other. There is no communication. I think that is one of the big gaps at least that the council is trying to get at. I would urge this subcommittee to think in terms of breadth and comprehensiveness, looking at the youth problem.

Don't just think of it in terms of a school problem because I don't think the solution is going to be found there.

You can have the best schools in the world and if there are no jobs afterward the problem still exists.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Kildee.

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Lipsitz, in many of our alternative education programs, students have to fit certain criteria to enter that program. Very often these criteria are negative criteria.

Would you let students have more of a say or choice in selecting to go into an alternative education program?

Dr. LIPSITZ. I am talking specifically about the young adolescent population, is that right?

Mr. KILDEE. Yes.

Dr. LIPSITZ. Yes, absolutely. I know you are a former teacher, but I don't know at what level.

Mr. KILDEE. High school.

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Dr. LIPSITZ. High school. I am really very concerned that this wildly diverse group of kids, anybody who has been a junior high school teacher or has feared I am going to be assigned to a junior high school knows what I am talking about.

With the possibility of about 6 years of difference in growth, a group of 13-year-olds. I don't understand how we think that we can offer one program to this diverse population of kids. I am not even talking about cultural or ethnic diversity. I am not talking about farm versus urban areas.

I am just talking about developmental efforts. I think here again parents often know who their kids are and kids have a better sense of who they are than people assigning them to programs. If there were such options at this time, I think that we could prevent a great deal of the dissatisfaction and dropout that occurs later.

Mr. KILDEE. I know that many early alternative education programs were funded by LEAA, and you can assume there were certain negative criteria then to enter those programs. Some programs were very good, some not so good and some were bad. I think at every level of school we have to improve our counseling. Coupled with good counseling, and a choice on the part of the student—there would be a lot more use of alternative education.

Dr. LIPSITZ. I agree with you completely.

One problem is that you have to be a problem in order for anybody to pay attention to you. If we put together statistics on juvenile crime, teenage pregnancy, serious mental health problems, we get about 20 percent of the population of the kids who are distressed.

That is about the same percentage as the adult population. This age is really not more over the wall than any other age group. We perceive them that way. We pay a lot of attention to the 20 percent, not any to the 80 percent. That group is just as diverse as the 20 percent; maybe more so.

A lot of people think this is an age group that should be up and out of school and it is back in the senior high school when they can sit more and learn more; we have reversed it; we have the most alternatives at the senior high levels and next at elementary and pitifully few at this junior high level.

Mr. KILDEE. In the school district in which I live and in which I taught, in Flint, Mich., motivated by another cause, to try to integrate the schools racially, the board set up some magnet schools. Students have a great deal of choice, almost complete choice in conjunction with their parents, for example, to go to a traditional junior high or go to what we call the academy, or go to the open school.

In the open school entrance is not necessarily based on quality of student or grade point average; the open school is innovative, but there is a choice there. I talked to some of the students. They like to have that choice, but we should try to eleminate the negative criteria for going to the nontraditional school.

I think anything we can do to enhance that would be good.

Dr. THOMSON. I think we are making some progress in the area of understanding how students learn. I just wanted to add this hopeful note here a minute.

We are learning more and more about the way students process information about what in education jargon is called learning styles. As we say, we are now able to identify to some degree those students who have a tendency to learn from the written word; other students who seem to process information better through oral communication and yet others who need the experience and in the kinesthetic kind of learning. That is one dimension.

There are other dimensions we were able to identify. We can determine now which students really do learn better in a more open situation, as contrasted to other students who learn better in a structured situation.

We can identify to some degree those students who seem to learn better in a peer group situation and those who need adults.

Interestingly enough, contrary to public wisdom, often it is the gifted student that seems to want to work with adults. We are making progress.

I realize it is frustrating for the lay public and educators and everyone else not to be able to have educators come to them and tell them this is the thing to do. We feel excited about the direction in which we are going. It may be quite possible down the road to begin to group to some degree students with like learning styles as a kind of a practical way of getting at what we know about the way students process information.

Dr. HODGKINSON. If I could make a comment on the last two, not only are there exciting new ways of thinking about how new students learn. Test scores in the first three grades in the Iowa test of basic skills increased over the first decade. In the first 3 years of school students are learning the essential skills of reading better than they have before. Scores are steady from grades 4 to 6. As Joan suggests, in grade 7, the scores begin to fall on comprehension and vocabulary learning as compared to previous years. That does seem to be an area where we have declines in scores.

What Scott was saying I think was absolutely true about the importance of the new research that talks about how people learn and the fact that actually produces payoff in better test scores.

Mr. KILDEE. I can recall when I taught high school how foolish it seemed at times to try to push a student through Macbeth when really that student needed some help in basic reading; yet we had few resources to call upon at that time.

I am not a reading specialist. A reading specialist plays a very important role in the school. I can recall early back in my teaching schools had what we called in those days remedial reading in the first three grades, really you need those specialists all through the school. I used to wonder what am I doing with Macbeth when this student really hasn't mastered the fundamental reading.

You are really right. You weren't equipped, nor was I, to do that type of reading specialty.

Thank you very much.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you.

In the work of this committee, many of us have spent time working on the development of programs for specialized segments of society—abused children, abused women, handicapped children, educationally or environmentally or economically deprived chil-

dren. As you visit programs around the country to try to deal with those problems, you find really some spectacular examples of help and mutual relationships that clearly everybody is benefitting from.

Recently on one of the national TV programs was this teacher in Chicago who is teaching these children to read with a great deal of success. The immediate response of the legislator is to say, let me create that nationwide and I will be a hero in my own eyes.

What we find out is that in most cases the success of those programs was related to very special people and you can't—until the cloning process becomes a little more exact—we can't recreate those people in 5,000 programs across the country and certainly we can't recreate them 5,000 times in the National Association of Secondary School principals.

The point of my comment is this: It seems to me, and I said this yesterday, that whether it is the junior high, as it is called in my hometown, or the high school, that they inherit a group of students every year that are a little different problem than last year, very different cases, different background and they number from 1,000 to 2,800 at the junior high level, whatever it is, and you are supposed to deal with these very diverse groups of students. Yet it appears to me that the institution that is supposed to deal with these people in a flexible manner, to meet each of their individual needs, whether it is remedial reading or bilingual education, or a broken home or alcoholism or suicidal tendencies, that the institution itself is very conservative and very staid.

It doesn't seem to have the ability to change. Based upon the knowledge of the local situation, the neighborhood school board knows more about the neighborhood than the county school board, but it doesn't seem to have the ability.

We have been having a number of meetings with principals around the country from high schools and junior high schools of very diverse organizations.

I make an attempt to talk to them as I lecture in high schools and junior high schools. One principal made the point a couple of weeks ago that this Congress wouldn't think, and certainly the U.S. Navy wouldn't think of sending anything from a tugboat to a nuclear carrier to sea without somebody in command who is responsible for all of the good things and all of the bad things that take place.

Mr. MILLER. If you ram another ship at sea, we all know who will be ultimately responsible. If the ship goes down we know who the last one is.

My concern is that I do not get a sense in talking to principals and talking to teachers, that anybody really has the responsibility for that constituency in a junior high school, a high school, or even an elementary school—that I can fire the bad teacher, that I can reward the good teacher, that I can sit down with my student body and say what do we want to accomplish this year and we can meet the demands along with their parents of the things we want to do. In theory, that is what we did last night, when President Carter told us what he wants to do this year. Because of the State legislation and politics, we really, despite what I think is outstanding testimony and the thoughts of a great number of people who have

put a great number of hours behind that, we cannot change the system to meet these incredible needs that are coming too fast and furious, because this population is very much alive. They have been subject to so much more input in those 13 years than certainly I was or you were or anybody else, yet we have this kind of staid, tenured operation that simply is to take them into one door, cope with them and get them out the other door on to high school, college, marriage, work, or whatever.

Are we really kidding ourselves to think that I can create a teacher training program and we can put a lot of dough into it, we can send it to the States, or we can create various vocational programs at this level and have them work? Because I see just in my own district, and we do this too often in my business, but I see whole attitudes change when a new principal comes or an old principal leaves. Teachers and students are excited; there is a spring in their step, because there are some dynamics going on.

But the principal is slowly strangled, the creativity is lost, it is sort of like Members of Congress, it grinds you down in time. My concern is really for that fundamental change that I think cries out to be made. I do not see how we do it.

That was a very long, hopefully coherent, statement. I would appreciate your response, because I just worry as I think what we do to change—categorical, more versus less.

Dr. LIPSITZ. Yes, it was coherent and dismal and I agree with you, but I think most of us having gone through the sixties and thinking that we really could do wonderful things have become much more conservative and have looked again at what has happened to the individual school.

One of the things you were just describing, whether it is in Congress or at the school level, I think it is called the Hawthorne effect in research, when you do something new people really respond, whether good or bad. The Hawthorne effect came from a study decades ago in a plant where they decreased the amount of light people were working under and the productivity went up. The effect is there because people feel important because somebody is paying attention to them. When a new principal comes in and says, here is a new regime, people do perk up. I have always wondered why we try to control under the Hawthorne effect. We do not allow sabbaticals for principals and teachers, the way we do at the college level. We do not give kind of R. & R. for people.

The other thing we do not do is to identify the schools that work instead of always looking at the problems. There is a wonderful report that has come out of the Citizens Council for Ohio Schools called "Orderly Schools that Serve Children". If you look at that report they are identifying what it is that identifies an orderly school. Again, if you look at it, you will not see the junior high schools, but the high schools.

Mr. Andrews is concerned we are talking about new programs; I am talking about the programs we already have. The national diffusion work is to exemplify programs so people around the country can see how can we adapt this for our local needs. There are State facilitators doing this.

In preparation for my testimony I had somebody on my staff look at the exemplary reports. I see, how many are serving this adoles-

cent age group, if I were a principal or school board member, I wanted to know how I can find it. In the entire national diffusion network, there is a handful of programs that involve the disadvantaged and remedial reading or mathematics courses. The 1978 edition of Educational Programs That Work is their publication linking three programs.

Mr. MILLER. What is the name of the publication?

Dr. LIPSITZ. Educational Programs That Work.

Mr. MILLER. That is the other publication? The ones that do not?

Dr. LIPSITZ. They are trying to identify exemplary programs they will put their stamp of approval on and say these were funded by the Federal Government. We think they are good and want to put them in the diffusion network. You can find two in total, two programs around the country that link career programs with basic skills around the country and here we are talking about work and educational skills. If someone wanted to make a difference, where would one turn to? We are not doing our job on the programs we already have. How does a good administrator find out?

Dr. THOMSON. We just returned from our annual convention. I must compliment you on your remarks. Had you given your remarks at one of our sessions you would have received a standing ovation. You stated exceedingly well the kinds of frustrations and concerns that most administrators have.

Basically what we face is a management problem in the sense that we need to deliver a better service than we are now. Then we have to ask ourselves how can we deliver a better service. I think we must take the local unit if a better service is to be delivered. I say that not because I think principals are supermen or women, but simply that is the best chance we have at the local school unit. The school principal with sufficient resources is doing a needs assessment, taking a needs assessment not just from the last person who walks through the door, but a plan from the community, so he is responding to the consensus of what the community wants in the way of an educational program.

I think then given some opportunity for leadership which assumes he will not be quite as bound as he is now by due process hearings, by paperwork and categorical aid programs and appeals and everything else, that given some greater latitude and flexibility with his staff, I think that is one direction that we can go, perhaps the best direction we can go to improve schools.

Schools more than any other institutions are face to face with changes taking place year after year in the society. Unless the schools have the flexibility to face the changes taking place in their own community, we will not be doing the job well. So attention to that local school unit and the opportunity for that local school unit leader called the principal to have some latitude and flexibility.

Mr. ANDREWS. The things you said, I do not know how you phrased it, the appeals, the paperwork, is that not getting back to if you never come to Washington the first time you would not have a problem? It seems to me that is the problem, there is too much Washington there.

I saw as a study, George may have seen it, early last year, you all probably will know what this is. I really got into political trouble. Somebody came before the subcommittee, you remember

who it was, Jack, they had received a grant, a Federal grant, and they had made a big study and they came in here with a report that looked like it was about 2 inches thick. They testified all of one morning, and the essence of what they found was that you have general success in a school where you have a strong principal who is essentially physically present where he is able to acquire the support of the teachers, where the parents are supportive and involved, and where the students are involved.

It is sort of strange in my family, my mother taught school for about 40 years; she is now 84. My second wife taught school now for 7 years; she is about 40. My daughter taught school for 7 years, and she is about 30, and I enjoyed taking that report to the three of them. Well, they had fun. Everybody knows all that. Why do you have to have a national study and some Federal grant to come back and tell people that you will have a better school and better results if you have a strong principal who is essentially physically present, who has the support of the faculty, the teachers, and who has the support and involvement of the parents, and where the parents and students are involved. I think everybody with a little commonsense knows all of that. You cannot get that by law. You can no more create virtue than a battering ram can create a temple.

You do not legislate good schools. I think there are needs that are beyond that, yet the physically and mentally handicapped, the retarded students, who for one reason or another there are students who need to be taken out of that appropriate setting in the school and four or five of them need to be shuffled off for reasons of one or another.

We need the special teachers and I am glad to see the Federal Government involved and assisting in these special problems and again disseminating information and innovate and so forth. That is all well and good, but to me, the essence of whether it all works gets back down to the local circumstance and the local people who are there and what they are willing to do. I do not think there is much we can do about that.

Dr. HODGKINSON. I have worked with a fair number of State bureaucracies and in my opinion it is not all the Federal Government doing so many difficult things. Some of the State bureaucracies are just impenetrable. There is no way a new idea or program could get through them. There has to be some kind of articulation between local, State, and Federal organizations, and I do not think that has been a target of much serious concern.

Mr. MILLER. Let me go back to the Hawthorne effect. My statement was a little bit more directed. It would be my interpretation that there is a sense that maybe for a moment you are going to have control more than the tension; that for a moment maybe this new principal, like a new President, thinks he is going to be able to put his mark on this bureaucracy and finds out, in fact, absent a lot of luck, it will not happen.

My concern is, as I sit here and look at the recommendation as to the kinds of things that school districts do not have the ability to do, States will not do or have the ability to do, you are really talking about a set of auxiliary services rather than drastic changes in education. I am not sure we can really help if in fact

the system continues to be throttled by factors which are beyond our control. Maybe it would be more within the jurisdiction of the Labor-Management Subcommittee of this committee to determine who has the ability to say that teacher is an alcoholic, or incompetent, or wonderful and should be moved to the head of the class, if I may. Maybe that would do more to free the creativity than all the Federal dollars that we have sent you. I am very concerned that creativity will be restricted and will not be performing in an enlightening way at those institutions.

I think these may be the most important hearings we have ever held in this committee, and given the population and the problems which they are going to face and the problems with which they grow up. I am very concerned about it, and I think Mr. Andrews will testify I am one of the better firehouse dogs, you bring a need and I will ring the bell for it. But I am not sure we can help at this moment because the problem is so constricted by State administration and labor-management problems that I cannot help you. That is of concern to me obviously, because then you might determine you will not need me and I will really feel badly, you know.

I would hope that maybe you would followup, because we are going to continue this hearing and we will obviously continue this discussion and I hope we will be able to go out to some of the regions of this country and ask other principals and participants in this system. If I jog something in your mind about the structure of this system—I am terribly concerned what should be the most dynamic and liberal in the sense of new ways is really just the opposite as we start to feed young people through the system. We miss some of the young people.

So, I would hope you might consider that, because I do not know if we can measure up to the seriousness of the problem under the current operating rules.

Dr. LIPSITZ. Let me give you one thing to look for when you are going out and looking, that is all, to make you a little more depressed.

Auxiliary teacher resources would be my second choice. Look at the kids receiving those services; look at their day, their school day.

When I was teaching——

Mr. MILLER. Their school day?

Dr. LIPSITZ. Look at how disjointed their school day becomes and look how many different people claim a piece of an individual child.

When I was teaching, a certain number of kids in each class would be pulled out two to three times a week for special services. I would defy an "A" student to keep up with the class if I am insisting that student keep up, if I am sticking to a mandated curriculum. A student could not keep up. Yet we are asking that most of the kids at risk, manage to keep up while receiving those auxiliary services during the day.

Or look at the way auxiliary teachers help or do not help teachers in the classroom. A teacher who I spoke to the other day said she was going out of her mind because of the mainstream program and she did not have the necessary training. She went to the resource teacher and said, "Help me" and was handed 14 books.

When you decide resource teachers are the way to go, you have to look at some of the side effects of that, also. There are good and bad ways to do it.

Mr. MILLER. It is interesting you raise the point because maybe the single most direct complaint of Members of Congress is the way their day is chopped up in which there is no continuity of time in which you can talk to anyone. As you witnessed today, we are all supposed to be in four other places for special treatment. It does not work that way.

Thank you very much for your time, your work, and your words of wisdom to us. I would hope you would consider our offer to continue to discuss with us, to make material available to us on this topic of the high school and the junior high. The junior colleges in California, you have to call them "community colleges" because they do not like to be junior to colleges. But what would be a preferred name for a junior high?

Dr. LIPSITZ. The fact we do not know what to call it is a sign of the chaos, middle grade, there is no way to call it, just the way we do not know what to call these young people; there is a horrible word "trancessants"; that is what some educators use.

Mr. MILLER. That will get you in a lot of political trouble here.

Thank you. The committee will adjourn until a week from next Tuesday; we will engage in these hearings again.

[Whereupon, at 12:20 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, to reconvene Tuesday, February 5, 1980.]

# OVERSIGHT HEARINGS ON AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

## Student Achievement and Curriculum

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TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 5, 1980

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY,
AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met at 9:30 a.m., pursuant to notice, in room 2257, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Perkins, Kildee, Miller, Goodling, Erdahl, and Hinson.

Staff present: John F. Jennings, counsel.

Chairman PERKINS. I want to start the hearings on time. I see now we have a quorum.

The Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education is continuing oversight hearings today on secondary education. The purpose of these hearings is to give the subcommittee a general idea of some of the problems and some of the positive things that are occurring in our junior and senior high schools.

This hearing will be focusing on two very important aspects of secondary education: student achievement and curriculum.

We will open with a distinguished panel of witnesses who will discuss secondary students' achievement. Dr. Hanford and Mr. Weber will testify on whether there has been a decline in students' achievement and on the meaning of the decline in SAT scores.

The next two witnesses, Dr. Edmonds and Mr. Sang, will talk about what school districts can do to improve secondary students' achievement, one from the perspective of a district where standardized test scores have fallen, and the other from a district where test scores have risen.

Then we will proceed to a second panel of witnesses, who will focus on secondary school curriculum. Dr. Goodman and Mr. Gray will testify on recent trends in curriculum and in what direction curriculum should take in the future.

Dr. Cavanaugh will present information on a successful curricular innovation in his district. Mr. Rosenbloom will speak about parental involvement in the school curriculum.

This promises to be a most interesting hearing, so let us proceed by having the first panel come around. Dr. Hanford, Mr. Weber, Dr. Edmonds and Mr. Sang, all of you come up, please.

Without objection, all of your prepared statements will be inserted in the record.

[The prepared statements of Dr. George Hanford, Dr. Ronald Edmonds, and Mr. Herbert Sang follow:]

## Prepared Statement of George H. Hanford, President, the College Board

Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am George Hanford, president of the College Board. It is a pleasure to testify before you today on the subject of student achievement and the school curriculum.

These two topics are generally germane to the mission of the College Board as an association of schools and colleges concerned with the transition from secondary to higher education and were specifically addressed on the College Board's behalf by a blue-ribbon Panel appointed in the fall of 1975 to assess the implications of declining scores on the Board's Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT). The Panel's findings are reported in the attached On Further Examination, published in the summer of 1977. The major and central portion of my testimony summarizes that report.

Much has happened to affect the world of the College Board since the publication of the Panel's findings and, before getting to the summary, I would like to comment briefly on those events that seem to me to be most relevant to the subcommittee's general interests and to its specific 1980 consideration of the circumstances of the decline in SAT scores between 1963 and 1977.

For one thing, average annual SAT scores have continued to drift ever so slightly downward over the last two years. Second, the findings of the Supreme Court in the Bakke case have tended to call attention to a broader definition of talent which the College Board, among others, has been exploring for many years...an exploration conducted in the full realization that the verbal and mathematical reasoning abilities measured by the SAT constitute only one small part of the college admissions

assessment process. Bakke also called attention again to the fact that minority and poor students do less well than majority students on tests like the SAT -- a circumstance which, in my opinion, reflects not bias in the tests but conditions in society.

Third, you should of course consider the Panel's findings in the light of the recent attacks that have been mounted on standardized tests generally and the SAT in particular through legislative initiatives and "so-called" consumer-inspired rhetoric. In this regard I can only point to the timing of events and suggest that the SAT is being treated by its detractors like the messenger who brought the bad news.

Finally, before attempting to summarize the findings of the Advisory Panel on the Decline in Scholastic Aptitude Test Scores let me make a point much emphasized throughout the Panel's deliberations. The SAT was designed with only one purpose in mind, to help predict how well individual students will perform academically in college. It was not designed to measure the effectiveness of the nation's schools. Yet that connection was made and that connection, the Panel found, was not totally without substance.

* * * * *

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS OF THE ADVISORY PANEL

In October 1975, in response to a steady decline in SAT scores which began in 1963, the College Board, in cooperation with Educational Testing Service, appointed a special Advisory Panel on Score Decline to look into the situation and to recommend research efforts that should be undertaken to shed light on the problem. Chaired by the former Secretary of Labor,

Willard Wirtz, the Panel's 21 members included some of the country's top experts in measurement, education, sociology, and other fields, as well as practicing school administrators and classroom teachers.

In its report issued in August 1977, the Panel found the drop in average SAT scores over the past 14 years to be both real and significant. Between 1963 and 1977, the average scores on the verbal section of the test dropped 49 points, from 478 to 429; the average score on the mathematical section dropped 32 points, from 502 to 470. The Panel rejected the notion that there was any one cause for the decline in SAT averages and pointed instead to an amalgam of social and educational changes during the previous decades. More specifically, the Panel assigned fifty percent of the decline to changes in the group of students taking the SAT, and attributed the remainder to problems in the schools and to pervasive factors in American society, including less emphasis on critical reading and careful writing in America's high schools, excessive television-viewing, changes in the family's role, and the social disruption of the 1960s and early 1970s.

COMPOSITIONAL CHANGE

After thoroughly reviewing all existing evidence and the results of 38 specially commissioned research studies, the panelists identified two stages in the score decline, each with somewhat differing causes. The first took place between 1963 and 1970, when expansion of educational opportunity produced compositional changes in the cross-section of students taking the SAT. The new testing population included more test

takers with lower high school grades, more test takers from low-income and minority groups, who traditionally score lower, and more women, whose mathematics scores tend to be lower than those of men.

Also in the context of compositional change, the Panel pointed to shifts in the SAT-taking population involving changing college-going patterns. Fifteen years earlier, most SAT takers were students enroute to relatively prestigious and selective four-year liberal arts colleges and universities. While the number of those in the SAT population going on to this type of postsecondary institutions remained virtually constant at first (until 1967), a cumulatively increasing percentage of test takers began to follow different courses: to colleges and universities with less selective or even open admissions policies, to two-year colleges, to training with a more technical or vocational emphasis.

There are score differentials of from 60 to 85 points (1) between test takers going on to four-year colleges (who average higher scores) and those who subsequently enter two-year colleges and (2) between test takers who go directly from high school to college (averaging higher scores) and those who do not. There were substantially larger percentages of these lower-scoring groups in the SAT population in 1972 than there had been in 1960; the increases in both cases were from about 8 percent (in 1960) to approximately 15 percent (in 1972).

These shifts in college-going patterns were more than just reflections of the compositional changes already identified. It was during the 1960s and early 1970s that two-year community colleges grew so fast and that

more flexible admissions policies were adopted by many four-year colleges and universities. The SAT, originally used as an instrument for assessing the abilities of a comparatively small group of high school students to do a particular type of postsecondary work, came to be taken increasingly by a much wider variety of students with more diverse prospects in mind.

The committee found that the largest part of the SAT score decline between 1963 and about 1970 was identifiable with compositional changes in the mix of the SAT-taking group-- considered both in terms of the test takers coming from higher- and lower-scoring groups and in terms of their plans for going on to college. The Panel estimated that in the first stage, these changes accounted for two-thirds to three-fourths of the score decline and school and societal problems for the remainder. Even during this first period, however, the Panel found that there were emerging signs of more "pervasive" influences or forces, going beyond any "compositional" changes, which were having an effect not only on the overall SAT averages but also within the various groupings of test takers. From about 1970 on, the composition of the SAT-taking population had become comparatively more stabilized with respect to its economic, ethnic, and social background. Yet the score decline continued and then accelerated; there were particularly sharp drops during the three-year period from 1972-75. Only about a quarter of the decline since 1970 could be attributed to continuing change in the make-up of the test-taking group. With a handful of exceptions, the drop in scores in recent years was virtually across the board, affecting high-scoring and lower-scoring groups alike.



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PERVASIVE CHANGE

According to the Panel, the second stage of score decline began in 1970 and extended to the time of its report. Panel members attributed the decline in this second stage less to changes in the group of test takers and more to a series of interrelated and pervasive influences or forces in education and society. The Panel cautioned, however, that these factors could not be assigned exact degrees of influence and that its evidence for some of them was only circumstantial. It pointed particularly to six sets of developments:

1) Changes in the high school courses of study. The Panel noted a significant dispersal of learning activities and emphasis in the schools, reflected particularly in the adding of many elective courses and a reduction in the number of courses that all students alike are required to take. It found that many of the curriculum changes reflected a tendency to avoid precise thinking and the demands it makes on both students and teachers. In the Panel's view, the key factors in the relationship between changes in curriculum and the decline in the college entrance examination scores were that less thoughtful reading was being demanded and done in high school and that careful writing had apparently about gone out of style. The Panel rejected, however, any broadside condemnation of electives, and pointed instead to the central importance of restoring the traditions of critical reading and careful writing.

2) Changes in learning standards in the schools and in the society. The Panel found clearly observable evidence of diminished seriousness of

purpose and attention to mastery of skills and knowledge in the schools, the home, and the society generally. It pointed to automatic grade-to-grade promotion, grade inflation, the tolerance of increased absenteeism, the reduction of homework, and the lowering of the demand levels of textbooks and other teaching and learning materials. Its special study of textbooks indicated that many current 11th grade materials were at what had been considered in the past a 9th-to-10th grade level; that a constantly increasing percentage of textbook space was taken up by pictures, larger print, wider margins, shorter words and sentences and paragraphs; that the amount of exposition was decreasing, the amount of narrative going up; that the assignments called increasingly for underlining, circling, and filling in of single words -- with no encouragement for students to learn to write.

The Panel's conclusion was that, in general, there had been a lowering of educational standards, and that this had been a factor in the decline in SAT scores. It stressed that the correction of the various elements in this situation required the collaboration of teachers, students, parents, and the broader community in the establishment of standards that can be truly considered higher only as they recognize youth's essential diversity.

3) Changes in the role of the family in the teaching and learning process. The Panel considered home learning of critical importance in any attempt to identify the causes of the decline in academic test score averages. It noted that research was only just beginning into the questions of what effect there may be on academic test scores as a consequence of broken homes, of there being one parent (or none) present instead of

two, of the mother's working outside the home either by necessity or by choice, or of the father's allocation (again by either necessity or choice) of his time and interests. The Panel further noted that the number of children from divorced families had doubled in the past 10 years, that desertion rates were increasing, and that the number of children living with one parent or none was increasing at the rate of over 300,000 per year. Although the effects of such factors as family communication, parental reading habits, or paternal concern with education could not be identified, the Panel concluded that there was probably more than coincidence between the decline in SAT scores and the drop in the number of children living in two-parent homes.

4) Television. Noting that by age 16, most children have spent between 10,000 and 15,000 hours watching television -- more time than they have spent in school -- the Panel surmised that this had detracted from homework, competed with schooling more generally, and contributed to the decline in SAT average scores. The Panel also considered the developing scientific evidence that the functioning of the mind may be such that entirely different parts of it are involved in (1) following a line of script or type (as in a textbook or on a college entrance examination), and (2) watching something such as a television screen. If true, this suggests an intriguing possible disparity between television's teaching processes and conventional academic testing techniques. With traditional education and television currently out of kilter, the Panel viewed the prospect as one of competing promise and threat.

5) National turmoil. Referring to a "decade of distraction," the Panel said there was simply no way of knowing how much the trauma, between 1967 and 1975, of divisive war, political assassinations, burning cities, and the corruption of national leadership affected students' motivation and whether there was a consequent effect on their college entrance examination scores. Members were inclined to believe, however, that all this probably had made a difference.

6) Motivation. The Panel found that there had been a marked diminution in young people's learning motivation and considered it plausible speculation that as opportunities for getting into college had widened, there may have been less concentration of student efforts in preparing for college entrance examinations.

REJECTED THEORIES

The Panel essentially rejected a number of other theories about the possible causes of the declining scores. For example, it concluded that the score decline did not result from changes in the difficulty of the test or the ways of scoring it. Although extensive research was conducted on this possibility, it found the Educational Testing Service's procedures for equating successive editions of the test and checking against item obsolescence to be as "sophisticated and reliable as the state of the psychometric art permits." In fact, two technical analyses requested by the Panel indicated an "upward drift" of 8 to 12 points in the scaling of scores between the 1963 and 1973 SAT. This meant that the declines in the ability the SAT measures were in fact from 8 to 12 points larger than the recorded and reported scores indicate.

The Panel concluded also that the decline did not result from the SAT having been maintained in its traditional form amid changes in learning processes and what students are being taught. It found that the positive correlation between SAT scores and students' high school grades had increased over the past 10 years. Those findings, the Panel said, leave little basis for the suggestion that the SAT had gotten out of line with either secondary or postsecondary practices or standards -- so far, that is, as these practices and standards are reflected in students' academic grades.

While there was no clear and definitive answer to the question of whether cultural bias in the SAT might account for part of the score decline, the Panel noted that racial bias would appear to be more likely to infect the verbal test than it would the math test, yet the differences between the averages for various ethnic groups are larger on the math test than they are on the verbal test. Although the available information was incomplete, the Panel found that the predictive validity of the SAT appeared to be substantially the same for students in different ethnic groups and for women and men.

RECOMMENDATIONS

In its report, the Panel expressed concern about the relationship between traditional testing techniques and the introduction into the learning processes of new forms of communication and teaching instruments: tape recorders, films and film strips, television, and the like. The Panel urged that the College Board and ETS undertake an inquiry into the function of tests at the passage point between high school and college,

including an evaluation of the traditional tests on the basis of a determination of whatever can be distilled from current national concerns about society's educational values. This would include, the Panel suggested, the further development of "what is in effect a brokering function between secondary and postsecondary education -- a critically important function too little exercised by either public or private agencies."

* * * * *

In reflecting on these findings of the Advisory Panel, I am struck by the wisdom of your subcommittee in undertaking its current exploration. The decline in SAT scores may indeed signal a change in the quality of American education but, if so, the change was in my judgement worth the price. The history of the educational enterprise from World War II into the 1970s was one of remarkable success, not only accommodating an age group that grew by 40% in one year and stayed there but also managing to keep more poor and minority students in school longer at the same time. That this effort was achieved with so little change in quality is a remarkable tribute to the American people.

But now the pressure of numbers has diminished and we have a breathing spell in which we can take stock and adjust that quality, if it needs adjusting, in ways that will reflect our society's values in the 1980s, I am pleased you are undertaking that task.

Attachment

# *On Further Examination*

## Report of the Advisory Panel on the Scholastic Aptitude Test Score Decline

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Willard Wirtz, *chairman*
Harold Howe II, *vice chairman*
Bernard C. Watson
Ralph W. Tyler
Ledyard R Tucker
Vivian H. T. Tom
Robert L. Thorndike
Barbara Thompson
Thomas W. F. Stroud
Rosedith Sitgreave
Wilbur Schramm
Katherine P. Layton
Owen B. Kiernan
H. Thomas James
Matina S. Horner
Edythe J. Gaines
Frank W. Erwin
Bruce K. Eckland
Luis C. Cortes
Sandra A. Clark
Benjamin S. Bloom

College Entrance Examination Board
New York, 1977

# Prefatory Note

"No topic related to the programs of the College Board has received more public attention in recent years than the unexplained decline in scores earned by students on the Scholastic Aptitude Test. The trustees and the officers of the College Board believe that we must do all that we can to investigate and interpret this phenomenon to the public at large. . . .

"We are appointing a blue-ribbon panel to assist in making sense out of the complex and interrelated issues involved. The panel will be asked to audit the steps already taken to insure the psychometric integrity of the tests, to suggest additional ones if appropriate, to examine other kinds of research already done, and to identify research that still needs to be done in order to deal effectively with the score decline issue as it relates to candidate population, secondary education, and society."

With these words, written in October 1975 in my capacity as president of the College Board, and in consultation with William W. Turnbull, president of Educational Testing Service, I invited the 21 members of the Advisory Panel on the Scholastic Aptitude Test Score Decline to undertake this work. They were asked to function "as an advisory body to the presidents of the College Board and Educational Testing Service," and in that capacity "to consider the matter of the SAT score decline and assist in the [development of an] understanding of it."

The panelists have been extraordinarily generous in the investment of their personal time and effort, and they have brought to the problem a level of professional expertise that would be hard to match. In addition to the four lengthy plenary sessions held by the full panel and the several meetings of its three working subgroups, uncounted hours of homework and individual exchanges of correspondence surrounded the deliberative process. The discussions at each session were based on diligent advance attention to a wealth of background materials requested by the members and produced by internal and external researchers. The panel's deliberations were also enriched by the availability of a number of contemporary external documents dealing with various aspects of the score decline issue. About two-thirds of the costs of the panel-generated investigations, as well as the expenses of the panel itself, have been borne by the College Board, with the rest underwritten by Educational Testing Service.

Although the panel was technically appointed to advise the College Board and Educational Testing Service, its mission from the start emphasized its independence, including the freedom to deliberate such issues as it chose to consider and to report its findings in the public interest, whether or not they might be critical of the College Board or ETS. Consistent with that spirit, the College Board is pleased to publish the panel's report as it was submitted to us. In doing so, the College Board and ETS reserve the right—indeed, recognize their responsibility—to comment over time on its findings as particularly interested members of the educational community and the greater society we seek to serve. Meanwhile, I wish to express President Turnbull's and my appreciation to the members of the panel and to commend their report to the attention of all who care about education in the United States.

S. P. Marland, Jr.
July 1977

# Acknowledgments

The panel's debts are so many that simple acknowledgment of the largest of them will have to suffice.

Edmund J. Farrell and Alfred L. Putnam, chairmen of the College Board's Discipline Committees in English and Mathematics, respectively, served in effect as members of the panel, taking full part in our discussions and providing special insights and assistance.

George H. Hanford, senior vice president of the College Board, contributed immeasurably to the panel's functioning. The delicate role he played as chief of staff and intermediary was vital to our effort to be both fully informed and objectively critical. Yvonne Wharton worked closely with him in all of this, as did Lillian Tucci.

Paul Barton, senior associate at the National Manpower Institute, shared the responsibilities of the panel's chairman. Arlene Huff helped draft after draft through its dreariest stage.

The officers and staffs of the College Board and ETS provided us with assistance in extraordinary measure.

We asked a number of people outside the panel for information and for reactions and are indebted to them for their response. We have also benefited greatly from the communications received from several hundred individuals who have written simply in expression of their concerns about this subject.

Willard Wirtz, *chairman*

# Introduction

Every year, for 14 years now, there has been a drop in the average scores more than a million high school juniors and seniors get on the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) they take in seeking admission to college. The panel has been asked by the College Board (which sponsors the SAT) and Educational Testing Service (ETS) (which develops and administers it) to look into this situation and to report publicly its findings and conclusions about the score decline. This is that report.

Starting with the technical aspects of the score decline as they appear under microscopic scrutiny and seem to permit objective analysis, we try in the later parts of the report to provide broader perspective. This means proceeding from what we have been able to establish on the basis of available data, to what we believe is reasonable interpretation of broader evidence, to what we speculate about as concerned individuals.

The particular interest of the College Board and ETS is in determining whether anything about the test itself has contributed to the decline in scores. Following a factual statement in Part One, we deal with this set of questions in Part Two.

The public's interest however, is not in the psychometric technicalities of the SAT score decline but in its implications regarding what is widely perceived as serious deterioration of the learning process in America. More and more high school graduates show up in college classrooms, employers' personnel offices, or at other common checkpoints with barely a speaking acquaintance with the English language and no writing facility at all. Parents watch children come home from school, without homework, to sit passively hour after hour and day after day in front of television sets until they have spent more time there than anyplace else except in bed. Although the SAT score figures are too small a window for surveying this broad condition, they provide special insight into it.

A major part of the decline in college entrance examination scores, especially in its earlier stages, is clearly traceable to a change in the composition of the student group taking the test, resulting from the deliberate and historic decision in this country in the 1960s to extend and expand educational opportunity and to eliminate previous discrimination in according it. The SAT data permit a relatively objective determination—covered in Part Three of the report—of the effects on the test scores of the changing composition of the group taking these examinations.

Equally clearly, the score decline also reflects, particularly in the 1970s, the operation of other more pervasive forces. Although the test score statistics do not themselves indicate the nature of these forces, there are available data that permit informed conjecture about the impact on learning of changes that have taken place in both the schools and the society during a period of turbulence and distraction rarely

paralleled in American history. This context is described and discussed in Part Four.

The sources on which we have relied are indicated in Reference Notes at the end of the report. Many of these sources are special studies made for the panel, and they are available in a separate volume of Appendixes to the report.

No one of us on the panel would have put everything in the report in the form it takes here. We share the feeling, nevertheless, that this comes close enough to what seems important to all of us to warrant submerging our small differences so that our larger agreement is plain.

# Part One. The Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Score Decline

THE Scholastic Aptitude Test has been used since the 1920s to help determine high school students' apparent preparedness for college. Many colleges and universities require applicants for admission to submit SAT scores for consideration along with high school academic and extracurricular records, letters of recommendation, and the results of personal interviews. Others make similar use of a comparable examination administered by the American College Testing (ACT) Program. Still others require no standardized college entrance examination.

Given in different editions several times a year at locations all over the country, the SAT is taken primarily by seniors but also by a large number of juniors and by a few others. Some students take it more than once. The roughly one million young people in each high school senior class who take the SAT represent approximately a quarter of their age group as a whole and about half of the number going on to college. The figures for the past 26 years are in Table 1.

The SAT includes a Verbal and a Mathematical part. Scores for both parts are computed and reported separately on a scale of 200 to 800. Two and a half hours are allowed for taking the test. (The time, originally three hours, was shortened in 1973 to permit adding the 30-minute Test of Standard Written English but the results on the latter test are not included in the reported SAT scores.)

The Mathematical portion of the SAT, which requires as background mathematics typically taught in grades one through nine, depends less on formal knowledge than on reasoning; it measures students' problem-solving ability in three areas—arithmetic reasoning, elementary algebra, and geometry. The Verbal portion, designed to assess reading skills and understanding of word relationships, covers four areas—antonyms, analogies, sentence completion, and reading comprehension; the material for this test is drawn from social, political, scientific, artistic, philosophical, and literary writing. Sample questions from the SAT are included at the end of the report.

The panel has reviewed the SAT score pattern as it has developed over the past 26 years. These figures are in Table 2 and Chart A. For convenience, we refer throughout the report to the year in which an academic or SAT year *ends*—to 1952, as an example, for 1951-52. Wherever we refer to the number of SAT takers or the average scores in a particular year, the reference will be, for all years since 1966, to the *number or the scores of high school seniors taking the test*—as distinguished from the *total number of tests taken that year* (which was the basis on which the records were kept prior to 1967); this permits better comparisons between particular groups, or "cohorts" of students. Finally, when we refer to SAT "scores" the reference is to what are technically "scaled scores."

*Table 1. Numbers of 18-year-olds, high school graduates, first-time, degree-credit enrollments, and SAT takers, 1951-52 to 1976-77 (in thousands)*

| | *18-year-olds*[1] | *High school graduates*[2] | *First-time, degree-credit enrollments*[3] | *SAT tests taken*[4] |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1951-52 | 2,058.0 | 1,196.5 | 532.3 | 81.2 |
| 1952-53 | 2,160.0 | 1,198.3 | 566.0 | 95.5 |
| 1953-54 | 2,135.0 | 1,276.1 | 624.9 | 118.1 |
| 1954-55 | 2,142.0 | 1,351.0 | 668.1 | 154.5 |
| 1955-56 | 2,244.0 | 1,414.8 | 715.0 | 208.6 |
| 1956-57 | 2,274.0 | 1,439.0 | 721.5 | 270.5 |
| 1957-58 | 2,307.0 | 1,505.9 | 772.3 | 376.8 |
| 1958-59 | 2,431.0 | 1,639.0 | 818.3 | 469.7 |
| 1959-60 | 2,613.0 | 1,864.0 | 923.1 | 564.2 |
| 1960-61 | 2,976.0 | 1,971.0 | 1,018.4 | 716.3 |
| 1961-62 | 2,816.0 | 1,925.0 | 1,030.6 | 802.5 |
| 1962-63 | 2,786.0 | 1,950.0 | 1,046.4 | 933.1 |
| 1963-64 | 2,763.0 | 2,290.0 | 1,224.8 | 1,163.9 |
| 1964-65 | 3,804.0[5] | 2,665.0 | 1,441.8 | 1,361.2 |
| 1965-66 | 3,536.0 | 2,632.0 | 1,378.0 | 1,381.4 |
| 1966-67 | 3,545.0 | 2,679.0 | 1,439.0 | 1,422.5 |
| 1967-68 | 3,539.0 | 2,702.0 | 1,629.8 | 1,543.8 |
| 1968-69 | 3,676.0 | 2,829.0 | 1,748.7 | 1,585.6 |
| 1969-70 | 3,780.0 | 2,896.0 | 1,780.1 | 1,605.9 |
| 1970-71 | 3,875.0 | 2,943.0 | 1,765.6 | 1,537.2 |
| 1971-72 | 3,970.0 | 3,006.0 | 1,740.4 | 1,459.9 |
| 1972-73 | 4,044.0 | 3,037.0 | 1,756.9 | 1,398.4 |
| 1973-74 | 4,093.0 | 3,069.0 | 1,854.4 | 1,354.0 |
| 1974-75 | 4,243.0 | 3,140.0 | 1,910.0 | 1,371.2 |
| 1975-76 | 4,253.0[6] | 3,150.0(est.) | 2,008.0(est.) | 1,415.0 |
| 1976-77 | 4,239.0(est.)[6] | 3,147.0(est.) | 2,008.0(est.) | 1,401.9 |

1. Age as of July 1 of the later year. Estimates based on the April 1 decennial census surveys modified by records of births, deaths, immigration for intervening years. Estimates are for the total population, including Armed Forces overseas, the resident population, and the civilian population. (U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports*, Series P25, No. 311, 519, and 614, "Estimates of the Population of the United States by Age, Sex, and Race." U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.)

2. Includes regular public and nonpublic schools, residential schools for exceptional children, subcollegiate departments of institutions of higher education, federal schools for Indians, and federally operated schools on federal installations. Excludes equivalency certificates. Prior to 1960 data were collected only every other year, those ending in an even number. Beginning in 1959-60, Alaska and Hawaii are included. (National Center for Education Statistics, *Projections of Education Statistics*, annual. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20025.)

3. Opening fall enrollment of first-time degree-credit students the following year. Beginning in 1960, Alaska and Hawaii are included. Beginning in 1953, extension students are included. (National Center for Education Statistics, *Digest of Education Statistics, 1975 edition*. U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.)

4. Figures listed are for number of SATS taken in a given testing year. Candidates may be from any grade and are counted more than once if they repeated the test (College Entrance Examination Board).

5. This figure, which appears so high as to suggest error, is confirmed by reference to birth statistics (on comparable fiscal year basis) for 1945-46 and 1946-47.

6. Information from National Center for Education Statistics, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, June 28, 1977.

In 1952, the SAT-Verbal score average for all test takers was 476 and the SAT-Mathematical average 494. Although there were year-to-year fluctuations in these averages, they remained substantially level but moved up slightly through the 1950s and into the early 1960s; by 1963, the SAT-Verbal average was up 2 points to 478, the SAT-Mathematical average up 8 points to 502. Then in 1964, both score averages started dropping. They have dropped ever since, considerably more on the Verbal than on the Mathematical part of the test. The decline, relatively gradual through about 1970, became sharper after that, especially for the Verbal scores. The past two years have suggested a possible leveling out.

The panel has considered how far back to go in trying to analyze this scoring pattern. A 20-year comparison (1957 to 1977) would show about the same decline that a comparison of the 1963 and 1977 figures does. It is generally assumed that the increase in SAT scores in the early 1960s, especially the spurt that made 1963 a high year, may have reflected the results of the post-Sputnik acceleration of educational effort in this country; and this may have significance in appraising the present prospects, which we consider real, of a comparable recovery during the next few years.

The statistical evidence for that earlier period is exceedingly thin, however, except for the SAT scores themselves. We have accordingly concentrated on the 1963-to-1977 decline: the 49-point drop during this 14-year period in the score average on the Verbal part (from 478 in 1963 to 429 for 1977), and a 32-point drop (from 502 to 470) on the Mathematical part. The Mathematical decline is 31 points, if the comparison is made on an "All candidates" basis for both years.

How significant is this decline?

When the "standard deviations" involved here are taken into account, the decline in scores means that only about a third of the 1977 test takers do as well as half of those taking the SAT in 1963 did. But *how much* worse are students doing now than their counterparts used to do? Although this can't be answered with precision, a decline of this magnitude continuing over a 14-year period, following a previous period of stable or even slightly rising score averages, is clearly serious business.

The decline must be put, at the same time, in broader perspective.

Any generalization from the SAT statistics has to be carefully qualified. It should not be extended to cover the situation of American youth as a whole or the overall effectiveness of the learning process.

The college entrance examinations are represented by the agencies administering them only as indicating students' probable accomplishments in terms of college academic grades, particularly their first-year grades. Recently published College Board *Guidelines on the Uses of College Board Test Scores and Related Data* warn sharply against their misuse as measures of the broader effectiveness of elementary and secondary education in general.

The SAT figures cover only students who are still in high school at the 11th and 12th grades and who are considering going on to college, particularly to colleges or universities requiring applicants to take the SAT. This is a significantly different test-taking population, a different cross section of young people, from what it was 14 years ago. The score decline has taken place, furthermore, during a period of such

*Table 2. Scholastic Aptitude Test Score Means, 1951-52 to 1976-77*

| Academic year | SAT-Verbal | | SAT-Mathematical | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | All candidates[1] | High school seniors[2] | All candidates[1] | High school seniors[2] |
| 1951-52 | 476 | | 494 | |
| 1952-53 | 476 | | 495 | |
| 1953-54 | 472 | | 490 | |
| 1954-55 | 475 | | 496 | |
| 1955-56 | 479 | | 501 | |
| 1956-57 | 473 | | 496 | |
| 1957-58 | 472 | | 496 | |
| 1958-59 | 475 | | 498 | |
| 1959-60 | 477 | | 498 | |
| 1960-61 | 474 | | 495 | |
| 1961-62 | 473 | | 498 | |
| 1962-63 | 478 | | 502 | |
| 1963-64 | 475 | | 498 | |
| 1964-65 | 473 | | 496 | |
| 1965-66 | 471 | | 496 | |
| 1966-67 | 467 | 466 | 495 | 492 |
| 1967-68 | 466 | 466 | 494 | 492 |
| 1968-69 | 462 | 463 | 491 | 493 |
| 1969-70 | 460 | 460 | 488 | 488 |
| 1970-71 | 454 | 455 | 487 | 488 |
| 1971-72 | 450 | 453 | 482 | 484 |
| 1972-73 | 443 | 445 | 481 | 481 |
| 1973-74 | 440 | 444 | 478 | 480 |
| 1974-75 | 437 | 434 | 473 | 472 |
| 1975-76 | 429 | 431 | 470 | 472 |
| 1976-77 | 429 | 429 | 471 | 470 |

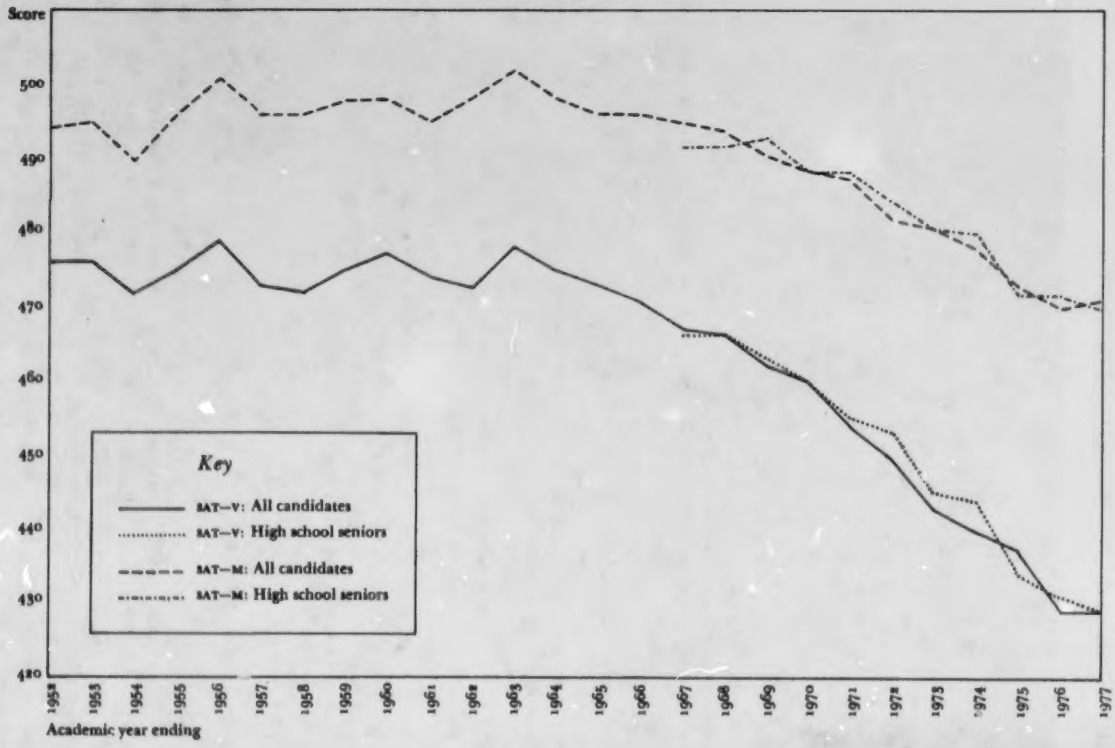
1. An individual is counted as many times as he or she is tested.

2. Each candidate is counted only once, using latest score earned (figures for 1967 through 1971 are estimates; for 1972 through 1977 are actual).

extraordinary national disruption, with particular effects on young people, that the change in the SAT score pattern is properly appraised only with full recognition of that context.

The report proceeds on the basis of the panel's persuasion that the score decline reflects a situation demanding serious attention but warranting, at the same time, cool-headedness about both the assessment of responsibility and the instruction this experience offers the future.

*Chart A. Scholastic Aptitude Test Scaled Score Means, 1952 to 1977*



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# Part Two. An Unchanging Standard

FEW teachers worth the name ever settle two inner struggles: about the consistency of tests and grades with learning's ideals, and about whether to hold successive classes to a constant standard of measurement or to grade each of them "to the curve"—so that the proportion of high, medium, and low grades stays the same even though the overall quality level changes.

The SAT is designed to be an unchanging measurement. In technical terms, the score scales for the Verbal and Mathematical sections were established in 1941 and 1942, with mean scores of 500 and standard deviations of 100. Considerable effort has been made since that time to keep the test a sufficiently constant measure so that any particular score received on a current test indicates the same level of ability to do college work that the same score did 36 or 20 or 5 or 2 years ago. The SAT measures individual students' capacities not only in comparison with their peers in the particular group but also in comparison with those who took the test in earlier years.

This suggests two possible explanations of the SAT score decline involving the test itself. Because most of the SAT questions are changed with each new edition of the test, it could happen that the test would become inherently more difficult to score well on—"harder" than it used to be as a consequence of changes in the test questions and in the equating and scaling procedures involved in determining scaled scores.

An apparently converse possibility presents what is actually a very different type of issue. If the test were kept the same in every respect, but if those taking it were trained in different pursuits or by processes less consonant with the test, the resultant disjuncture would also present a possible explanation of a decline in the test scores. The point would be not that the test had changed but that by staying the same it had become less relevant to the training preceding it.

## *As It Was in the Beginning*

The SAT score decline does not result from changes in the test or in the methods of scoring it.

Although we have gone to considerable lengths in exploring this possibility, there is no point in laboring the conclusion. The ETS procedures for "equating" successive editions of the test (by including in each new edition key questions from earlier tests and then "scaling" raw scores according to the performance on these questions) and for checking against "item obsolescence" are as sophisticated and reliable as the state of the psychometric art permits. We find complete agreement about this in the profession, and we have pressed the matter to the point of adequate lay understanding and concurrence.

These procedures neither pretend to nor do achieve perfection. In fact, two technical analyses of the equating and scaling practices, made at the panel's request (one comparing 1972 and 1960 data; the other, 1973 and 1963), indicate an "upward drift" of between 8 and 12 points in the scaling of the scores. In order to check this, a substantial group of high school students (3,174 from 66 schools) was given both 1963 and 1973 editions of the test, half of them taking the 1963 test first and half starting with the 1973 test. The results confirmed the earlier technical analysis: the test takers averaged higher scores on the 1973 tests than on the 1963 tests, both Verbal and Mathematical. This means that the declines in the ability the SAT measures have been from 8 to 12 points larger than the recorded and reported scores indicate. The panel considered casting its report in terms of figures adjusted to reflect this difference, but decided against this because of the impossibility of identifying the year or years in which the drift occurred.

A special inquiry was made into the possibility that the shortening of the SAT in 1973 from 3 hours to 2 1/2 (in order to accommodate the half-hour Test of Standard Written English) might have had some relationship to the sharp drop that year in the SAT scores. We are satisfied that it did not. The most careful precautions possible were taken to assure that the reduced item selection would not result in changing the difficulty of the test.

We have also looked into the question of whether the decline in the SAT scores has affected their "validity" as predictors of individuals' college performance. It has not.

A detailed review made for the panel of the experience between 1964 and 1974 in a substantial number of colleges discloses some minor but interesting variations in the pattern of the SAT's predictive effectiveness, depending on the type of college involved (four-year or two-year), on the test takers' sex, and on whether they come from higher, lower, or middle SAT-score groupings. There were also some perhaps significant changes in this pattern during that 10-year period: the median validity coefficients (which are measures of the predictive capacity of the test) went down in general during the late 1960s and then went up sharply in the early 1970s. Some slight additional illumination is provided by looking at a number of studies that have been made of comparative validities of the SAT, as well as other academic predictors, for students with different ethnic backgrounds.

Although some of these variations in the validity pattern probably warrant further analysis for other reasons, they reveal no lessening of the value of the SAT as a predictor of first-year college academic accomplishment. The predictive validity of both the Verbal and the Mathematical parts of the SAT increased between 1970 and 1974 in the colleges that had validity studies made during that period, while the predictive validity of high school grade records was staying about level. High school grades are still the best single predictors of college performance, but when these grades are combined with SAT scores more accurate prediction proves possible. It illuminates this picture only for those expert in the field to note that, as of 1974, the median validity coefficients for the combined six samples used in the ETS study were .39 for the SAT-Mathematical score, .42 for the SAT-Verbal score, .50 for high school grade records, and .58 for the three predictors combined. The comparable median validity coefficients in 1970 were .29 for SAT-Mathematical, .37 for SAT-Verbal, .49

for high school grade records, .56 for the three predictors combined. For the layman, this says that the SAT remains a useful, but far from perfect, predictor of college performance.

- In general, and after checking the technical and psychometric aspects of the SAT thoroughly, the panel finds consistent confirmation that the score decline has not resulted from changes in the testing instrument. The scaling and equating and item-obsolescence procedures that are followed are reliable, and the predictive validity of the test is slightly higher than it was before. The standard established in this test has remained substantially constant, and the decline the scores reflect is, if anything, slightly larger than the reported record indicates.

## *A Changing Context?*

The harder question to answer is about the possible effect on SAT scores of a changing "relevancy" of the test because of its being kept the same despite changes in curriculums, in educational policies and practices, and in learning's processes.

We consider later in the report (Part Four) whether the score decline may have resulted in part from reduced concentration on the "basics" of reading and writing and arithmetic and from a possible lowering of standards in elementary and secondary education. The "relevancy" point, however, though it is related in one sense to those questions, goes beyond them and has a different character. The suggestion is that in the 36 years since the present SAT standard was established the society has set new and different (as distinguished from higher or lower) learning goals, that the colleges or schools or both have adopted new priorities in education, that different learning and communication processes have come into use, and that part of the reason for the decline in the SAT averages is that the test does not reflect these changes.

In one view of this line of reasoning, there is a short and complete answer to it. If the value base of the SAT is accepted as being solely the prediction of college academic performance, the critical fact is that the test's predictive validity is actually somewhat higher than it used to be. The panel's further investigation reveals a similarly increasing positive correlation over the past 10 years between SAT scores and students' grades in high school. These two findings seem to leave little basis for the suggestion that the SAT has gotten out of line with either secondary or postsecondary practices or standards—so far, that is, as these practices and standards are reflected in students' academic grades.

This doesn't actually meet, however, the broader criticism of the college entrance examinations. It is partly an objection to the common misuse of the test scores. A student leader and valedictorian in a District of Columbia high school was recently denied admission to a college because his SAT scores were low. High schools are being measured by the averages the college-bound segment of these graduates get on the college entrance examinations. The College Board's warnings against these practices are disregarded. When these test scores and averages are used as exclusive or *overall* measurements of individual or institutional quality or accomplishment, a very

real "relevancy" issue arises.

The challenge goes further. Recognizing the continuing correlation between high school grades, SAT scores, and college grades, the criticism is that this correlation covers less and less of what is important here. With grade inflation rampant in both secondary and postsecondary education, even while remedial courses have to be added constantly to first-year college curriculums, the argument seems increasingly pertinent. The correlation between grades and scores and then more grades could increase or decline or stay level, even while there was dangerous deterioration or healthy improvement *by broader measures* on both sides of the secondary/postsecondary divide. That correlation might come to apply to a smaller and smaller part of the learning actually going on.

This raises issues going beyond the panel's assignment and its competence. We have accepted, for purposes of this inquiry and report, the traditional value base of the SAT—its validity, that is, as an instrument helpful in the determination of students' likely academic performance. We have considered, in Part Four of the report, the question of whether less concentration on "basic" courses and an apparent relaxation of standards has had an effect on the SAT averages. So far as the relevancy issue goes beyond this it gets into broad and basic questions of educational policy.

Yet we feel strongly that this set of issues warrants further consideration by those more fully qualified than we are, working from a broader charter, for we have gotten a strong sense of possibly basic change taking place in the relationship between secondary and postsecondary education, and particularly in the function of testing in connection with the passage from high school to college.

We are concerned about the relationship between traditional testing techniques and the introduction into the learning processes of new forms of communication and teaching instruments: tape recorders, films and film strips, television (to which we return later), and the like. The lack of either quantifiable or other clear evidence is not enough answer to those who suggest that tests in the conventional college entrance examination form do not measure competencies developed in the schools through increasing reliance on new combinations of kinetic, audio, and visual—"kin-audio-visual"—teaching materials and processes.

We note the strongly held beliefs of many that different forms of testing would facilitate the effective and constructive transition of young people from high school to college. Questions are raised about the assumption that this testing should be based exclusively on predicting only college academic performance, particularly grades in first-year courses. There is the suggestion that consideration can and should be taken of the fact that different individuals are, as high school juniors and seniors, at such different stages of their personal development. Others question the effect of the "speededness" of tests, the use in them of uncommon words, and their possible penalization of test takers' putting ideas in personal terms.

A broader listing of questions of similar kind is included in the report of the *Conference on Declining Test Scores* held in June 1975 by the National Institute of Education. That report includes an invaluable summary of the areas in which additional research and analysis appear warranted.

The panel accordingly commends further inquiry by the Board and ETS into the

function of tests at this critical passage point. In broader terms, the agencies administering college entrance examinations have a superior opportunity to engage in what is in effect a brokering function between secondary and postsecondary education in this country—a function we consider critically important and in general too little exercised by either public or private agencies.

We are not suggesting any compromising of the levels of acceptable educational standards, for we count those currently accepted too low. The purpose of such inquiry would be to identify and put in appropriate priority whatever can be distilled from current national concerns about the society's educational values, and then to evaluate the traditional tests in the light of that determination.

# Part Three. The Two Score Declines

FOURTEEN years of uninterrupted decline in the SAT scores create the illusion that there is some single force or closely related set of forces at work here. This isn't the case. The decline has developed in two distinct stages, characterized by significantly different balances of materially different causal factors.

During the first six or seven years of the decline the composition of the SAT-taking population was changing markedly. Each year it included larger proportions of characteristically lower-scoring groups of students. This pulled the overall average down. There were only slight falloffs during that period in the score means *within* any particular ability groups.

The pattern changed after about 1970. The "compositional" shifts slowed down materially. What showed up increasingly was an across-the-board score decline, the apparent consequence of more "pervasive" changes or influences affecting higher- and lower-scoring groups alike.

## *Compositional Change*

It is already hard to remember the extraordinary confluence of forces that struck the educational system in the 1960s.

About 1,864,000 students graduated from high school in 1960, and some 564,000 juniors and seniors took the SAT that year. Ten years later the number of graduates had increased by a million, and the number of SAT takers had tripled.

This was partly a demographic change. Between 1964 and 1965 the number of 18-year-olds in the country jumped by more than a million. That was when the post-World-War-II population wave first hit this age level. It was also the time the SAT average scores started down.

By what was probably more than coincidence, the nation decided during that same period to reduce the high school dropout rate and to see to it that a larger percentage of young people had the opportunity to go on to college.

Perhaps it was a historical accident that this was also the time of tardy legislative decision to attack previous discrimination in providing educational opportunity, particularly discrimination based on race, sex, and family income.

Twenty-five years ago, only half of all young Americans were staying in school through the 12th grade; this fraction grew by 1964 to two-thirds and by 1970 to three-fourths. The proportion going on to college was about one-fourth in 1952, about a third in 1964, and almost half by 1970. (There are different published school completion statistics. The panel has relied on the Census Bureau series, which mea-

sures retention in terms of the number of students who entered the fifth grade and are still in school at various subsequent grade levels.)

It would be pleasant to think that as increased percentages of vastly larger numbers of young people stay in school longer and go on to college, the college entrance examination averages achieved before by a favored fraction of students could be held constant. Yet any such expectation would be ruefully unrealistic. The major move toward equality of opportunity in the 1960s will be judged unfairly unless it is recognized that an increasing school retention rate is bound to mean, at least at first, some drop in the *average* developed ability level (as reflected in traditional tests) of the larger number staying the course. Yet the record for the years between 1950 and 1963 indicates that the effect of this need not be either serious or enduring.

The details of the changes that took place in the composition of the SAT population during the first period of the decline are hard to identify, for no biographical data were collected on these test takers before 1972. This kind of information is available, however, in connection with two other sets of tests: those given as part of Project TALENT in 1960 and those included in the National Longitudinal Study of the class of 1972. It has proved possible to equate the reading examinations on those two tests, to identify (from ETS records) students who took one or the other of them and also took the SAT, and so to reconstruct in terms of biographical data two SAT cohorts, one for 1960 and the other for 1972. There is also relevant evidence available from the Student Profile studies made since 1966 by the American College Testing (ACT) Program and from the series of Freshman National Norm studies made by the American Council on Education (ACE).

What is clearest from all these data is that, starting in about the mid-1960s, cumulatively larger *percentages* of students with comparatively lower high school grade averages were going on to college. The ACE Freshman National Norm study shows this directly, as do the ACT Student Profile data for those students taking that college entrance examination.

This shift appears to have been sharpest of all among the SAT-taking group. The composite study (of Project TALENT, National Longitudinal Study, and SAT data) shows this in various ways, based on a comparison of scaled score averages on the equated 1960 and 1972 reading tests of all these groups. The averages of the SAT takers dropped by twice as much on these reading tests as did those of high school seniors as a whole, reflecting the increasing percentage of lower scorers among those taking the SAT. In 1960, over half (55.4 percent) of the SAT takers came from the highest-scoring groups (top 20 percent) on the Project TALENT and National Longitudinal Study reading tests; in 1972, this had dropped to a little over a third (36.4 percent). The significance of this decline among the SAT takers is emphasized by the fact that a 1970 repeat of the 1960 Project TALENT Reading Comprehension Test showed a slight gain among 11th-grade students *as a whole*—despite the fact that the proportion of the age group staying on in school through that grade level had increased from 77 percent in 1960 to 87 percent in 1970.

There is limited usefulness, however, in a finding that the first stage of the SAT score decline resulted in large part from the fact that proportionately more students with

demonstrated lower scoring records began taking it. This advances the analysis of what happened here only from one set of examination scores to another. To look with constructive intent for the root causes of the decline requires pressing further into the *reasons* for these differences in scoring capacity.

There were significant increases during the earlier period of the SAT score decline in the proportionate numbers in the test-taking population of three groups that have always registered substantially lower-than-average scores on this test: students from lower-socioeconomic-status families, members of minority ethnic groups, and (on the Mathematical but not on the Verbal portion of the test) women.

Students from families with the lowest incomes (under $6,000 in 1977 figures) average about 100 points lower on both the Verbal and Mathematical parts of the SAT than do those from families with the highest incomes ($18,000 and over); and the score averages go up consistently from one intermediate income level to the next. Students' scores also vary, on the average though with many exceptions, with the educational attainment levels of their parents.

An analysis of the 1960 Project TALENT and the 1972 National Longitudinal Study data shows substantial increases over that period in the percentages of students from the lower socioeconomic quarters who went on to college and decreases (although these characteristics are not direct functions of each other) in the percentages from the two higher quarters. These changes are more marked than those emerging when comparisons are made in terms of *ability* (as identified in terms of high school grades). When these figures are broken down to separate students going on to four-year colleges (principal users of the SAT) from those entering two-year colleges, the shifts become even larger with respect to the four-year college group.

Although the data regarding ethnic group score differentials and test-taking population changes during the 1960s are sparse, the picture is relatively clear with respect to whites and blacks (but with too little information to go on, as far as other minority groups are concerned).

Very few blacks or other minority ethnic group members were taking the SAT in the early 1960s. As of 1966, some 5 percent of the first-year college students reported on the ACE National Norms Study were black (and 91 percent white), but few of them were in colleges using the SAT. An estimate of black SAT takers in 1963 of between 1 and 2 percent of the SAT population would probably be high. The ACE studies show the percentage of black freshmen rising to 8.7 percent by 1972 and remaining at about that level since that time. By that year, too, the SAT Student Descriptive Questionnaire showed about 8 percent of the test takers to be black, and this figure has gone up only slightly in subsequent years.

A 1965-66 study of the equality of educational opportunity, made by James S. Coleman for the United States Commissioner of Education, reports 12th-grade-level achievement score averages for blacks "about one standard deviation below those of . . . whites, which means that about 85 percent of the [black] scores are below the white average." A roughly comparable picture is provided by the Student Descriptive Questionnaire data, with blacks averaging approximately 100 points below the overall average on the Verbal and about 115 points lower on the Mathematical part of the SAT.

Women and men have traditionally averaged about the same scores on the Verbal portion of the SAT, but there has been a marked difference in the Mathematical averages. In 1960 the Mathematical means (as derived from the composite study made for the panel) were 465 for women, 520 for men. Twelve years later, the average for women was virtually unchanged, but the average for men had dropped by 14 points (to 506). The 1977 Mathematical figures are 445 for women, 497 for men.

Women represented 42.7 percent of the SAT-taking group in 1960 and 47.5 percent in 1970.

Yet such groupings of SAT takers, like those in terms of grades on other tests, relate to only the superficial aspects of the score decline. The *causes* of whatever is reflected here lie in the *reasons* these groups score lower.

The suggestion is sometimes made that the SAT is culturally biased. Definitive analysis of cultural bias is virtually impossible. These same differences show up on most other standardized tests, and yet this proves nothing. The panel's inquiry into the test design procedures followed by ETS confirms that special efforts have been made to avoid the suggested prejudices. Cultural bias would appear to be more likely to affect the Verbal part than it would the Mathematical part of the test; but the differences between the averages for various ethnic groups are larger for Mathematical scores than they are for Verbal scores. Although the available information is incomplete, the predictive validity of the SAT *appears* to be substantially the same for students in different ethnic groups and for women and men.

The significant "biases" involved here clearly go much deeper and concern the society more than the tests.

We struggle as a nation against the fact that the unevenness of children's educational accomplishments parallels, in general though with many exceptions, the educational and economic attainments of their parents. When an increase in the percentage of economically disadvantaged students staying in high school and taking college entrance examinations results in lowering the average scores on these tests, one thing this says is that the national effort to neutralize this kind of disadvantage is still incomplete.

Score differences between blacks and whites parallel closely the differences in averages between students from low- and high-income families and between those whose parents have differing levels of education. Beyond this, two centuries of racial bigotry have unquestionably left an educational system that still serves blacks and other minority groups less well than whites, particularly when it comes to meeting traditionally accepted "majority" standards. The contributing cause of the score decline is not that more minority group members now take the SAT, but that despite statutory guarantees of equal opportunity the society has not yet developed either the educational means or the mores that will bring children with different racial roots to a parity of aptitude—as the SAT and other tests measure it—by the time they reach the 12th grade.

That women score lower than men on the Mathematical sections of the SAT almost unquestionably reflects more than anything else the traditional sex stereotyping of career opportunities and expectations.

In all these respects, the national decision made in the 1960s was to attempt to

neutralize the discriminatory aspects of cultural differentiations. To the extent that less-economically advantaged young people, minority group members, and women still score lower on college entrance examinations than do their counterparts, one of the causes of that score decline is properly identified as being the incompleteness so far of the society's now-earnest effort to be honest with its expressed ideals.

Realizing that even recognition of these group differentials risks irresponsible headlines, attributing the score decline to more blacks' and women's and poorer youths' taking the test, we note the figures. Even if blacks' lower scores were identified solely with race (which would ignore other factors involved here, such as income levels), their increased taking of the SAT would account for no more than 4 or 5 points of the total decline in averages over the entire 14-year period. Women's larger participation could be identified with about the same amount of the drop in the Mathematical average, but with none of the decline in Verbal scores. The effect of increased test taking by students from lower-income families cannot be this specifically quantified; it is larger. The figures for all three groups overlap. There is no legitimate short answer to be found in this set of developments alone.

Another tempting shortcut to an answer that perhaps appeals to quite a few is that there are simply too many young people now going on to college. We do not find the support for that conclusion in this evidence. Should the next 15 years see the opening of still further postsecondary educational opportunities to young people who today are not finishing high school, with another attendant decline in test scores, we suspect that the reaction would again be to welcome the problem on the one hand and on the other to recommend changes in the schools in order to meet it.

The panel has looked extensively into what is in effect another dimension of this compositional shift in the SAT-taking population, involving changing college-going patterns.

Fifteen years ago, most SAT takers were students enroute to relatively prestigious and selective four-year, liberal arts colleges and universities. While the *number* of those in the SAT population going on to this type of postsecondary institutions remained virtually constant at first (until 1967), a cumulatively increasing *percentage* of test takers began to follow different courses: to colleges and universities with less selective or even open admission policies, to two-year colleges, to training with a more technical or vocational emphasis. Most of this change, though not all of it, had taken place before 1970 or 1971.

There are average score differentials of from 60 to 85 points (1) between test takers going on to four-year colleges (who average higher scores) and those who subsequently enter two-year colleges, and (2) between test takers who go directly from high school to college (averaging higher scores) and those who do not. There were substantially larger percentages of these two lower-scoring groups in the SAT population in 1972 than there had been in 1960; the increase in both cases was from about 8 percent (in 1960) to approximately 15 percent (in 1972).

There were comparable *drops* during that same period in the percentages of SAT takers asking to have their scores sent to highly selective liberal arts colleges (from 13.2 percent in 1961 to 5.6 percent in 1974) and to research universities (from 10.5

percent to 6.4 percent); and these are groups who have traditionally scored *higher* on the SAT.

These shifts in college-going patterns were more than just reflections of the compositional changes already identified. It was during the 1960s and early 1970s that two-year community colleges grew so fast and that more flexible admissions policies were adopted by many four-year colleges and universities. The SAT, originally used as an instrument for assessing the abilities of a comparatively small group of high school students to do a particular type of postsecondary work, came to be taken increasingly by a much wider variety of students with more diverse prospects in mind.

One aspect of this change in college entrance policies was a marked diminution in the percentage of students taking the SAT more than once. Since repeaters average 15 to 30 points higher the second time they take the test (whether because of the repeating or for other reasons), the significant decline in the number of repeaters has had some small effect on the score averages. We have not broken this down into pre-1970 and subsequent years.

There is a question of whether "cramming" for the SAT is a factor here. The College Board and ETS have taken the general position, based in part on studies that may now be out of date, that this type of preparation for these tests is not effective. Although we question this, we have not pursued the point, partly because this can in no event be a significant element in the score decline, and partly because the sponsoring agencies have now taken this question under active review.

- We find, therefore, that the largest part of the SAT score decline between 1963 and about 1970 was identifiable with compositional changes in the mix of the SAT-taking group—considered both in terms of the test takers coming from higher- and lower-scoring groups and in terms of their plans for going on to college. Although precise identification of the degree to which these changes explain that part of the decline is impossible, fairly careful calculation indicates that they account for between two-thirds and three-fourths of it.

Already appearing during that period, however, were indications of a broader set of influences on these scores—which were subsequently to emerge more plainly and strongly.

## *Pervasive Change*

Neither reason nor data would suggest that at some precise time the changes in the test-taking population, which had been moving the SAT averages down, ended abruptly and that a new set of forces then erupted suddenly to continue and even accelerate the previous decline. This did not happen. But under this heading we want to develop the concept that after 1970 changes in the test-taking group became less important as a cause of the score decline and other factors in the schools and in the society at large became more significant.

By 1970, the previous increases in the percentage of young people finishing high school, going on to college, and taking the SAT had either stopped or had started to reverse. It is also clear that there has been much less shifting in the past several years

in the proportions of characteristically higher- and lower-scoring groups of SAT takers, as compared to the 1963-70 period.

A relatively complete picture of the test-taking population is available from 1972 on, from the Student Descriptive Questionnaire (SDQ), which is filled out by more than 80 percent of all SAT takers and which covers some 70 informational items. A correlation of SAT scores and SDQ answers permits a year-by-year comparison of the average scores of more than 200 groups and subgroups of test takers, along with an identification of the proportion each group represents of the total SAT-taking population. The SDQ was first used in 1971-72, but was changed so materially the following year that the 1972-73 information constitutes the earliest base for reliable comparison with subsequent years. It appears, however, from other indexes and studies that most elements in the compositional pattern reflected in the SDQ data had taken shape from one to three years before that questionnaire was fully developed. The precise time factor is not significant.

The SDQ data show a limited degree of continuing compositional change in the test-taking group after 1972. The percentage of women taking the SAT has increased from 48.7 percent in 1972, to 51.1 percent in 1977—enough to account for several points of the decline in Mathematical scores. There has also been some continuing increase in the number and percentage of test takers from minority ethnic groups, although it appears to be small.

One set of SDQ questions shows that substantially more students now than in 1973 indicate an intention to pursue "occupational" or "career" majors, with proportionately fewer apparently expecting to go on to "arts and sciences" majors; and those in the former of these groups show consistently and markedly lower average scores on the SAT (Verbal and Mathematical sections alike) than do those indicating the "arts and sciences" choices. We have looked into this situation thoroughly, taking account of a possibly significant change in the form of the SDQ question, of answers to other apparently related questions, and also of the reports regarding similar questioning done on the Project TALENT and the ACE Freshman National Norms studies. While the particular point is probably of secondary importance, it confirms the broader fact that there continues to be some "compositional" change taking place within the SAT population.

The SDQ data show only insignificant changes between 1973 and 1977 in the distribution of SAT takers among students at various high school grade percentiles. It should be noted here, and more generally as well, that the SDQ data are all based on students' own answers to these questions and may therefore reflect certain biases. There have also been changes in the form of some questions, including the one about rank in high school classes, which may affect the year-to-year comparisons.

Some of the information initially submitted to the panel suggested an aberrational drop since 1970 in the number of students scoring 600 or above on either the Verbal or the Mathematical sections of the test or on both. That "high scorer" figure, which stood at 189,300 in 1970 (among *all* SAT takers, as distinguished from a one-year cohort), had gone down by 1976 to 108,200; and this drop seemed to suggest elements of compositional or other related change.

An inordinately extended analysis of the drop in the number of these "high-

scorers" indicates, however, that the decline probably results almost entirely from the reduction in the number of students taking the SAT and from the impact at the top of the same pervasive influences that have been affecting the scores of the test takers as a whole and which we discuss in the remainder of the report. This was confirmed by a special study the panel had made of the SAT scores of some 1,500 valedictorians and salutatorians in 145 high schools during the period between 1960 and 1974. The study shows that there were no significant changes in the average scores of these top-ranking students during the early period of the overall SAT score decline, but that they dropped after 1970 on the Verbal part and after 1968 on the Mathematical part of the test at about the same rate of decline in the overall averages—making these data particularly direct evidence of the panel's "two-decline" conclusion.

In general, comparatively little—perhaps 20 to 30 percent—of the SAT score decline during the past five to seven years appears attributable to compositional shifts within the test-taking group.

There is consistent evidence, at the same time, of the emergence during this more recent period of what the panel has characterized as "pervasive" score decline—in the sense that it has shown up within virtually all categories of SAT takers.

Score averages have gone down since 1973 (with the drop apparently having started two or three years before that) among students at the higher and those at the lower percentiles of their high school classes, among students in private and in public schools, among those in large and in small high schools, among those taking "academic" and those taking "career" courses of study in high school, among test takers from high- and from low-income families, among men and women, among white students and those from minority groups, among students expecting to go on to different kinds of colleges, among those intending to take postgraduate work and those looking only toward a baccalaureate.

Although the drops in score averages have varied somewhat in degree among different groups, the obviously significant characteristic of the pattern in this second stage of the SAT decline has been the pervasiveness of the effect of the forces influencing it. The statistics themselves say nothing, at least directly, of the nature of these forces. We have set this question apart for separate consideration in Part Four.

We note, although it is too early to appraise its significance, that the SAT scores have changed less in the past two years. The 1977 high school seniors' Verbal average is 5 points below what it was in 1975, and the Mathematical average is down only 2 points. The drops during the preceding two-year period had been 11 points on the Verbal part and 9 on the Mathematical.

If the figures for all candidates are taken, which means particularly including high school juniors, the 1977 Verbal average is the same as the average last year, and the Mathematical average has gone up 1 point.

## *Through Other Looking Glasses*

To establish further basis for determining the implications of the apparent two-stage pattern of the SAT score decline and also to check this analysis, the panel has reviewed what has been happening during recent years on other standardized academic tests. Several of these are related in one way or another to the SAT itself.

We find, in general, that the SAT score decline is significantly consistent with a broader pattern. Most—though not all—standardized test score averages, which had previously been rising gradually, turned and started down in the middle 1960s. In virtually all instances there has been a much sharper drop in the 1970s. Most of what appear at first to be inconsistencies between the records on the various sets of tests became reconcilable when their histories are analyzed on the "two-decline" basis. In significant respects, at the same time, the comparison with other test score experience provides an important reminder that declining college entrance examination scores do not in themselves warrant generalization about what is happening to the abilities at large of youth as a whole.

The other widely used college entrance examination, administered by the American College Testing (ACT) Program, shows a comparable decline since the mid-1960s, with most of the drop having taken place since 1970. The averages have dropped more on the Mathematics section of the ACT than on the English section. That test also includes a Natural Science component, on which there has been no decline, and one in Social Science, which shows the largest drop. Women have consistently scored lower than men on the ACT Mathematics test but higher on the English component.

American College Testing Program representatives advise the panel that the ACT composite score average will be slightly higher for 1977 than it was last year. Taken with the current experience on the SAT scores, this affords an interesting basis for conjecture as to whether what is involved here is a pause or a possible turning point.

Score averages on tests taken by high school seniors as a whole, as distinguished from those taken only by students going on to college, remained virtually level until about 1970; but where more recent reports are available (as, for example, on the Iowa Tests of Educational Development and the Minnesota Scholastic Aptitude Test) they show declines in the last five years roughly paralleling those on the SAT and the ACT.

Score declines have been largest at the 12th-grade level and somewhat less at each successively lower grade, with the averages at grades 1 to 4 remaining relatively constant. The panel has not been in a position to analyze the extent to which this reflects various possible explanations: decreasing school system effectiveness at the upper elementary and secondary levels, increasing school retention rates, changing motivational factors, possibly diminishing relevance of some of the standardized tests to what is being taught.

We have given particular attention to the results of two other sets of examinations sponsored and administered by the College Board and ETS. One of these is the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test/National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test, a shorter version of the SAT taken annually by over a million high school students, most of them in their junior year. (The test has also been used since 1971-72 by its cospon-

sor, the National Merit Scholarship Corporation, as a qualifying test.)

For reasons and with implications that are only partially clear, the PSAT/NMSQT scores followed a different pattern than did those on the SAT between 1963 and 1973. The declines were substantially smaller. Furthermore, when the PSAT/NMSQT was given in 1960, again in 1966, and once more in 1974, to national samples of 11th graders as a whole (not being limited, therefore, to students probably college bound), these "norming studies" showed a substantial stability in averages on both the Verbal and Mathematical sections over the entire 14-year period.

An accounting of the complex variety of factors that emerged in the panel's examination of this difference between the SAT and PSAT/NMSQT patterns would burden this report unduly. We find adequate explanation for most of the difference but not for all of it. There may be support here for the view of some analysts that there has been more change taking place at the 12th- than at the 11th-grade level. What emerges as most significant, however, is that since 1973, both the Verbal and the Mathematical score averages on the PSAT/NMSQT have dropped in almost exact parallels to the declines on the SAT. So here again, the "two decline" pattern shows up, though with a perhaps noteworthy difference in timing.

There has been a probably significant difference in the pattern of scores on the Achievement Tests, covering 14 different subject-matter areas, which some high school juniors and seniors take in conjunction with the SAT. Some colleges and universities require applicants for admission to take certain of these tests; others recommend it. Students may themselves choose to take various of the Achievement Tests and to have the scores on them transmitted along with their SAT score. Each of two of these tests (in English Composition and Mathematics Level I) is taken by more than 175,000 students (high school juniors and seniors) each year; each of eight others (American History and Social Studies, French, Spanish, Biology, Chemistry, Physics, Mathematics Level II, and Literature) is taken by between 15,000 and 75,000 students; fewer than 10,000 students take the German, Hebrew, Latin, Russian, and European History tests. Use of the Achievement Tests has declined sharply in the past four or five years. Students taking them are characteristically of higher-than-average ability.

Although the group taking Achievement Tests is a special and relatively small one, several elements in the picture nevertheless appear important. There have been relatively small declines in the past 10 years on four of the more widely used Achievement Tests (American History and Social Studies, Mathematics I and II, and Literature) and *increases* on the six others (English Composition, French, Spanish, Biology, Chemistry, and Physics), during what was the period of most of the decline on the SAT scores themselves.

When students' scores on the Achievement Tests are compared with their scores on the SAT, it is apparent that in those six Achievement Test groups for which scores on the Achievement Tests went up between 1967 and 1976, the students' SAT-Verbal score averages went down. This was not true, however, as far as the SAT-Mathematical scores were concerned; all six groups showing increases in Achievement Test score averages also showed increases over the nine-year period in SAT-Mathematical averages.

We have not been able to analyze fully the possible implications of this apparent divergence between aptitude and achievement test score patterns. Perhaps part of the explanation is that the students taking the Achievement Tests are particularly highly motivated, although this does not explain the different patterns of their performance on the Verbal and Mathematical sections of the SAT. It is conceivably important that the College Board and ETS make much larger use of outside committees in connection with the Achievement Tests than with the SAT; the counsel sought is in the one case from experts in the particular disciplines, in the other more from psychometricians and psychologists. There are possibly clues here to significant questions regarding the changing "relevance" of one set of tests or another. This body of data warrants further analysis by the Board and ETS.

A mixed pattern of developments emerges in the scores on tests that college students take enroute to postgraduate study. The ETS Graduate Record Examinations averages (on the Verbal and Quantitative sections of that test) have declined at about the same rate since 1967 as have the SAT-Verbal and Mathematical averages, with almost half the drop concentrated in 1969-70. There is a similar pattern on the Graduate Management Admission Test. The Law School Admission Test and the Medical College Admission Test show increases, however, apparently reflecting primarily the increasing competition for graduate school admission in these two areas.

Only preliminary results are available so far from the National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP), a project that will eventually provide tests at four-year intervals of national samples of individuals at various age levels (9, 13, 17, and 26-35) in 10 different curricular areas, with a considerable amount of accompanying biographical data being supplied by the test takers. Of the four banks of NAEP tests completed so far, three are in the Reading and Writing areas. They show results differing considerably from those on most other standardized examinations. The NAEP tests in Reading Performance and in Writing Mechanics show relatively slight declines in the averages for the 17-year-old group between 1969-70 and 1973, but the test in Functional Literacy and Basic Reading Performance shows a small *increase*—particularly among the groups of students (blacks, for example, and children from lower socioeconomic families) who scored lowest on the first round of tests. NAEP Reading Performance and Writing Mechanics tests given to the 9-year-old and 13-year-old groups show the usual pattern of lesser declines (or even increases) at the lower age levels.

Although it is proposed to extend the NAEP testing project eventually to include not only enrolled students but those out of school (in the 17 and 26-35-year-old groups), very little has yet been done. So little is known about the performance of age groups as a whole on tests of this kind, except for the familiar evidence of the results, while the military draft was in effect, of the Armed Forces Qualification Test (AFQT). The average on that preinduction test went up sharply between the mid-1960s and the early 1970s. There are, however, so many possible explanations of this rise, which came during the period when most tests of *students in school* were showing decline in this age group, that comparative analysis is exceedingly difficult. There are no reliable comprehensive measures yet of the comparative competence of today's youth with yesterday's. It could occur at the same time (1) that a larger percentage of



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young people going on to college would be less well equipped for what college has traditionally required, while (2) the general ability level of youth as a whole increased.

■ In summary, the evidence regarding the two stages or elements of the SAT score decline is illuminated by the data regarding what has been happening on other standardized academic tests.

Although the drop in the SAT averages (especially the Verbal scores) has been larger than that on any of the other widely used examinations, it is consistent with a general pattern of decline found in other test scores, which started to develop in the mid-1960s and has persisted ever since.

A comparative analysis of these various test score records confirms, at the same time, the necessity of recognizing clearly the dual developments this pattern reflects. First, a larger percentage of young people are staying in school through the 12th grade with the consequence that there has been a lowering of the *averages* on examinations taken previously by more select groups. Second, it has emerged as a major factor in the more recent stages of these test score patterns that there are broader influences operating to reduce young people's developed ability levels, at least at the upper high school level.

The panel has identified, with relatively firm statistical basis, roughly two-thirds to three-fourths of the decline between 1963 and about 1970 as resulting from "compositional" changes in the SAT-taking population. As nearly as we can tell, though the statistics are less helpful here, only about a quarter of the subsequent decline is traceable to continuing compositional change, with the remaining three quarters apparently resulting from the impact of more "pervasive" forces.

We turn now to what analysis is possible of the nature of this second set of influences.

# Part Four. Circumstantial Evidence

SEARCHING for the causes of the SAT score decline over the past six or seven years is essentially an exercise in conjecture. So much has happened that may have affected this record that there is no way of telling what did; the only evidence is circumstantial, leaving it hard to distinguish cause from coincidence. Most of the 50 or so theories brought to the panel's attention have in common only three assumptions; first, that since the problem has been reduced to a single statistic – the drop in these averages – there must be a single answer; second, that what has happened is in every respect bad; and third, that whatever caused it is somebody else's fault.

Although the panel's only certain conclusion is that we are dealing here with a virtually seamless web of causal connections, the apparently most critical elements emerge more clearly in looking first at some developments in the schools, then at several major societal changes, and finally at the murky but probably vital area of youths' motivations.

## *In the Schools*

While some of the observable changes in formal education during the past 20 to 25 years probably reflect evolving educational philosophy, our impression is that most of them are traceable in larger degree to the vast expansion and extension of educational opportunity in the 1950s and 1960s. The *direct* effects of "compositional" change on the SAT score averages were concentrated in the period before 1970, but this leaves the question of how much fallout effect those changes have had since that time. There is the additional question of the relationship between what has been happening in the schools and what has taken place in learning's broader societal context. Looking for causes of the SAT score decline requires going beyond the evidence of revisions in traditional educational practices to the reasons these revisions have been made.

### *Courses of Study*

A good deal of attention has been focused on the fact that fewer "basic" courses are now being required of all students in high school, with many more "electives" being introduced into the curriculum. This is asserted to be particularly true in the English and verbal skills area, and the evidence suggests that it is.

Using nationwide data assembled by the National Center for Education Statistics, Harnischfeger and Wiley report that in one recent two-year period (1971 to 1973) English enrollments in grades 7 through 12 dropped almost 11 percent, about 50

percent in Advanced English. This drop probably involves less those students who will be taking the SAT than it does the high school student population as a whole; the Student Descriptive Questionnaire shows about 90 percent of the SAT takers reporting consistently from year to year that they have taken four "English" courses. Yet the question remains as to what kinds of courses these are.

A study by the Massachusetts Department of Education combines a survey of the development of "elective" courses in Massachusetts high schools between 1971 and 1976 with an analysis of the SAT scores in 43 of these schools—divided into three groups on the basis of how their students' SAT averages compare (in terms of change between 1971 and 1976) with the national SAT averages.

During the five-year period there were increases of over 50 percent in the number of English/Language Arts courses offered (at least as indicated by course titles) in the 43 Massachusetts high schools; the two most commonly added were Science Fiction and Radio/Television/Film. No significant correlation emerges between the number of electives added by a particular high school and the experience of students from that school on the SAT. Yet when the record of student enrollments in the two commonest "specialty" courses is analyzed, it develops with significant consistency that those schools that showed increases in these enrollments between 1971 and 1976 also showed larger than normal declines in SAT scores; and where the specialty course enrollments went down or stayed about the same, there were not substantial SAT score declines. Another Massachusetts study shows that between 1968 and 1973 over a quarter of all high schools in that State added courses in Film Making; the number offering 11th-grade English and World History courses went down.

There have been similar developments in other states. In California, for example, it is reported that "enrollment in basic English courses fell 19 percent between 1971-72 and 1974-75 and in English Composition classes it plummeted 77 percent. . . . Enrollment in contemporary literature electives (Children's Theater, Mystery and Detective Story, Executive English) has nearly doubled."

While the panel's net conclusion is that there is almost certainly some causal relationship between the shift in the high schools from courses in the traditional disciplines to newer electives and the decline in SAT-Verbal scores, we warn against any oversimplistic interpretation of this finding.

A careful probing of the evidence indicates that the new electives are being taken less by students who are going on to college (and will therefore take the SAT) than by those who are not. It will have to be determined whether the needs and interests and developed competencies *of those taking these electives* are better met by a course, for example, in Radio/Television/Film or an English IV course in the refinements of the language. Nor has it been established that even with respect to SAT takers these elective courses contribute *by their nature* less to the "aptitudes" the SAT supposedly measures—distinguishing this, to the extent such a distinction is possible, from "achievement." In our view, "returning to the basics" would be wrong unless it included full reappraisal of what the right basics are—taking account of childrens' different rates and modes of learning and their different interests and plans for the future. The need is not to revert to uniform drills and exercises commended only by a traditional pedagogy, but to move ahead to a larger emphasis on the fundamentals of learning

that can be identified as strengthening the base on which all students can build.

Our firmest conclusion is that the critical factors in the relationship between curricular change and the SAT scores are (1) that less thoughtful and critical reading is now being demanded and done, and (2) that careful writing has apparently about gone out of style. So we do not identify the score decline narrowly with reduced high school offerings of whatever used to be included in Advanced English courses. There is as much opportunity, and sometimes more incentive, for worthwhile reading and responsible writing in subject-matter areas of particular student interest.

We can't prove that learning how to write is related to a decline in scores on a test that requires no writing. Yet in our judgment this may be a significant factor. We suspect strongly that *expressing* something clearly and correctly—especially in writing—is thinking's sternest discipline. A recent study by National Assessment of Educational Progress of the number of writing assignments given a group of 11th-grade students shows that during a six-week period more than half of them were asked to write three or fewer papers, 12 percent only one, 13 percent none.

It seems clear that increasing reliance in colleges and high schools on tests requiring only the putting of X's in boxes contributes to juvenile writing delinquency. Students learn what they think they need to know. There is more than irony in the report of teachers, who used to train students to write, now advising them about the advantage in using soft-tip pens and pencils so these boxes can be filled in more quickly.

We applaud the recently announced reintroduction this year, at the December test administration only, of a written essay as part of the College Board's English Composition Achievement Test.

Our strong conviction is that concern about declining SAT-Verbal scores can profitably be concentrated on seeing to it that young people do more reading that enhances vocabulary and enlarges knowledge and experience, and more writing that makes fledgling ideas test and strengthen their wings.

It has been pressed strongly on the panel that there is a related development in the sharp decline in enrollments in high school foreign language courses, ancient and modern. Such courses, it is suggested, increase the knowledge and understanding of the English language—a development reflected in performance on the Verbal part of the SAT.

A clear parallel unquestionably shows up between students' SAT-Verbal scores and the number of foreign language courses they have taken in high school. Those who report having taken four or more such courses (about 10 percent of the test takers) average more than 100 points higher than those (about 8 percent) reporting no work in foreign language; and the averages rise progressively with the number of courses taken.

Is this, though, a *causal* relationship? Does foreign language training improve verbal ability or do students with high verbal ability take more foreign language? Is there anything here except confirmation that abler and more highly motivated students are more likely than others to take some foreign language course? It turns out that the foreign language students do as much better than others on the Mathematical part of the SAT as they do on the Verbal. The Student Descriptive Questionnaire reports show no reduction since 1973 in the amount of high school foreign

language being taken *by students who also take the SAT*. Furthermore, although students who have taken foreign language continue to average higher SAT scores, the *decline* in the averages over the past four years has been at least as large as the decline among students with no foreign language exposure.

The panel may have given too little consideration to the difference between the score decline patterns on the Verbal and the Mathematical sections of the SAT. Most of the deviation had developed before 1963; the Verbal score average was at that time already 24 points below the Mathematical average. The two averages dropped in virtual parallel between 1964 and 1970. This gap has widened significantly, however, during the later stage of the SAT decline, until it is now 41 points. At one large and prestigious Midwestern university the median SAT-Verbal score of entering first-year students dropped by 60 points (from 580 to 520) between 1970 and 1976, while the Mathematical median score went down only 20 points (from 620 to 600)—with the high school grade averages of the entering classes remaining at a virtually constant level.

There may well be clues in this difference to some of the causal elements in the general score decline.

It is perhaps relevant that there has not been the proliferation of electives in high school Mathematics that has been characteristic of the verbal skills area. While Massachusetts high schools were increasing their course offerings in English by 50 percent (between 1971 and 1976) there was virtually no increase in the number of Mathematics courses being offered. Student enrollments in high school Mathematics courses have gone down some, but markedly less than enrollments in English courses.

We suspect, too, that there is more evidence here of the importance to SAT-Verbal scores of the diminishing emphasis on reading and writing, for these skills play much less part in mathematics.

The implications of the difference in scores on the two parts of the SAT may go considerably beyond this. We have conjectured that mathematics is essentially school-based learning, while verbal skills are more influenced by experience in the home.

Why, referring back to the point covered earlier, do students taking the College Board Achievement Tests, and maintaining previous scoring levels on them, show declining SAT-Verbal averages but stable or even increasing SAT-Mathematical averages?

The realization that the decline in SAT-Mathematical averages has been at about the same rate as the decline on most other standardized academic tests, while the SAT-Verbal decline has been substantially larger than any of the others, obviously raises the question—though we imply nothing regarding an answer—of whether there is something here that is peculiar to the Verbal part of the test.

Not having gone into the matter of the difference between these two score patterns as fully as hindsight suggests might have been advisable, we commend further consideration and investigation by the College Board and ETS.

*Learning Standards*

There have unquestionably been changes over the past 10 to 15 years in the standards to which students at all levels of education are held. Absenteeism formerly con-

sidered intolerable is now condoned. An "A" or "B" means a good deal less than it used to. Promotion from one grade to another has become almost automatic. Homework has apparently been cut about in half. Open admissions colleges are available; if entering students don't know how to read and write and do arithmetic, "remediation" is available.

There can be little doubt, despite a dearth of direct data, that these changes in standards are reflected in the decline in SAT score averages. The harder questions are about the reasons behind these changes, and about how to meet the problems presented here without compromising some interests and values and principles that the college entrance examinations do not pretend to take into account.

Several of these developments warrant particular attention.

Although the daily attendance and absenteeism data are infected by administrative chagrin attending their reporting, the available figures reveal a seriously worsening situation in the high schools during the late 1960s and early 1970s. Average daily attendance rates went down as the school retention rates went up. A 1975 report by the National Association of Secondary-School Principals identified absenteeism as "the most perplexing student problem. . . ." Absenteeism rates above 15 percent became common and 20 to 25 percent not unusual. There has apparently been some recent improvement in this situation.

Excessive student absenteeism has a doubly corrosive effect: on the absentee and on the class as a whole, when so many of those present don't know what was covered yesterday that the teacher repeats the lesson in an attempt to bring everybody up to pace.

The schools are both contributing cause and victim of this phenomenon. To the extent school is a place youngsters flee because they find themselves diminished or bored or both, the need is plainly for internal reform. Yet without the right alliance with home and community the school's effectiveness is limited. We note the probable need here for improved guidance and attendance services—which cost money few school budgets provide for this purpose.

"Grade inflation" is perhaps most commonly pointed to as a reflection of declining educational standards. An American College Testing Program study shows an increase, between 1962-65 and 1974-75, of 25 percent in the proportion of "A" and "B" grades reported by college-bound seniors in high school English courses. Other reports reveal a comparable pattern throughout both secondary and postsecondary education.

Yet we question the significance of grade inflation *as such* so far as the decline in college entrance examination scores is concerned. While the Student Descriptive Questionnaire data clearly confirm the fact that more students are now getting A's and B's than used to be the case, the distribution of SAT takers among the various *percentiles* on high school grade records apparently has not changed substantially.

The apparently more significant development involves the increasing acceptance of the notion that advancement from one grade level to another is an entitlement rather than something to be earned—or denied. It is unlikely that very many students who are promoted when their work doesn't warrant it will ever take the college entrance examinations. Yet here again, the necessary assumption is that other students'

education suffers from teachers' having to gear their instruction to classes including too many who have fallen badly behind the rest.

The panel considers this, however, a hard problem with no easy answer. Automatic promotion hasn't developed because either teachers or principals like the idea. They don't. They know, however, the dubious value there is in "holding a student back"—so far as both that student and the rest of the class are concerned.

Now there is a nationwide movement, citing what has happened on the SAT and other comparable tests to support it, toward conditioning students' promotion at various grade levels on their achievement of prescribed scores on standardized tests. Reports, principally in the press, are that this is having a salutary effect. Yet dependence on rigid cutting points on test scores for this purpose makes no more sense than it does for college admissions. Perhaps something of this kind is valuable in reestablishing a commitment among teachers, students, parents, and community to the ideal of educational excellence. We suspect, however, that the promotion of students from one grade level to the next ought to be ultimately a matter of case-by-case decision, taking account of each student's social and psychological development as well as his or her intellectual growth and permitting flexible arrangements for moving ahead, for example, in certain subject-matter areas but not in others.

We conclude, in short, that what is reflected in the practice of automatic promotions has indeed been one of the causes of the SAT score decline, but we question an equally "automatic" answer that such promotion should depend entirely on scores on still other standardized tests.

The panel has considered, too, the relatively clear evidence (though none of it has been quantified) of reduced assignments of homework. We find this another reflection of the changing standards of elementary and secondary education, which seems to us related to the SAT score decline. There is no way of determining whether the reason for the reduction in homework was that teachers or that parents decided it was less important. We assume that television is a factor here, and we come to that problem shortly.

Trying to probe beyond these more obvious reflections of changed educational standards, the panel commissioned a preliminary investigation of the possible relationship between the SAT score decline and whatever changes there may have been in the textbooks being used at various primary, elementary, and secondary levels. Taking the Verbal score averages for SAT takers in six cohorts (1947, 1955, 1962, 1967, 1972, and 1975) as a starting point, an analysis was made of the Reading and History textbooks and related materials that were in commonest use at the 1st, 6th, and 11th-grade levels when these various SAT cohorts were getting their preparatory education. The materials were compared on the basis of several recognized measures of "readability," "difficulty," and "challenge."

Although this study proved inconclusive with respect to establishing direct correlations between the changing nature of the teaching materials and subsequent SAT scores, several of its broader findings are illuminating. By the measures adopted in the study, current 11th-grade texts are generally at what is considered a 9th-to-10th-grade level. The significance of this in relationship to the SAT experience is highlighted by the further finding that the reading passages and questions on the Verbal

part of the SAT are—by these same measures—on an 11th-to-12th-grade and in some cases at a 13th-to-15th-grade level of readability.

The study develops in statistical form the fact that a constantly increasing percentage of textbook space is taken up by pictures, wider margins, shorter words and sentences and paragraphs; the amount of exposition is decreasing, the amount of narrative going up. It also reports statistically on the extent (as indicated in the textbooks and related teacher materials) to which student exercises are being reduced to an "objective answer" basis, meaning that students will find less reason to learn to write: "generally, the assignments in the Reading, History, and Literature textbooks [ask] only for underlining, circling and filling in of single words." Samples of good writing are accompanied in one text by the editor's (or publisher's) reassuring note to the students that while the selections "should be read and appreciated, they [are] not to be considered examples of writing that students should expect to attain themselves."

The study confirms what we know from the reports of textbook writers enjoined by publishers to "make it simple" and from the echoing reactions of better students that what they are reading at school is "simpler stuff than we read in the newspapers."

Recognizing that textbooks are not in themselves measures of good or bad teaching, or of how hard or easy a course is made, or of how much writing will be required, we nevertheless have a dual reaction to the reported changes in the nature of teaching materials. If textbooks are being written down simply in response to somebody's persuasion that students at various grade levels don't have what they used to have, this is greasing the toboggan—and is *itself* a cause of the SAT score decline. If, on the other hand, these changes reflect—as we suspect they do—an attempt to adapt education to the needs of *all* students, they represent an effort that reflects an authentic purpose but yields negative side effects by shortchanging some students.

The American education system is unique in its variety and its capacity to be useful to an extremely broad constituency, in which those who are going to take the SAT are a minority. We do not read the SAT score decline as an instruction that education in this country must or should be more rigid, more selective, more rejective, more uniform. Instead, the instruction is that education, especially secondary education, must become still more diversified, more varied—but without being watered down.

So in general we find that there *has* been a lowering of educational standards and that this *is* a factor in the decline in SAT scores. We conclude at the same time that the correction of the various elements in this situation requires the collaboration of teachers, students, parents, and the broader community in the establishment of standards that can be truly considered higher only as they recognize youths' essential diversity.

*Staff and Facilities*

The composition of the panel makes it poor critic or judge of the extent to which the decline in SAT scores may reflect simply teacher incompetence and administrative ineffectiveness, or, on the other hand, inadequate provision of educational facilities.

The sudden influx of students into the elementary and secondary schools during the 1960s and early 1970s resulted in a sharp increase in the demand for teachers and a considerable reliance on substitute teachers. The average years-of-experience fig-

ure for elementary school teachers was 13.3 in 1961; it dropped by 1966 to 10 years; then moved down in 1971 to about 8 years.

On the other hand, teachers' educational levels have been rising for the past 30 years.

Reported pupil-teacher ratios have been going down gradually but steadily in both elementary and secondary schools during the entire period relevant to the score decline: from 29.6 pupils per teacher at the elementary level in 1956 (for the country as a whole) to 23 per teacher in 1974; and from 21.2 to 19 students per teacher in the secondary schools. These figures are misleading in their lumping together of full-time classroom teachers and auxiliary personnel; the nationwide averages conceal the fact that in a good many school systems few teachers ever meet classes with fewer than 30 students in them. Although we do recognize that the compositional changes that have occurred place added burdens on teachers and argue for reconsideration of their responsibilities in order to achieve better writing and other desirable ends, it would be a mistake to attribute the SAT score decline to teacher overload.

Though there are no reliable objective measures of administrative competence, elementary and secondary school principals and superintendents have become increasingly men and women with both teaching experience and special training as administrators. Many of them now are political executives in the better sense of the term.

Teaching and administrative salaries have been increasing in comparative terms throughout this period and the general financial support base for education has been substantially expanded. It is clearly arguable that only part of the price tag on *real* equality of educational opportunity has yet been paid. We suspect that the inequitable distribution of funds for schools may be related to the problems of standards and quality, but we cannot claim to have investigated the matter. Yet to attribute the SAT score decline to inadequate financial support of education would both abuse the facts and worsen the ironical truth that this decline has already prejudiced the probably legitimate case for increasing this support.

These statistical facts—regarding teachers' years of experience and training, student-teacher ratios, salary levels, and the like—obviously involve, however, only superficial aspects of the issue that is now becoming the center of national debate regarding what to do about the quality of education. Despite increasing recognition of the role of the community and the family in learning's processes, attention is being centered on the qualification of teachers.

Over half the state legislatures have either enacted or are considering bills to condition the hiring of elementary and secondary teachers on their achieving statutorily prescribed grades on standardized teacher examinations. The legislative debates invariably invoke the decline of student scores on the SAT and other comparable examinations as support for these bills; the decline is introduced as evidence in litigation regarding the legality of this legislation.

The panel recognizes and in no sense minimizes the role of teachers and school administrators in what has happened here. Our best judgment is that their responsibility centers in their having made more concessions because of changing circumstances and demands—by tolerating excessive absenteeism, for example, and by themselves credentialing incompetence, by adopting less-demanding textbooks, by

condoning little reading and less writing—than has been good for anybody involved. But this becomes a hard question of how much choice they have had, and of how the demands of a changing student clientele are best met.

We also recognize that there are compositional changes taking place in the teaching profession, involving the elimination of racial discrimination, that parallel in some respects the compositional changes among high school juniors and seniors and students going on to college. We see as much danger in compromising standards in the one case as in the other. Our increased understanding of the workings of standardized student examinations in such situations does not, however, commend exclusive reliance on the use of comparable examinations for teachers. Whatever may be wrong with teachers today is too important to be left to standardized examinations alone.

## *The Broader Learning Context*

Most of us, doing poorly on a test, go through two stages in trying to figure out why it happened. With the SAT score decline there are four stages. Suspicious first of the test, next of the schools, then of the younger generation, we turn finally to look in the mirror. But the reflection is cloudy, our vision of ourselves only partly clear.

Most people accept the propositions that the population wave that engulfed the schools was of national making, that school absenteeism begins at home and corridor crime in the streets, that ill-considered promotions from one grade to the next trace at least as much to parental and community pressure or indifference as to principals' taking the easy way out. Yet there is virtually no statistical evidence of any *causal* connections between societal developments and SAT scores. There are delicate matters involved here—such as changes in the American family, the advent of television, and an embarrassing decade in American history.

### *Parents as Teachers*

James S. Coleman, Christopher Jencks, and others have now established the relationship of various "family background variables" to educational outcomes, and we have taken account in Part Three of the unquestionable influence of some of these variables—socioeconomic status, for example—on SAT score averages during the period of changing composition of the test-taking population. But there is more here than that.

The period preceding and including the decline of the SAT scores has also been a period of marked change in the family.

Only one aspect of this change, involving family size, has been analyzed in terms of its possible relationship to college entrance examination scores. Several studies indicate that first-born children average higher scores on these tests than their siblings do and that the averages decline with each succeeding birth. This has been correlated with the decreasing score averages during the period when the post-World War II population wave affected this situation. Although the effect of multiple variables may be relevant, we find these research findings credible as far as they go.

More penetrating investigation of other possible causal factors in this situation has been handicapped by social sensitivity; the Student Descriptive Questionnaire asks

SAT takers how many siblings there are at home, but not how many parents. So research is only now beginning into the questions of what effect there may be on academic test scores as a consequence of broken homes, of there being one parent (or none) present instead of two, of the mother's working outside the home either by necessity or by choice, or of the father's allocation (again by either necessity or choice) of his time and interests.

We do know that in 1960 some 89 percent of all children under 18 in this country were living with both parents, and that this figure has dropped now to 80 percent. The number of children in other situations—living with one parent or none—is increasing at the rate of over 300,000 each year.

We know that the number of children from divorced families has doubled in the past 10 years, and that desertion rates are increasing.

We know that one obvious implication of women's exercising the now recognized right to equal employment opportunity is that they will be spending more time outside the home. The figures, which may be enemy to the truth because they tell only part of it, are that more than half of all women with children of school age (and 40 percent of those with children under 6) are now holding either full-time or part-time outside jobs; and these figures are rising rapidly.

What we *do not* know is what the relationship of these developments to children's learning may be—either under present circumstance or when appropriate adjustments are made to accommodate to a changing set of family life styles. The question usually left out is what the learning implications of alternative situations would have been in the particular case involved. The tendency is to look too much at the "status variables" in the picture, because they can be measured, and too little at the "learning process variables" that actually determine what kind of education takes place in any home as well as in any classroom.

In the panel's view, nevertheless, the matter of home learning is of critical importance in any attempt to identify the causes of the decline in academic test score averages. Although the key factors have not been identified—or even whether they involve the nature and amount of communication and of reading that goes on in the home, or the balance between concentration and distraction, or the mysteries of motivation and of self-image—there is probably more than coincidence between the decline in the SAT scores and the drop in the number of children living in two-parent homes.

Perhaps there is another related factor here. If there have been negative effects from changes in parents' functioning as teachers, they are probably paralleled by the effects of a weakening in traditional relationships between teachers at home and teachers at school. Most parents, regardless of the particular family situation, want to help in this teaching business as much as they can, but a lot of them feel they no longer know how. Changes in educational practice, as well as changes in family life styles, have probably contributed to a strain on the teacher–parent relationship, which may have had more effect than anything either partner has done alone. If this is true, as we suspect but cannot prove, it is an encouraging report from school book publishers that one of the largest new demands (next to the call for more basics-oriented and career-oriented materials) is for texts and teaching guides aimed directly at re-en-

listing parent participation.

It is perhaps equally important to recognize that if little is known about the impact on achievement of changing family configurations and circumstance, still less is understood about the effects of the changing state of childhood and youth itself. There has been a steady lengthening of the period during which the family either cares for or seeks surrogate care for its younger members and exercises some form of jurisdiction over them. At the same time, there has been perceptible acceleration of young people's physical and sexual, and probably intellectual, maturation.

Are these opposing trends creating within youth, and between them and adults, tensions that manifest themselves in school in the forms of rebellious behavior and underachievement? The 17-year-old of 1977 is not the same in body or in mind as the 17-year-old of 1947 was. It can hardly be coincidence that problems of discipline and absenteeism appear at a time when changing life styles and values in adult society, earlier physical maturity, higher mobility, drugs, and the pill are all interacting.

None of this is translatable in the present state of the evidence into point declines on college entrance test score averages. Yet if the question is why those scores have been going down, few would respond without recognizing that part of the answer is almost certainly hidden in these gaps in present knowledge—about the effects of change on the whole meaning of family and youth.

*Television—Test of the Modern World*

By age 16 most children have spent between 10,000 and 15,000 hours watching television, more time than they have spent in school. When they reach the 1st grade, their average watching time is between 20 and 35 hours a week; this usually peaks at about age 12. The average time per child per day increased by about an hour between 1960 and 1970. Children are doing what their parents are; television now occupies about 40 percent of Americans' leisure time.

Is television a cause of the SAT score decline? Yes, we think it is. This cannot be proved, and we don't know *how much* a factor it is. By 1965, when scores started dropping, there were already television sets in 95 percent of all American homes; so ordinary research methods won't work here, for there are no non-television-watching control groups to use for comparison. Neither the difficulty of proof nor the impossibility of measurement, however, warrants diluting the answer. Television has become surrogate parent, substitute teacher.

What direct research there is on correlations between television watching and academic test scores is in fact entirely inconclusive. One earlier study comparing a television-watching Canadian town with another that was still at the radio-listening stage found T.V. Town's children had advanced vocabularies in the 1st grade, but that this advantage had disappeared by the 6th grade; there were no observable differences in academic achievement in grades 6 through 10. A 1954 series of studies of children in grades 3 through 6 in Evanston, Illinois, found that children in the lowest quarter of academic achievement averaged six hours more television viewing per week than those in the top quarter; but these studies took no account of other variables. In a sophisticated study conducted in Tokyo in 1970, an apparently significant correlation emerged at first between academic achievement scores and the

test takers' reports of the amount of television they had been watching (the more television the lower the scores); but when controls were introduced for such variables as intelligence, creativity, and adaptability the separate significance of television watching disappeared.

So the panel's conclusions here must be plainly identified as essentially subjective.

We suspect that the three or four widely known and generally respected educational television programs designed for younger children are giving them a faster start with their letters and numbers. This may be at least one reason standardized tests show increases rather than declines in recent years at the first several grade levels.

So far as the scores on college entrance examinations are concerned, however, we are impressed and persuaded by two interrelated considerations. One of these involves the assumption that spending 10,000 to 15,000 hours on television's fare means a significant reduction in time, some of which would otherwise have gone into the development of the skills and aptitudes measured on college entrance examinations. An unquestionably considerable amount of time at the set used to go into homework and into reading and writing. To call television a thief of time is in a sense to beg the issue. Yet if developing the capacities that are measured by the SAT is taken as a value, the only question is whether television's larceny is petty or grand.

Another dimension of this first consideration involves the hypothesis that part of television's impact on education is that it raises children's expectation levels so that they are then discouraged by the comparative blandness of what they find when they open a book or encounter the next morning in the classroom. A member of the panel who is a teacher makes the point: "Sometimes I feel I'm competing with television stars who can sing and dance while they add and subtract and do the alphabet. I can't!"

The second set of considerations seem to us perhaps more important for what they suggest about the possible reach of television's implications than for anything specific. We have considered the apparently supportable working hypothesis that reading a line of script or type (as on a college entrance examination or in a textbook) involves a "linear, verbal, logical" function, which is performed in the left hemisphere of the brain, while watching something such as a television screen involves a "simultaneous, visual, affective" function—performed in the brain's right hemisphere.

Mindful of the dangers of a little learning, we simply note some of the questions those with larger but still very incomplete knowledge are also asking—without yet knowing the answers. Could this much (10,000 to 15,000 hours) functioning of one area of the brain alter the neural mechanisms of the mind—with *possible* effect on the handling of verbal materials? When so much more of children's time now goes into developing what they need for processing information in the visual mode (as in television) instead of the reading mode, would this result in lowered performance on the SAT test of verbal aptitude?

Could there be a suggestion here of a reason for larger declines on the Verbal part of the SAT than on the Mathematical part—in the possibility that geometry, for example, involves more a visual than a linear function, that mathematical problem solution is more simultaneous and holistic than linear, that the sense of algebraic equa-

tions comes from a grasp of the whole equation rather than from a linear view of one symbol following another?

Is part of the reason children's academic test scores are staying at previous levels or are increasing in the lower grades, but not in the higher, that there are closer similarities between television and the teaching methods used in the first few grades?

We know only that we stand on a frontier of knowledge that probably leads to partial answers to the questions we are considering, and that television's effects may in fact be so much broader than this one suggestion of them as to mock its unimportance.

The prospect is one of competing promise and threat. Traditional education and television are currently out of kilter, and the stakes in correcting this quickly seem to us higher than is generally realized. Yet if television's abuses have made it a "vast wasteland," its potential is of becoming learning's most fertile grove. We see this only as a question of when the family and the community will decide, as they have in the case of the schools, what kind of education they want this master but unprincipled teacher to give their younger members.

"I believe television is going to be the test of the modern world and that in this new opportunity to see beyond the range of our vision, we shall discover either a new and unbearable disturbance of the general peace or a saving radiance in the sky." This was E. B. White; the date was 1938. On that test, too, the scores have been declining.

*A Decade of Distraction*

When democracy thrives, Bernard Murchland points out, so does education, and when democracy is in crisis, so is education. Whatever application this truism may have to the SAT score decline is best suggested quickly and let go at that, for the facts are as obvious as the proof of any causal relationship is impossible.

The SAT scores dropped more sharply between 1972 and 1975 than during any other period. Most of the score decline on the ACT also came after 1970. It is hard to understand the suddenness and concentration of these changes—except for the realization that the students entering college during that period had gone through five or six years of national disillusionment, especially for young people, virtually unparalleled in American history.

It is arguable that the military draft, with its exemption of students, had a direct effect on the SAT score average along the course of its decline. Although our attempted analysis of this particular possibility leaves it in question, we suspect that there was a related but broader set of influences here. There is simply no way of knowing how much the trauma, between 1967 and 1975, of coincident divisive war (which youth had to fight), political assassination (of their particular heroes), burning cities, and the corruption of national leadership affected the motivations of the young people of that period—and whether there was consequent effect on their college entrance examination scores.

That concatenation of sad events unquestionably undermined respect for established institutions and processes, and this was manifested most overtly by young people. Because they were closest to education's institutions and processes, these were the focus of their protest. It was a time of extraordinary distraction, when it would have

been hard for students to put the best that was in them into getting high marks on a college entrance examination.

This probably made quite a difference.

## *Motivation*

The further the panel has gone into various aspects of this general question of reasons for the score decline, the more the matter of "motivation" has come up in varying forms relating not only to the taking of the college entrance examinations themselves but to virtually all aspects of the learning process.

A study commissioned by the panel, summarizing research in the area of achievement motivation, warns of the complexity of the subject and the difficulties of applying what is known about it to the limited information available to us. Yet we sense the motivational implications of a good many of the points that have been considered in other contexts.

It seems plausible speculation that as opportunities for getting into college have widened there may have been less concentration of student efforts on preparing for college entrance examinations. This would be in no way inconsistent with recognition of the fact that reducing anxiety improves some test takers' performance. The point is rather that there would appear to have been a lessening, for better or for worse, in the competitiveness or higher purpose that can be an incentive to excellence.

We have suggested earlier our persuasion that women's lower average scores on the Mathematical part of the SAT reflect a traditional stereotyping of roles and occupations, which has resulted in at least some young women's seeing no earthly point in developing that particular proficiency.

The differences in academic performance among students with different socioeconomic backgrounds have been widely analyzed in terms that put less emphasis on cognitive development than on training in independence, resourcefulness, confidence, willingness to take risks, and realism in setting aspirations levels.

Distinctions are drawn in some of the studies between the effect of various patterns of parental relationship (1) on what children learn, and (2) on the degree to which they are encouraged to learn.

Are ill-considered promotions, increased absenteeism, and "easier" textbooks causes or consequences of reduced student motivation? Both, we suspect.

To have noted some of the motivational elements that seem apparent in the effects of television is only to have suggested others of perhaps larger significance.

We have made the point, involving what is essentially motivation, that the extraordinary national events of the past 10 years may very well have had the effect of distracting young people from the pursuit of intellectual excellence.

It has been suggested that youth's changing job prospects and attitudes toward work may be important elements in the chemistry of their motivation to prepare for college entrance examinations. Although this is probably true as far as individual students are concerned, some fairly careful analysis of the timing of "labor market" changes over the past 10 years and changes in the test score averages discloses no significant relationship so far as any *net* effects are concerned. There have probably

been different changes in this respect between female and male attitudinal patterns, and between those of higher- and lower-scoring groups of students. It is difficult to generalize about what effect varying degrees of encouragement and concern about job prospects may have in stimulating efforts to qualify for whatever may be available.

We note the possible motivational implications of the reports regarding two sets of questions on the Student Descriptive Questionnaire. One asks whether the test takers "want to receive help outside regular course work from the college you plan to attend. . ." going on then to list specific areas of possible assistance, including reading, mathematics, and writing. The answer is a resounding No in each of these three cases, by margins of about 8 to 1; and the percentage answering Yes has fallen off during the three years this question has been asked in its present form. (The only question showing any different reaction is one about help in finding work; a third of the test takers say Yes to this.) The panel members interpret this no-help-wanted reaction variously as a reflection of motivation, conditioned response, or a declaration of students' independence.

A good deal more significance may attach to the fact that there have been smaller than average declines during the past several years in the SAT scores of students who report on the SDQ that they have participated in various high school extracurricular activities (athletics; social clubs or community organizations; religious activities; music; journalism, drama, debating; student government; preprofessional or departmental clubs; or ethnic activities), and that they expect to do more of this in college. There are different views about the motivational elements involved in such participation, but the item has perhaps special interest in view of the suggestion that engaging in this kind of activity is a particularly reliable index to young people's longer-run future accomplishments. We commend further inquiry by the College Board and ETS into this area. It could possibly have considerable significance in suggesting not only basic elements in the reasons for the SAT score decline but also alternative forms of predictive testing.

We have noted in an earlier section of the report (Part Three) the possibility that there are motivational elements reflected in the fact that students taking Achievement Tests in conjunction with the SAT show a significantly less-than-average score decline pattern on the SAT itself (at least on the Mathematical part).

These would be, even at best, only possible footnotes to a motivational analysis of the SAT score decline, which we are not competent to make but which we commend as warranting further consideration. Such an analysis would not be limited to students' attitudes about tests but would include consideration of the motivational elements in the interrelationship between formal education and its broader societal context. It appears to us to be not just youth's motivations that are involved but also those of the society.

With respect to not only this motivational point but the preceding points as well, the panel notes that the frustrating limitations on understanding of the elements contributing to the "pervasive" influences on SAT-measured competence will be removed only when two additional research steps are taken: first, the extension of the Student Descriptive Questionnaire's scope to cover individual test takers' circumstances out-

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side their formal education; second, the undertaking of longitudinal studies permitting the following up of sample cohorts of young people from childhood to maturity. The society has drawn back from this on grounds of concern about rights of privacy. But these can be fully protected. The larger problem is to overcome sensitivity about inquiring into areas in which the answers may be embarrassing because of what they indicate about such influences as poverty, prejudice, and the functioning of various institutions, including particularly the schools and the family.

Also, it is important to note that a limited instrument such as the SAT should not become the sole thermometer for measuring the health of schools, family, and student. It tells us nothing about young people's honesty and integrity, about whether they care about each other, or about a lot of other things that matter more than test scores. It would be a mistake to think about such major institutions as the schools and the family solely in terms of their effects on test scores.

## *In the View of Others*

The panel has benefited from a generous volunteering of views regarding reasons for the SAT score decline. Although most of these comments are incorporated or at least reflected in various other sections of this report, this is not true of all of them. None of the suggestions received has been disregarded, and it is appropriate to note here those brought to our attention that we have either not pursued as fully as may be warranted or have followed up to the point of concluding that they are not significant.

Many of these reactions relate to the schools and suggest at least partial attribution of the decline to:

- "New math."
- Reading programs with insufficient emphasis on phonetics, vowels, consonants, and so forth.
- The expenditure of funds on school facilities instead of on teachers.
- Rising costs of postsecondary education, discouraging some superior students from applying to the characteristically more expensive colleges and universities, which require SAT scores.
- The independent school board system, which makes it impossible to set and require national achievement standards.
- Increasing legislative involvement in education, "tying the hands of school personnel with respect to discipline."
- Excessive reliance on clerical aids.
- The influence of "the soft pedagogical left," which "believes expressiveness is an adequate substitute for thinking and knowing, and which views leniency as a kindness to the underprivileged."
- The increased numbers of married female teachers.
- The "influx of male teachers and principals in the 1960s into a traditionally female domain."

Because of the frequency of suggestions that the score decline is attributable to "the introduction of experimental teaching methods," (or to "open classrooms in

which students choose activities in nongraded groups and work largely without teachers," etc.) the panel made particular efforts to explore this general area. Two different investigations proved generally inconclusive. Their indicated results are confirmed, however, by a federally sponsored study of some 30,000 students at the primary and elementary levels in 13 school districts in nine states, recently (December 1976) completed by the American Institutes for Research. The AIR study was based on a three-year follow-up of students who took the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills in 1970-71 at the 3rd, 5th, or 6th-grade levels. "The single most important and well-documented finding," the AIR report concludes, "was the lack of either substantial or consistent association between student achievement and overall level of innovation across the grades." We find no evidence of any causal relationship between what are commonly referred to as "experimental teaching methods" and the SAT score decline.

The panel also looked into the suggestion that the introduction of more experiential (outside-of-school) training in the high schools may have contributed to a lessening development of students' abilities in the basic skill areas covered by the SAT. What evidence there is points in the other direction. One of the SDQ questions is about the part-time work the test takers have been doing. It has been going up slightly since 1973. Yet test takers reporting 1 to 15 hours of outside work a week average higher SAT scores than those doing no such work at all, and their score *declines* over the past four years have been less than the overall average. (Students reporting more than 15 hours of outside work show generally lower-than-average SAT scores, particularly Verbal scores. We assume, though without knowing, that this is the lower-socioeconomic-status group.)

A related question involves whatever shift may be taking place at the secondary school level away from liberal arts and toward more vocational and technically oriented training. Here again there is only totally inconclusive evidence about any possible effect on the SAT score averages. The SDQ reports confirm the fact that test takers enrolled in "career" courses of study in high school (which is a very small percentage, about 6 percent) average much lower scores on the SAT than do those enrolled in "academic" courses. The differences are about 100 points on both the Verbal and the Mathematical parts of the test. There has been only a negligible shift since 1973, however, in the percentage of SAT takers in the two groups; and the score declines have been almost identical.

Although the panel's attention has been directed repeatedly to the facts of increased schoolground violence and crime and juvenile alcoholism and drug addiction, we can add nothing here to what common knowledge and common sense already establish. These aberrations obviously affect not only the individuals directly involved but the broader educational process, and they have been increasing as the SAT scores have been going down. It seems worth noting only that these matters are consistently raised in terms of what is happening in the schools and among children. The problem is obviously broader than that. So far as the issue is why the SAT scores have been going down, the question is: What is causing the delinquent behavior?

With respect to the "forced busing" question, also frequently raised, we conclude from what information it has been possible to obtain that in those relatively few in-

stances in which busing has meant large-scale disruptions of one kind or another there has been an immediate negative impact on the educational process, although this has been characteristically of short duration. There is no way of determining or quantifying its *net* effect. Its incidence has in any event been restricted to so small a proportion of the national student population that it could have had at most only very slight effect on the SAT score averages.

There have been a number of suggestions that teacher organization and the development of collective bargaining have affected adversely both the amount of time teachers spend with students and their attitudes toward the profession. We have looked into this only to the extent of determining that there is no evidence available to permit an objective judgment one way or the other. This has seemed a sufficient basis for not going further into an issue on which the panel members' views would probably be about as divided as are those of the broader public.

So far as suggestions regarding possible causal factors outside the school system are concerned, the panel has taken particular notice of a number of suggestions that the score decline is attributable to health factors of one kind or another: to the increased use of chemical additives in foods, for example; to an increased resort to induced labor in pregnancy (with resultant brain damage); or to the effects of the uses of various forms of anesthesia in connection with childbirth. A study was commissioned to determine, broadly, the possibilities of a medical basis for the declining SAT scores. Its advice to the panel is, in short, that nothing in the available evidence warrants identifying these factors with the score decline, and that the evidence of stable or even increasing score averages in tests administered at the primary grade levels denies the suggestion that the test results at the higher grade levels can be properly traced to medical or health factors that have their largest impact during earlier childhood years.

Other suggestions tie the test score decline to increased pregnancy among younger women and rising abortion rates.

Still others attribute the decline to "a growing rejection of traditional Western religions" and to a concomitant turning to "religions of the East, drug-related religions, mysticism, witchcraft, astrology," or, with different emphasis, to a growing "preference for fantasy over reality" and "celebration of the ideology of irrationalism, in which knowledge is attained through intuition, inspiration, and revelation."

Concern about a "crisis in values" is widely expressed, but with varying emphases: on "subversive political activity by Communists"; on the promotion of pornography; on the "grabbing of political power by the NAACP, NEA, CLU and others . . . [so that] public school children are misguided through negative education, . . . groomed in total disgust with the nation, family, and self"; on the "impact of the counterculture with its hostility to reason, to science, to technology, to industry, to the work ethic"; on a "revolution in values, including a decline in the Protestant ethic . . . , the idea of success, . . . the idea of work itself"; a "tidal wave of moral bewilderment, concern, and resentment."

Although some of these suggestions seem to the panel to offer little in themselves as far as explaining the decline in the test scores is concerned, we imply nothing one way or the other here about the broader values they reflect. In general we find the

sum of these contributions substantially helpful in suggesting the character of a period, covered by the score decline, which has been an unusually hard one to grow up in.

# Part Five. Summing Up

If you turned to this concluding section for a quick and easy understanding of the panel's views on the decline of test scores, you are indulging in a practice like some of the educational shortcuts that may have contributed to the decline. This is a complex subject, and our views of it are filled with nuances, qualifications, and some doubts. The quality of our judgments is conditioned by the quality of the evidence. Without a reading of the report, the summary may suggest a simplicity that is unfair to an important subject.

Looking first at the technical aspects of the SAT score decline, the panel has determined that the decline does not result from the test having become, in terms of common usage, "harder." More precisely, our analysis of the equating and scaling procedures that have been followed here indicates that the decline has been several points larger than is shown. To the extent, nevertheless, that the SAT is held out as providing an essentially constant measure of levels of aptitude in the areas it covers, permitting reliable comparisons over periods of time, we find it to have been maintained with superior competence and fidelity.

We find that, despite the decline in score averages, the SAT continues to be a valid instrument for helping to determine how well those taking it will do in their college courses, especially those in the first year. Its predictive validity has in fact increased slightly over the past several years.

We commend to the College Board and ETS, nevertheless, the undertaking of a broader inquiry into the function of tests at the passage point between high school and college. Such an inquiry would not be limited to what conventional testing procedures measure regarding traditionally emphasized competencies; nor should it be confined to an evaluation based on examinations and statistics comparing the effectiveness of learning today with what it was in the past—by standards the past adopted. That inquiry would proceed from a determination of how much this country wants to develop of the limitless human resource, which is what education is all about.

The panel members share strongly what has now become national concern about the implications of the declining test scores, about the increasing (or at least increasingly recognized) signs of functional illiteracy, and about an apparent deterioration in the use of the English language. Yet we share, too, the sobering realization that a good many of the younger members of our families seem to know quite a lot more about quite a few things than we did when we were their age. Even as we pursue this inquiry into what is apparently going wrong as reflected in the decline of the SAT scores, we urge that a broader look be taken at the whole picture—including whether we are testing in the best possible way whatever ought to be tested.

Turning then to the broader aspects and implications of the SAT score decline, our assessment of this continuous 14-year drop in averages is that it is unquestionably significant. Particularly when the SAT record is set beside the broader pattern of comparable declines on other standardized academic tests, it emerges as a development warranting careful attention by educators and by everybody interested in education.

It is in no way inconsistent with this appraisal to point out that these declines cover a period of notable extension and expansion of educational opportunity in the United States, coincident with the experiencing of virtually unprecedented turbulence in the nation's affairs. The record may suggest as much about youth's inherent resiliency and the resourcefulness of the formal educational process under unusual circumstances as about deterioration in either personal or institutional fibers. We have wondered sometimes in the course of our inquiry why the score declines haven't been larger.

In general, the causal factors apparently involved here fall into two categories so different that it seems helpful to think in terms of what are virtually two score declines. One reflects primarily changes in the SAT-taking population; these score averages measure a different and broader cross section of American youth from the group they measured 20 or 15 or even 10 years ago. The reasons for the other aspect of the decline are more elusive; they include the apparently pervasive influences, affecting virtually all groups of students alike, of changes in the practices of the schools and in the American social fabric.

Most—probably two-thirds to three-fourths—of the SAT score decline between 1963 and about 1970 was related to the "compositional" changes in the group of students taking this college entrance examination.

That was a period of major expansion in the number and proportion of students completing high school, resulting only in part from the post-World War II population wave, which came along then. The rest of the growth reflected the deliberate national undertaking during that period to expand and extend educational opportunity—by reducing the high school drop-out rate, by trying to eliminate previous discrimination based on ethnicity or sex or family financial circumstance, and by opening college doors much wider.

In the panel's view, it would be a deceptive misstatement to describe this first cause of the SAT score decline as being simply that increased percentages of lower-scoring groups of students began taking the test. The cause lies rather in whatever the reasons may be for this lower scoring. What the decline reflects is the incompleteness so far of the national undertaking to afford meaningful equality of educational opportunity. This leaves the question of whether a 75 percent cross section of all young people *can* be brought up to the 11th- or 12th-grade academic attainment level previously achieved by 50 percent of them. Part of democracy's sustaining notion is that they can be.

It is important to recognize in a related connection that to the extent the lower SAT averages reflect an expansion of the test-taking population to include a different mix of young people, the decline indicates nothing about changing abilities or aptitudes of this age group *as a whole*. We simply don't know what the net effects here have been.

Even during this first period, however, there were emerging signs of more "pervasive" influences or forces, going beyond any "compositional" changes, which were having an effect not only on the overall SAT averages but also within the various groupings of test takers.

From about 1970 on, the composition of the SAT-taking population has become comparatively more stabilized with respect to its economic, ethnic, and social background. Yet the score decline continued and then accelerated; there were particularly sharp drops during the three-year period from 1972 to 1975. Only about a quarter of the decline since 1970 can be attributed to continuing change in the make-up of the test-taking group. With a handful of exceptions, the drop in scores in recent years has been virtually across the board, affecting high-scoring and lower-scoring groups alike.

This second set of factors contributing to the SAT score decline can be summarized only in broad terms and with full recognition of two related qualifications. First, any attempt to isolate developments in the schools from those in the society at large turns out to reflect principally the inclination to institutionalize blame for whatever is going wrong; the formal part of the learning process cannot be separated from its societal context. Second, to the extent these causal factors are understood at present, they are inextricably interwoven with each other; any pointing to one development or another as if it were *the*, or even *a*, cause of the decline is invariably misleading.

As already noted, we think that two-thirds to three quarters of the score decline from 1963 to 1970 and about a quarter of the decline since 1970 were caused by complex interacting factors relating to the changing membership in the population tested. Overall this suggests that about half of the decline is properly traced to these factors. The remainder seems to us identifiable in large part with six other sets of developments:

- *One*. There has been a significant dispersal of learning activities and emphasis in the schools, reflected particularly in the adding of many elective courses and a reduction of the number of courses that all students alike are required to take. This has been true particularly in the English and verbal skills area.

In the panel's judgment, any broadside condemnation of "more electives" is mistaken. Many of these courses are designed to interest and motivate students, and they are not properly considered as having by their nature a negative effect on basic learning. We would not recommend any single formulation of subject matter or teaching method, for it is clear that both traditional and innovative approaches to learning can produce good results—or bad. We are inclined to believe, nevertheless, that probably well-intentioned change has reduced the continuity of study in major fields with consequent effect on the development of verbal and (to a lesser extent) quantitative relations skills, and that too large a proportion of the curriculum changes in recent years has been accompanied by a tendency to avoid precise thinking and the demands it makes on both students and teachers. The SAT score decline probably reflects in part the effects of the schools' placing reduced emphasis on steady growth in verbal and mathematical competence.

We attach central importance to restoring the traditions of critical reading and careful writing.

■ *Two*. There is clearly observable evidence of diminished seriousness of purpose and attention to mastery of skills and knowledge in the learning process as it proceeds in the schools, the home, and the society generally. This takes a variety of apparently disparate but actually interrelated forms: automatic grade-to-grade promotions, grade inflation, the tolerance of increased absenteeism, the lowering of the demand levels of textbooks and other teaching and learning materials, the reduction of homework, the lowering of college entrance standards, and the inclusion of "remedial" courses in postsecondary education.

Each of these issues presents its own quandary. We are *not* suggesting simplistic "solutions" through which all students are treated alike by being held in a grade until they reach a common standard, suspended from schools as a penalty for absenteeism, subjected to the same more demanding reading materials, overloaded with homework, confronted with some national common denominator of college entrance, or denied needed help in skills development in college.

Each of these problems has developed in response to the wider spectrum of interests and abilities the schools and colleges are now trying to serve. In a sense the schools may have tried so hard to accommodate the special needs of new and unfamiliar students that these very students along with others have been ill served by not being held to demanding expectations of performance. The lowering of teaching sights is the wrong answer to whatever may have been the consequences of the expansion and extension of educational opportunity. The only right answer is to vary the instructional process still more to take account of increased individual differences, but without lowering standards—which we recognize as a form of magic, but one that has been performed in this country for a long time.

■ *Three*. Particularly because of the impact of television, but as a consequence of other developments as well, a good deal more of most children's learning now develops through viewing and listening than through traditional modes. Little is known yet about the effects of this change, including its relationship to performance levels on standardized examinations.

We surmise that the extensive time consumed by television detracts from homework, competes with schooling more generally, and has contributed to the decline in SAT score averages. Yet we are convinced that television and related forms of communication give the future of learning its largest promise. The most constructive approach seems to us to depend less on limiting the uses of these processes than it does on the willingness of the community and the family to exercise the same responsibility for what is taught and learned this way as they have exercised with respect to older forms of education.

■ *Four*. There have unquestionably been changes, during the period relating to the score decline, in the role of the family in the educational process. Social sensitivity has precluded thorough inquiry into this area, so that only the readily observable structural changes can be noted: the rapidly increasing number and percentage of children, for example, in less than complete families. While evidence is not available to determine the effect of these changes on students' college entrance examination scores, our conjecture is that it is negative.

■ *Five*. The concentration of the score declines in the three-year period between

1972 and 1975 leads the panel to suspect strongly that one important element here was the disruption in the life of the country during the time when those groups of test takers were getting ready for their college entrance examinations.

• *Six.* For whatever combination of reasons, there has been an apparent marked diminution in young people's learning motivation, at least as it appears to be related, directly and indirectly, to their performance on college entrance examinations. Although this may be largely only another dimension of the preceding points, it is perhaps most significant of all that during the past 10 years the curve of the SAT scores has followed very closely the curve of the entire nation's spirits and self-esteem and sense of purpose.

So there is no *one* cause of the SAT score decline, at least as far as we can discern, and we suspect no single pattern of causes. Learning is too much a part of Life to have expected anything else.

It would be too bad, furthermore, if our concentration on the implications of a decline in the statistical averages on a set of standardized examinations should seem to ignore how incomplete a measure this is of either educational or broader human purpose. While we ask why the scores on college entrance examinations have gone down, T. S. Eliot's probing goes much deeper: "Where is the learning we have lost in information? Where is the understanding we have lost in knowledge? Where is the life we have lost in living?"

Yet in the panel's view of it all, the fact of the hard asking—of both kinds of questions—offers new promise of new answers. We find nothing in the record we have reviewed to discourage the conviction that learning in America can be made all that is hoped for it. What is clearest is the reflection, in the reactions to these test scores and to the poet's lament alike, of renewed purpose to implement these hopes. The future continues to seem a good idea.

# Reference Notes

The panel has relied in large part on studies undertaken and reports prepared at its special request. These are being published as appendixes to this report. An annotated listing of them follows these Reference Notes, as does a more comprehensive Bibliography of all sources on which the panel has relied. The specially prepared papers and reports are identified in the Reference Notes by an asterisk. They are all the work, except where otherwise indicated, of the staff of Educational Testing Service or the College Board.

*Part One. The Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Score Decline*

The description of the SAT score pattern is based largely on *A Summary of SAT Score Statistics for College Board Candidates** (1976) prepared for the panel by Rex Jackson. Additional sources are indicated in the footnotes to Table 1.

Sample questions from the various sections of the SAT appear at the back of this report, following the Bibliography.

*Part Two. An Unchanging Standard*

*As It Was in the Beginning:*

The technical details of procedures followed in making scaled scores comparable over time and equating new editions of the SAT with previous editions are set out in *The College Board Admissions Testing Program: A Technical Report on Research and Development Activities Relating to the Scholastic Aptitude Test and Achievement Tests*, published by the College Board in 1971. For technical descriptions and assessments made under independent auspices, see *The Seventh Mental Measurements Yearbook*, edited by Oscar Buros (1972).

The panel's conclusions regarding the effectiveness of the scaling and equating procedures are based on two studies, one by Christopher Modu and June Stern, *The Stability of the SAT Score Scale** (1975), the other by Albert Beaton, Thomas Hilton, and William Schrader, *Changes in the Verbal Abilities of High School Seniors, College Entrants, and SAT Candidates between 1960 and 1972** (1977). The panel's review of possible "item obsolescence" in the test items which reappear in different forms and are used for equating was facilitated by the analysis by James Braswell and Nancy Petersen, *An Investigation of Item Obsolescence in the Scholastic Aptitude Test** (1976).

The discussion of the predictive validity of the SAT is based on the studies made by the colleges participating in the Admissions Testing Program Validity Study Service, the results of which have been synthesized by Susan Ford and Sandy Campos, *Summary of Validity Data from the Admissions Testing Program Validity Study Service** (1977).

The development and administration of the SAT are reported on in a series of four

articles by Jim Landers and J. Stryker Meyer in *The Sunday Times-Advertiser* and *The Evening Times*, Trenton, N.J., March 28-31, 1976.

*A Changing Context?*

The panel's consideration of the "relevancy" issue was illuminated by letters received from Terry Herndon, executive director of the National Education Association, and Professor Robert Bannister of Swarthmore College.

The reference to the continuing correlation of SAT scores with high school grades is based on an analysis by Rex Jackson, *Correlations of SAT Scores with High School Record** (1977).

The student valedictorian story is reported by Stephen Klaidman in *The Washington Post*, August 15, 1976.

Cross sections of current adverse criticism of [illegible]l testing are contained in several recent symposiums: Association for Childhood Education International, *Testing and Evaluation: New Views* (1975); American Federation of Teachers, "To Test or Not To Test: An Examination of the Educational Testing Controversy," *American Educator*, Winter 1977; National Education Association, "Special Feature on Testing," *Today's Education*, March-April 1977; *The Myth of Measurability*, edited by Paul L. Houts (1977). See also Cynthia Parsons, "SAT + ACT = College Tests in a Mess," *The Christian Science Monitor*, March 29, 1976; B. Bruce Briggs, "The Great Classroom Debacle," *The Wall Street Journal*, July 20, 1976. The panel notes these criticisms without any suggestion of its views regarding them.

*Part Three. The Two Score Declines*

*Compositional Change:*

The data used at the beginning of the section to describe youth and student population changes are from Table 1 of the report. The discussion of changes in the proportions of students graduating from high school and going on to college is based on the historical series maintained by the Bureau of the Census, recording the percentage of 1,000 5th-graders who are retained in school at each grade beyond that, who graduate from high school, and who enroll in college (see *Digest of Educational Statistics*, 1975 edition, Table 10, p. 14, National Center for Educational Statistics). The statistics in Table 1 cannot be used to derive school retention rates since any one school class is composed of youth of varying ages, while the population figures in Table 1 cover only 18-year-olds.

The composite analysis of SAT, Project TALENT, and National Longitudinal Study data was made for the panel by Albert Beaton, Thomas Hilton, and William Schrader, *Changes in the Verbal Abilities of High School Seniors, College Entrants, and SAT Candidates between 1960 and 1972** (1977). Data from the American Council on Education's annual Freshman National Norms Study and from the ACT Student Profile reports were also used to examine compositional changes. See Richard L. Ferguson and E. James Maxey, *Trends in the Academic Performance of High School and College Students*, American College Testing Program Report No. 70, January 1976; E. James Maxey, *Trends in the Academic Abilities, Background Characteristics, and Educational and Vocational Plans of College-Bound Students*, American College Testing Program Report No. 74, May 1976.

Changes in college-going patterns as they affect SAT scores are analyzed in the study by William Schrader, *Distribution of SAT Scores to Colleges as an Indicator of Changes in the SAT Candidate Population** (1976), and in Samuel S. Peng's paper, "Some Trends in the Entry to Higher Education: A Comparison between NLS and Project TALENT" (1976).

The influence of changes in the extent of repeating the SAT is explored in Rex Jackson's study, *An Examination of Declining Numbers of High-Scoring SAT Candidates** (1977).

Regarding reliance on cram courses, see *Effects of Coaching on Scholastic Aptitude Test Scores* (College Entrance Examination Board, 1965); Lewis W. Pike and Franklin R. Evans, *Effects of Special Instruction for Three Kinds of Mathematics Aptitude Items* (College Entrance Examination Board, 1972); Bart Barnes, "Area Pupils Attend Special Cram Courses to Prep for SAT," *The Washington Post*, October 18, 1976; Linda K. Nathan, "'Improving' Law School Aptitude Is Big Business," *The New York Times*, November 14, 1976.

*Pervasive Change:*

Evidence of the relatively more stable makeup of the SAT population and of the pervasive nature of much of the decline during the period between 1973 and 1977 has been obtained from a computer printout of the Student Descriptive Questionnaire data. A generally corroborative picture of experience with respect to the ACT is provided by *The High School Profile Report, 1975-76*, issued by the American College Testing Program.

Further and more detailed information on the nature of the SAT score decline in this period is contained in the papers by Rex Jackson on *An Examination of Declining Numbers of High-Scoring SAT Candidates** (1977) and on *Trends in Mean SAT Scores for Students from the High School Classes of 1971-72 and 1975-76 Belonging to Selected School and College Groups** (1977); in Thomas Donlon and Gary Echternacht's report on *A Feasibility Study of the SAT Performance of High-Ability Students from 1960 to 1974 (Valedictorian Study)** (1976); in James Nelson's *A Review of Data Available regarding Family Income and Financial Aid Characteristics of Students** (1976); and in June Stern's analysis of *Selected Percentiles for Scholastic Aptitude Test Scores (1966-67 through 1975-76)** (1977). For a state-level study reaching similar conclusions about the pervasive nature of the score decline in this period see Janice J. Weinman, *Declining Test Scores: A State Study*, Massachusetts Department of Education (1977).

*Through Other Looking Glasses:*

The panel's consideration of the experiences of other major national or statewide testing programs is based on the standard published reports of the sponsoring agencies and on studies that include summaries and analyses of a variety of other tests. Particular note is made of the analysis of other test score experiences by Annagret Harnischfeger and David Wiley in *Achievement Test Score Decline: Do We Need to Worry?* (1975); the ACT research report by Leo Munday on *Declining Admissions Test Scores*, American College Testing Program Report No. 71, February 1976; a report by Frank E. Armbruster, *The U.S. Primary and Secondary Educational Process* (Hudson Institute, 1975); the analysis by John Flanagan and Steven Jung, *Progress in*

*Education: A Sample Survey* (American Institutes for Research, 1971); John Flanagan's report at the American Educational Research Association meeting in 1976 on "Changes in School Levels of Achievement: Project TALENT Ten and Fifteen Year Retests"; an exerpt* from the paper, *A Summary of Score Change*, delivered by T. Anne Cleary and Sam McCandless at the 1977 annual meeting of the Northwest Association of Schools and Colleges.

Data regarding PSAT/NMSQT scores are presented in Rex Jackson's study *Mean Scores for PSAT and PSAT/NMSQT Junior Candidates* (1976).

The discussion of Achievement Test candidates' scores on both those tests and the SAT is based on June Stern's *Table of SAT and Achievement Test Scores for Samples of Candidates Taking Achievement Tests 1966-67 to 1975-76** (1977).

*Part Four. Circumstantial Evidence*

*In the Schools:*

*Courses of Study.* As indicated in the report, extensive reliance has been placed by the panel on the studies by Harnischfeger and Wiley and by Weinman, noted above. See also the *Survey of Curricula Offerings*, prepared by the Massachusetts Department of Education, 1967-68, 1970-71, 1972-73, and 1975-76. The California picture is described in a series of three articles by Jack McCurdy and Don Speich in *The Los Angeles Times*, August 15-17, 1976; the panel has not made an independent check of the reported facts. Changes in courses taken have also been traced through special tabulations of the Student Descriptive Questionnaire data; these data are subject to the possible influences on student self-reporting.

The panel has not made an independent study of the extent to which there have been declines in reading and writing. Reference is appropriate, however, to the report prepared for the U. S. Office of Education by ETS and the University of Indiana (R. Farr, J. Turnman, and M. Rowls) on *Reading Achievement in the United States: Then and Now* (1975); Donald Graves, "Writing: An Endangered Species," *The Common*, March 1977; A. Bartlett Giamatti, "The Language Barrier: Why Students Can't Write," *Yale Alumni Magazine*, January 1976; "Why Johnny Can't Write," *Newsweek*, December 8, 1975. A study of the federally financed Follow Through program, entitled *Education as Experimentation*, has been made recently by Abt Associates for the Office of Education; not yet available for general distribution, its conclusions are suggested by Lawrence Feinberg in "Basic Teaching Methods More Effective, Study Says," *The Washington Post*, June 20, 1977.

*Learning Standards.* Average daily attendance data are derived from the *Digest of Educational Statistics* and *A Century of Public School Statistics* (1975), both prepared by the National Center for Educational Statistics. The National Association of Secondary-School Principals' report, on "Student Attendance and Absenteeism," is in *The Practitioner*, March 1975.

The panel's discussion of textbook content is based on a study made by Professor Jeanne Chall of Harvard University, *An Analysis of Textbooks in Relation to Declining SAT Scores** (1976). See also the *Report on a National Study of the Nature and the Quality of Instructional Materials Most Used by Teachers and Learners*, Educational Products Information Exchange Report No. 76 (1977).

*Staff and Facilities.* Information on teacher experience and education and on pupil-teacher ratios is based on data developed by various offices of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, particularly by the National Center for Educational Statistics (*The Condition of Education* [1975-77]); most of it is summarized in Harnischfeger and Wiley, noted above.

*The Broader Learning Context:*

*Parents as Teachers.* The specific references are to James S. Coleman's *Equality of Educational Opportunity* (1966) and to Christopher Jencks' *Inequality: A Reassessment of the Effect of Family and Schooling in America* (1972). A large number of studies of the comparative importance of family background and school influences have appeared subsequently (see Edward Kifer, "The Relationship between the Home and School in Influencing the Learning of Children," a paper delivered at the Pre-Convention Conference on Research, National Council of Teachers of English, Chicago, Illinois, November 23, 1976).

Regarding the effects of family size and sibling order on academic tests, the panel had available to it the studies of R. B. Zajonc, "Intellectual Environment and Intelligence" (unpublished paper, 1975) and "Birth Order and Intellectual Development" (*Psychological Review*, 1975) as well as Hunter Breland's *Family Configuration Effects and the Decline in College Admissions Test Scores: A Review of the Zajonc Hypothesis** (1976). See also Carol Tavris, "The End of the IQ Slump," *Psychology Today*, April 1976.

*The Condition of Education* (1975-77) (National Center for Educational Statistics) provides a historical series on children under 18 who are living with two parents, one, or none. See also Urie Bronfenbrenner, "The Calamitous Decline of the American Family," *The Washington Post*, January 2, 1977.

The report of trends in published teaching materials is from Barbara Thompson Howell's presentation to the New Jersey Association of School Administrators, Atlantic City, New Jersey, May 12, 1977.

*Television—Test of the Modern World.* We relied heavily on panel member Wilbur Schramm's report to us on *Television and the Test Scores** (1976).

The conjecturing about the functioning of the mind is based on suggestions received from Professor Bikkar S. Randhawa of the University of Iowa. There is help for understanding, too, in a symposium entitled "Inside the Brain: The Last Great Frontier," *The Saturday Review*, August 9, 1975; *Television and Children, Priorities for Research*, a report of a conference sponsored by The Ford Foundation at Reston, Virginia, November 5-7, 1975; "What TV Does to Kids," *Newsweek*, February 2, 1977. But see also Max Gunther, "How Television Helps Johnny Read," *TV Guide*, September 4, 1976.

The E. B. White quotation is from his column "One Man's Meat," *Harper's Magazine*, 1938.

*A Decade of Distraction.* At the panel's request, K. H. Glover prepared two contextual maps of *Major Societal Changes in U.S. (1933-44 and 1945-75): Contextual Mapping** (1976). The influences we refer to particularly are described in the chapters entitled "Up against the Wall" in William Manchester's *The Glory and the Dream* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1974).

*Motivation:*
The paper prepared for the panel is by Professor David Winter of Wesleyan University, *Motivational Factors in the SAT Score Decline** (1976).

We have also relied to a limited extent on the Student Descriptive Questionnaire data, but with realization of the various elements that may affect the test takers' answers to these questions.

*In the View of Others:*
These views have been distilled from a large number of letters, personal conversations, and publications by Yvonne Wharton, in *List of Hypotheses Advanced to Explain the SAT Score Decline** (1975).

The two studies of the history of SAT scores in various types of schools are Gary Schternacht's *A Comparative Study of Secondary Schools with Different Score Patterns** (1976) and Rex Jackson's *Comparison of SAT Score Trends in Selected Schools Judged To Have Traditional or Experimental Orientations** (1976). The panel also drew on the study by the American Institutes for Research, *Impact of Educational Innovation on Student Performance* (1976).

# Annotated List of Studies and Papers

The panel asked for a variety of studies and papers to assist in understanding the score decline. These papers proved useful for that purpose, even though the panel did not use all the material in them or necessarily agree with all the conclusions. They are published as a separate Appendix to the panel's report, so that this information will be available to others who wish to go more deeply into the subject. What follows is an annotated list of these commissioned studies and papers.

Arnold, C. B. *Could There Be a Medical Basis for the Declining SAT Scores?* January 1977, 8 pages.

A brief summary and analysis of the medical and epidemiological literature dealing with nutrition, drugs, genetic and prenatal conditions, labor and delivery, child development, health status, and health care over several decades in the United States. It concludes that the decline in SAT scores is probably not the result of disease processes or physical environmental factors.

Beaton, A. E.; Hilton, T. L.; and Schrader, W. B. *Changes in the Verbal Abilities of High School Seniors, College Entrants, and SAT Candidates between 1960 and 1972.* January 1977, 81 pages.

Two major social science research efforts—Project TALENT in 1960 and the National Longitudinal Study in 1972—obtained extensive data on ability and other significant characteristics for national probability samples of high school seniors. Both surveys made follow-up studies to determine which of these seniors had entered college in the year following high school graduation. This study was designed to use these two exceptional data bases to document changes between 1960 and 1972 for high school seniors, college entrants, and the SAT-taking population. The data of the national surveys were supplemented by the results of a special equating study and by a search of SAT files for about 20,000 members of the TALENT sample.

The study was concerned with three groups—high school seniors, college entrants, and SAT takers. Because reading scores were available for all three groups, it was possible (after equating the reading tests used) to measure changes in reading ability for all three groups. In addition, it was possible to study subgroups of the three main groups. The subgroups were defined on the basis of each of the following characteristics: age, sex, father's education, mother's education, father's occupation, mother's occupation, family configuration, high school curriculum, and expected college major field.

The main conclusions of the study are as follows.

1. All three groups showed a decline in reading ability between 1960 and 1972. The



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decline for SAT takers, however, is markedly greater than that for the other two groups.

2. A much greater increase in the proportion of low-ability than of high-ability students who took the SAT appears to be the predominant source of the SAT score decline between 1960 and 1972. The decrease in ability level of high school seniors during this period also contributed to the decline.

3. There is some evidence that SAT scores earned in 1960 and 1972 are not precisely comparable. The data suggest that the actual decline in average verbal ability of SAT candidates from 1960 to 1972 was somewhat greater than the SAT scores indicate.

4. There were appreciable changes in the background characteristics studied for all three groups. None of them made a major contribution to accounting for the score decline among high school seniors or college entrants. A decrease in the percentage of SAT takers entering four-year colleges may help to explain the greater score decline observed for this group.

Braswell, J., and Petersen, N. *An Investigation of Item Obsolescence in the Scholastic Aptitude Test.* October 1976 (revised January 1977), 74 pages.

Two panels, one concentrating on the verbal sections of the SAT and the other on the mathematical, were appointed to review and rate questions that appeared in earlier editions of the test and then in more recent editions. Raters were asked to indicate how the difficulty of each question might be expected to change between the two administration dates. The raters' predictions were then compared with available item analysis data. For the most part, the changes predicted by raters were not substantiated by the statistical analysis. While the relative difficulty of some questions changed between administration dates, it was not possible, except for a few mathematical questions, to attribute these changes to curricular change or to broader social factors. These mathematical questions were predicted by the raters to be relatively easier at the more recent administration, and their prediction was supported by the statistical analysis.

Breland, H. M. *Family Configuration Effects and the Decline in College Admissions Test Scores: A Review of the Zajonc Hypothesis.* September 1976 (revised February 1977), 15 pages.

A hypothesis that part of the SAT score decline is a result of changing American family sizes and configurations is explored. This possible explanation of declining SAT scores had been offered by Robert B. Zajonc in an article in *Science* that reviewed the evidence for a relation between family configuration and cognitive development. Since a number of investigations have shown that "earlyborn" students—those who were the first or second child in their families—and members of small families tend to have higher scores on tests such as the SAT, a change in the representation of students who are earlyborn and members of small families in the population could possibly cause a decline in the average for the total population. The hypothesis is explored through a consideration of the magnitude of the change in family configurations over the years of interest and the magnitude of observed score differences for the SAT. It is concluded that, while the Zajonc hypothesis seems sound, it could only account for a small portion of the total SAT score decline.

Breland, H. M. *The SAT Score Decline: A Summary of Related Research.* January 1976, 40 pages.

This paper surveys the available evidence pertaining to the score decline in terms of five hypothesis areas: the test, the test-taking population, the college-bound population, the schools, and societal factors. It contains a description of the SAT score decline in both graphic and tabular form as well as population data for the years 1957 through 1973. Based on the data available at the time the panel began its deliberations, it is concluded that the evidence confirms a general decline in the abilities of the college-bound population but is less clear with respect to the high school population. It is speculated that the declines in the college-bound population are due to several factors acting in combination: increases in the proportion of low- and middle-income students, reductions in the numbers of test repeaters, changes in the mix of SAT-user colleges, and less-strict policies regarding college admissions.

Chall, J. S., with Conard, S. S., and Harris, S. H. *An Analysis of Textbooks in Relation to Declining SAT Scores.* November 1976 (revised March 1977), 99 pages.

The authors analyzed the reading selections from six SATs, two from the stable years (1947 and 1955), one from a pivotal year (1962), and three from the declining years (1967, 1972, 1975). Samples of the textbooks used most widely by these six SAT cohorts during their elementary and high school years were analyzed – 35 textbooks and approximately 20 workbooks and teacher's guidebooks in reading, grammar and composition, literature, and history for grades 1, 6, and 11.

The various textbooks and SAT reading passages were analyzed using various indices of difficulty and challenge – the Dale-Chall Readability Formula for level of reading/comprehension difficulty, Chall's Reading Stages for level of linguistic and cognitive maturity, a rating scale for assessing question difficulty adapted from Bloom's Taxonomy, etc.

1. Readability analyses of the SAT passages reveals a general decreasing trend in difficulty from the two stable years (1947 and 1955) through the pivotal year (1962), to the declining years (1967, 1972, and 1975).

2. A possible gap between the difficulty of the SAT passages and the difficulty of the 11th-grade textbooks is indicated. The SAT passages proved to be the most difficult of any of the materials analyzed – more difficult than any of the textbooks. Two of the SAT passages were on the level of grades 13-15 and four on the level of grades 11-12. The history, literature, and grammar and composition 11th-grade textbooks had an average readability level of grades 9-10.

3. There are signs in the data of a recent increasing challenge in the textbooks, particularly at the elementary level.

4. The authors find what appears to be a particularly low level of challenge in writing. Generally the assignments in reading, history, and literature textbooks ask mostly for underlining, circling, and filling in of single words. Few assignments ask students to write a paragraph, story, letter, or theme.

Cleary, T. A., and McCandless, S. A. *Summary of Score Changes (in Other Tests).* February 1, 1977, 10 pages. An excerpt from the authors' "Score Declines and Grade Inflation," a paper delivered at the annual meeting of the Northwest Association

of Schools and Colleges, Portland, Oregon, December 1976.
Summarizes the experience of other testing programs, indicating the degrees to which average scores in each changed over the period of the SAT score decline.

Donlon, T., and Echternacht, G. *A Feasibility Study of the SAT Performance of High-Ability Students from 1960 to 1974 (Valedictorian Study)*. October 1976 (revised February 1977), 53 pages.
This is a study of the SAT records of valedictorians and salutatorians in three groups of schools: "experimental" schools, specifically chosen for demographic stability; "comparison" schools, selected for stability but by less stringent criteria; and "private" schools. For each group SAT-V and SAT-M scores in the even-numbered years from 1960 to 1974 were studied.

For the "experimental" group, there is no evidence of score decline in either SAT-V or M. Instead the trends have been toward very modest annual increases. For the "comparison" group the data indicated an initial period of increase, followed by a decrease. Each of these two special samples differed significantly from the SAT-taking population. The "private" schools, however, were not significantly different, showing a decline similar to the total College Board population.

Echternacht, G. *A Comparative Study of Secondary Schools with Different Score Patterns*. October 1976 (revised January 1977), 52 pages.
In this study, the curriculum, institutional, teacher, and student factors associated with those schools having large decreases in SAT score averages were compared with the same factors associated with schools having increasing or steady SAT score averages. It was believed that by identifying these factors, some insight into the role that school characteristics have played in the score decline might come to light. Although some significant differences between the two groups were found in terms of enrollments in academic courses, ability grouping, age of schools, dropout rate, and teacher experience, these were judged not to explain a large portion of the decline. Indeed, differences among schools do not appear to have had large differential effects on the decline of scores.

Ford, S. F., and Campos, S. *Summary of Validity Data from the Admissions Testing Program Validity Study Service*. June 1977.
Validity data (prediction of first-year grade-point average) for colleges participating in the Admissions Testing Program Validity Study Service (VSS) and based on students entering college in 1964 through 1974 are summarized for the following predictors: SAT-verbal score, SAT-mathematical score, high school record, and these three predictors combined.

No definite trends over time are apparent for SAT validities, although those obtained for 1973 and 1974 were generally among the highest observed. There was a downward trend in the validity of high school record accompanied by a slight downward trend in multiple correlations for all three predictors combined. Median validities for colleges having SAT-V means between 450 and 549 tended to be higher than those for colleges having means below 450 or above 550. The great majority of colleges participating in the VSS were found to be four-year colleges. Separate analyses

of the small number of two-year colleges in the sample yielded slightly lower median validities for each of the predictors than those found for the total sample.

Glover, R. H. *Major Societal Changes in U. S. (1933-44 and 1945-75): Contextual Mapping*. April 1976 (revised August 1976).
For a span of 42 years (1933-75) a fold-out chart displays major events and influences on events, products, and other phenomena, suggesting their interconnectedness in graphic form. The presentation covers occurrences in the following areas: political, social and cultural, economic and financial, legislative and legal, population and human ecology, and knowledge and technology. The August 1976 revision is accompanied by a scenario for the period 1976-85.

Jackson, R. *Comparison of SAT Score Trends in Selected Schools Judged To Have Traditional or Experimental Orientations*. October 1976, 7 pages.
A group of schools consisting largely of highly regarded schools in affluent suburban areas was divided into two groups – those judged to have a traditional orientation and those judged to have a more experimental orientation (in terms of course and program structure). A review of the mean SAT scores of SAT candidates from the 1966, 1969, 1973, and 1976 graduating classes from these schools shows that (a) mean SAT scores for both school groups were substantially higher than national averages, and (b) declines in mean SAT scores for both groups over the period studied very nearly paralleled the national declines.

This was a small-scale pilot test using available data. Because of the relatively fallible procedures used for classifying schools and because of a general lack of experimental controls of the effects of extraneous factors, the results cannot support any general conclusions about the possible relation of experimentation in the schools to score decline. Because of the essentially negative findings of this pilot test, a more substantial study of this group of schools was not attempted.

Jackson, R. *Correlations of SAT Scores with High School Record*. January 1977, 6 pages.
Two sets of data are examined: (a) correlations of SAT scores with student reports of class standing (collected by means of the Student Descriptive Questionnaire) for 1971-72 through 1975-76, and (b) correlations of SAT scores with measures of high school performance for groups of students attending colleges participating in the College Board Validity Study Service, for entering classes from 1964 through 1974. The correlations of SAT scores with self-reported class rank are virtually level over the five years studied. The longer-term comparisons using validity study data suggest that the median correlations of SAT verbal or mathematical scores with high school record may have increased somewhat over the 11 years studied.

Jackson, R. *An Examination of Declining Numbers of High-Scoring SAT Candidates*. January 1977, 12 pages.
The sharp declines in numbers of SAT candidates scoring over 600, which were observed from 1969-70 through 1974-75, are examined. Several suggested explanations of this phenomenon relating to test-taking patterns are discussed. Specifically examined are the possibilities that less SAT-to-SAT repetition, or less PSAT-to-SAT repetition, or less overlap between SAT and ACT among high-scoring students might ac-

count for some part of the observed declines. Although ideal data for testing all these explanations were not available, certain data in hand suggest that, while changes in test-taking patterns may have had some effect, they probably cannot entirely explain the trend in question.

Jackson, R. *Mean Scores for PSAT and PSAT/NMSQT Junior Candidates.* December 20, 1976, 5 pages.

Gives the numbers of students taking the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test and the Preliminary Scholastic Aptitude Test/National Merit Scholarship Qualifying Test and their mean scores for the period 1959 through 1976. The implications of these results in relation to changes in the candidate group are discussed.

Jackson, R. *A Summary of SAT Score Statistics for College Board Candidates.* December 1975 (revised October 1976), 20 pages.

Summaries of SAT score statistics for test candidates are presented for students grouped according to testing years (for 1956-57 to 1975-76) and for students grouped according to high school classes (from 1966-67 to 1975-76). For recent years, mean scores for geographical regions and for students grouped according to selected responses to the Student Descriptive Questionnaire are also presented.

Jackson, R. *Trends in Mean SAT Scores for Students from the High School Classes of 1971-72 and 1975-76 Belonging to Selected School and College Groups.* January 1977, 9 pages.

Data are presented on trends in SAT performance from the year 1971-72 to 1975-76 for students who (a) attended certain selected high schools for which group summary reports had been produced through the College Board summary report service, or (b) had their scores reported to colleges in groups similarly formed for summary reporting purposes. All school and college groups for which reports were produced both in 1971-72 and 1975-76 are included. The great majority of these groups exhibited declines in mean SAT scores over this period. With only a few exceptions, those groups showing increases in either SAT-verbal or SAT-mathematical mean scores had substantially smaller numbers of students in the more recent year.

Modu, C., and Stern, J. *The Stability of the SAT-Verbal Score Scale.* September 1976, 35 pages.

This study was designed to assess the stability of the score scale between 1963 and 1973 for the verbal sections of the SAT. In a previous study, scores on two old forms were equated to a 1973 form and, through that form, to the College Board scale by means of sets of items common to the new and old forms. This earlier study suggested that the SAT scale had shifted upward by an average of 14 points on the verbal sections and 17 points on the mathematical sections.

In the present study, pairs of 1963 and 1973 forms of the SAT-V were administered in counterbalanced order to spaced samples of the same group, with each candidate taking a 1963 and a 1973 form. The obtained scores were used to place the 1973 scores on the reporting scale used for the 1963 form. The experimentally derived scores on the 1963 scale were then compared with their corresponding scores on the 1973 scale for candidates of the same ability levels in order to estimate the degree of scale shift.

The findings of the present study confirm an upward scale drift which gave the 1973 candidate group an average of 8 to 10 points higher than they would have earned had these experimental equating results rather than the operational equating results been used in reporting the 1973 scores. The scale drift observed for the present study was not uniform over the extent of the scale; it was found to increase as scores decreased from 600 to 200. Little scale drift was noticed over the 10-year span for scores of 650 and above. Based on the evidence from this study it would appear that the reported declines in mean SAT-verbal scores from 1963 to 1973 are about 8 to 10 points smaller than they would have been had the scale been completely stable.

Nelson, J. E. *A Review of Data Available regarding Family Income and Financial Aid Characteristics of Students.* October 1976, 7 pages.

Greatly expanded programs of financial aid based on need have made it possible for large numbers of low-income students to attend college. Since test scores have high correlation with family income, has the increase in low-income students taking the SAT produced the decline in mean scores? This review of available College Board candidate data, income distributions of entering freshmen, percentage of age groups in college by income levels, and impact of student aid on low-income enrollment shows an increased percentage of students coming from lower-income families before 1972, but no significant change since that time.

Reed, J. S. *Available Evidence on Public Attitudes toward Education.* June 1976 (Draft), 31 pages.

Questions dealing with education asked by American survey organizations since 1936 are examined, and over 60 taken to illustrate (1) changes in public opinion since 1960 that might have altered students' evaluations of college going or academic excellence, and (2) changes prior to 1960 that might have affected the quality of preparation for college.

Tables summarize responses to the following broad groups of questions: satisfaction with public schools and personnel and with college and university personnel; adequacy of homework in the public schools, of time spent in school, of discipline in the public schools, of the public school curriculum, of treatment of students with differing ability; desirability of nationwide testing programs; and evaluation of the teaching profession.

It is found that there was a period of criticism of all levels of schooling during the late 1950s, increasing satisfaction with schools and colleges during the 1960s, and a renewed dissatisfaction that starts at the end of the sixties. It would probably be impossible to reconstruct opinion changes between 1950 and 1970 in sufficient detail to relate them to changes in SAT scores.

A catalog of survey questions dealing with education, other than the questions analyzed in the report, is appended.

——A supplement to Reed's paper, consisting of excerpts from the *Eighth Annual Survey of the Public's Attitudes toward the Public Schools.* A project jointly conducted by The Gallup Poll and the Charles F. Kettering Foundation. Princeton, New Jersey: Public Opinion Surveys, Spring 1976.

A significant drop in the public's rating of the schools was recorded between 1974 and 1975, but this decline leveled off between 1975 and 1976. Adults perceive the following as the major problems of the local public schools: lack of discipline; integration, segregation, and busing; lack of proper financial support; poor curriculum; use of drugs; difficulty of getting "good" teachers; parents' lack of interest; size of school or classes or both; school board policies; pupils' lack of interest.

The public believes that the decline in national test scores in recent years means that the quality of education is declining; it would like more attention paid to basic skills and to discipline in the schools in order to counteract the perceived decline of quality in the schools. It inclines, however, to place blame on parents rather than preponderantly on the schools.

Rosenthal, E., and Beaton, A. E. *Annotated Bibliography*. December 1, 1975 (revised April 28, 1976), 17 pages.

More than 30 reports and publications pertaining to national declines in abilities are cited, and most are annotated. The citations in this bibliography include evidence available at the time the panel began its work.

Schrader, W. B. *Distribution of SAT Scores to Colleges as an Indicator of Changes in the SAT Candidate Population*. September 1976, 14 pages.

This study identifies trends in the extent to which SAT candidates were applying to various groups of colleges in 1960-61, 1966-67, and 1973-74. Colleges were grouped on the basis of: (1) the classification developed by the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, (2) the test or tests they required applicants to take, and (3) state and region. Results provide pertinent data on two main topics: (a) widening access to higher education and (b) acceptance of either SAT or ACT scores for admissions by some colleges. Although the interpretation of the data is complicated, especially by the lack of knowledge about the relation between college choice and taking the SAT, the results offer some reason to believe that both these factors resulted in changes in test taking between 1966-67 and 1971-72 that could have contributed to the SAT score decline. They do not, however, provide a numerical estimate of the size of the effects.

Schramm, W. *Television and the Test Scores*. August 1976, 31 pages.

There is no conclusive evidence as yet that television has been a sufficient cause for decline in test scores, although it may be one of several elements in a complex causal system. The major studies show that television viewing, after the early school years, tends to be associated with lower-than-average achievement, although the relative extent to which viewing affects achievement or unsatisfactory achievement encourages children to take refuge in television is not fully understood. Television reduces reading time, social interaction time, and the opportunity to practice certain skills necessary to academic excellence. It tends to reduce the average level of intellectual stimulation available to a child after the age of 9 or so. The trend of the evidence is that television viewing patterns belong to a group of strong variables that interact with each other and with school (and, therefore, test) performance, probably with negative effect.

Stern, J. *Selected Percentiles for Scholastic Aptitude Test Scores (1966-67 through 1975-76).* January 1977, 1 page.

This table presents the ninetieth, seventy-fifth, fiftieth, twenty-fifth, and tenth percentile groupings for SAT Verbal and Mathematical scores reported in the 10-year period between 1966-67 and 1975-76. A testing year is defined as extending from September to August; data are collected without regard to level of preparation or the number of times an individual student was tested during the defined year.

Stern, J. *Table of SAT and Achievement Test Scores for Samples of Candidates Taking Achievement Tests 1966-67 to 1975-76.* January 1977, 2 pages.

The table provides the SAT and the Achievement Test means and standard deviations for samples of candidates taking each of the 15 Achievement Tests offered in the Admissions Testing Program battery during the period 1966-67 to 1975-76. The samples, drawn annually through 1971-72 and biennially thereafter, provide estimates of SAT means for each Achievement Test population.

Wharton, Y. *List of Hypotheses Advanced to Explain the SAT Score Decline.* December 3, 1975 (revised February 20, 1976), 8 pages.

A listing of hypotheses to explain the SAT score decline (advanced in letters to the College Board, to the Advisory Panel, in magazine articles, and in newspaper stories) is presented and categorized using a four-part classification scheme: changes in the schools, changes in society, changes in the population, and problems with the tests. The first major category (changes in the schools) is further broken down into hypotheses relating to curriculum, institutional policies, teachers, and students. The second major category (changes in society) lists hypotheses related to family, religion, civil rights, crisis of values, national priorities, economic, labor movement in education, and technological changes.

Winter, D. G. *Motivational Factors in the SAT Score Decline.* October 1976 (Draft), 23 pages.

The paper examines the research evidence and theory about three human social motives that could be expected to play some role in test performance and academic functioning: the motives for achievement, for affiliation, and for power. It also considers the possibility of a "motivational overload." Broad cultural trends (i.e., post-Sputnik emphasis on academic achievement, revolt of the counterculture, crisis of values in Vietnam and Watergate) and related specific changes in the educational system ("open," "alternative," and "humanistic" education) may have had direct and indirect effects on motives. Some of the hypotheses suggest that actual motive levels went up or down with corresponding effects on academic performance. Others suggest the ways in which social forces may have changed beliefs about the nature and value of academic work, beliefs that may interact with relatively constant motive levels to produce behavior changes.

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# Sample Questions from the SAT

## Verbal Questions

The ability to understand what you read and the extent of your vocabulary are important for successful academic performance in college. The SAT tests these abilities using four types of questions: antonyms and analogies, which yield a vocabulary subscore, and sentence completion and reading comprehension, which yield a reading subscore. The directions that are shown below for each type of question are the same as the ones that appear in the test itself.

### Vocabulary

***Antonyms (opposites)***
Antonyms test the quality and extent of your vocabulary.

**Directions: Each question below consists of a word in capital letters, followed by five lettered words or phrases. Choose the word or phrase that is most nearly opposite in meaning to the word in capital letters. Since some of the questions require you to distinguish fine shades of meaning, consider all the choices before deciding which is best.**

> ***Example:***
> **GOOD: (A) sour (B) bad (C) red (D) hot (E) ugly**
> Ⓐ ● Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ

**Practice Questions:**

**1. BABBLE: (A) irrigation (B) pollution (C) meaningful speech (D) useful object (E) helpful person**

**8. RECTITUDE: (A) deliberation (B) laziness (C) prejudice (D) laxity of morals (E) weakness of intellect**

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***Analogies***
Analogies test your understanding of relationships between words and ideas. You are asked to recognize pairs that are similar or parallel in nature.

**Directions: Each question below consists of a related pair of words or phrases, followed by five lettered pairs of words or phrases. Select the lettered pair that best expresses a relationship similar to that expressed in the original pair.**

> ***Example:***
> **YAWN:BOREDOM:: (A) dream:sleep (B) anger:madness (C) smile:amusement (D) face:expression (E) impatience:rebellion**
> Ⓐ Ⓑ ● Ⓓ Ⓔ

First, establish the relationship between the two capitalized words, considering for each word only the sense that applies. For example, the fact that you yawn when you're sleepy is irrelevant in the example above. Roughly stated, the relationship between the first two words is "a yawn indicates boredom." The correct answer is (C), because "a smile indicates amusement." If more than one of the choices seems to fit the relationship you have established, restate it more precisely. The correct answer to the sample question is more obvious if the relationship is expressed, as "a yawn is a movement of facial muscles indicating boredom."

**Practice Questions:**

**10. CHOIR:SINGERS:: (A) victory:soldiers (B) classroom:chairs (C) crowd:protesters (D) challenge:duelists (E) orchestra:musicians**

**16. BALLAST:STABILITY:: (A) mean:appetite (B) buoy:steering (C) spice:flavor (D) grade:education (E) eclipse:clarity**

### Reading Comprehension

***Sentence Completion***
This type of question asks you to select words or phrases that are consistent in style and logic with other elements in the sentence.



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**Directions: Each question below has one or two blank spaces, each blank indicating that something has been omitted. Beneath the sentence are five lettered words or sets of words. Choose the word or set of words that best fits the meaning of the sentence as a whole.**

> ***Example:***
> **Although the publicity has been ——, the film itself is intelligent, well-acted, handsomely produced, and altogether ——.**
> **(A) extensive . . arbitrary**
> **(B) tasteless . . respectable**
> **(C) sophisticated . . amateurish**
> **(D) risqué . . crude**
> **(E) perfect . . spectacular** Ⓐ ● Ⓒ Ⓓ Ⓔ

The correct answer should involve two words that are more or less opposite in meaning, as the word although suggests that the publicity misrepresented the film. Another clue to the correct answer is that the second word should fit in context with the words "intelligent, well-acted, handsomely produced." Choices (A), (D), and (E) are not opposites. Choice (C) can not be the correct answer even though the words in it are nearly opposites, because if the film is intelligent, well-acted, and handsomely produced, it is not amateurish. Also only choice (B), when inserted in the sentence, produces a logical statement.

Practice Questions:

**19. Intricately carved and beautifully proportioned, the priceless sculpture was —— the work of a ——.**
**(A) understandably . . dilettante**
**(B) indelibly . . forger**
**(C) demonstrably . . bungler**
**(D) unmistakably . . master**
**(E) paradoxically . . perfectionist**

***Reading Passages***

The reading passages are taken from a variety of fields, and reading comprehension is tested at several levels. Some of the questions test your understanding of what has been stated directly; others test your ability to interpret and analyze what you have read. Be sure to read the questions carefully so that you understand exactly what is being asked.

**Directions: Read the following passage and then answer the questions on the basis of what is stated or implied in the passage.**

**The behavioral sciences are making rapid strides in the understanding, prediction, and control of behavior. In important ways we know how to select individuals who will exhibit certain behaviors and to establish conditions in groups which will lead to various predictable group behaviors; in animals our ability to understand, predict, and control goes even further, possibly foreshadowing future steps in relation to man.**

**If your reaction is the same as mine, then you will have found that the potentials of this young science are somewhat frightening. For all its present immaturity, behavioral science may contain awesome possibilities. If some individual or group had the power to exploit this science, it would be a nightmare of manipulation. Potential troublemakers could be discovered and dealt with before they became such. Morale could be improved or lowered and behavior could be influenced by appeals to motives of which the individual was unconscious. Admittedly this is wild fantasy, but it is not an impossible fantasy.**

**Some of you may point out that only a few of the findings I have mentioned have actually been put to use in any way that significantly affects society, and that for the most part these studies are important only to the behavioral scientist but have no serious impact on our culture. I agree with this point. The behavioral sciences at the present time are at somewhat the same stage as the physical sciences were several generations ago. For instance in 1900, the public believed the science of aeronautics to be of little importance and did not anticipate the significant effects that aeronautics would have on culture. They preferred to use their common sense, which told them that man could not possibly fly in a contraption which was heavier than air.**

**However, the public attitude toward physical science is quite different today. The public is ready to believe any prediction the physical scientist might make. When science predicted a satellite would be launched into space, very few voices were raised in disbelief.**

**There is every reason to believe that the same sequence of events will occur in the behavioral sciences. First, the public ignores or views with disbelief; then, as it discovers that the findings of a science are more dependable than theories based on common sense, it begins to use them; eventually, the widespread use of these findings creates a tremendous demand. Finally, the development of the science spirals upward at an ever-increasing rate. Consequently, even though the findings of the behavioral sciences are not widely used today, there is every likelihood that they will be widely used tomorrow.**

**Practice Questions:**

**26. The author suggests that the next change in the public's attitude toward behavioral science will lead the public to**
**(A) ignore the findings**
**(B) increase the use of the findings**
**(C) disbelieve the findings**
**(D) use these findings against each other**
**(E) lose interest in the findings**

**27. The tone of this passage can best be described as**
**(A) condescending (B) humble (C) insipid**
**(D) admonitory (E) inspiring**

## Mathematical Questions

The subject matter prerequisites for the SAT-mathematical questions include arithmetic and do not extend beyond a year of high school algebra and the geometry that is usually taught in the elementary and junior high years. The arithmetic includes the four basic operations of addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division; properties of odd and even integers; percent; and averages. The algebra includes linear equations, simple quadratic equations, factoring, and exponents, but not the quadratic formula, fractional or negative exponents, or logarithms. The geometry includes the properties associated with parallel lines and the informal measurement-related concepts of area, perimeter, volume, the Pythagorean Theorem, and angle measure in degrees. Knowledge of special triangles such as isosceles, equilateral, 30°-60°-90° is also assumed. (See question 20.) Unusual notation is used only when it is explicitly defined for a particular question. (See question 17.)

Certain questions emphasize nonroutine problem-solving approaches. For example, the correct solution to problem 15 . . . can be easily obtained once an appropriate nonroutine approach is discovered, but could be obtained only at the cost of much time and thought if a routine approach were used. When you take the SAT, however, do not spend too much time searching for a nonroutine solution. If you cannot think of such a solution, try a routine approach or go on to the next question.

Two kinds of multiple-choice questions appear in the mathematical portion of the SAT:

1. Standard multiple-choice questions (approximately two-thirds of the test)
2. Quantitative comparison questions (approximately one-third of the test)

Each of the quantitative comparison questions presents two quantities to be compared, one in Column A and the other in Column B. . . . . In general, this type of question takes less time to answer, involves less reading, and requires somewhat less computation than the usual multiple-choice mathematics question. In deciding on your answer, you must use concepts of greater than (>), less than (<), and equal to (=) to decide which choice is correct. Please analyze carefully example 27, . . . as this illustrates comparisons in which the relationship cannot be determined. . . .

**Practice Questions:**

**1. The number which is one hundred less than one million is**
**(A) 990,900 (B) 900,000 (C) 999,990**
**(D) 999,900 (E) 1,000,000**

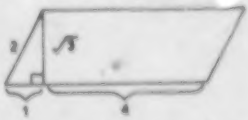
**15. The figure above represents a network of one-way traffic lanes. If the traffic divides equally at intersections where there are alternative directions and in one hour 512 cars enter the traffic pattern at point B, how many of these cars will leave via Y?**
**(A) 128 (B) 192 (C) 256 (D) 320 (E) 384**

**Question 17 refers to the following definition.**

**For all positive integers a, $\boxed{a} = a$ if a is even**

**$\boxed{a} = a + 1$ if a is odd**

**17. $\boxed{19} \div \boxed{21} =$**
**(A) 38 (B) 39 (C) 40 (D) 41 (E) 42**




**20. The figure above shows a piece of paper in the shape of a parallelogram with measurements as indicated. If the paper is tacked at its center to a large flat surface and then rotated about its center, the points covered by the paper will be a circular region of diameter**
**(A) $\sqrt{5}$ (B) 2 (C) 5 (D) $\sqrt{10}$ (E) $\sqrt{20}$**

**Directions:** Each of the following questions consists of two quantities, one in Column A and one in Column B. You are to compare the two quantities and on the answer sheet blacken spaces

A if the quantity in Column A is greater;
B if the quantity in Column B is greater;
C if the two quantities are equal;
D if the relationship cannot be determined from the information given.

**Notes:**

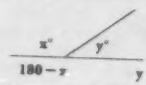
1. In certain questions, information concerning one or both of the quantities to be compared is centered above the two columns.

2. A symbol that appears in both columns represents the same thing in Column A as it does in Column B.

3. Letters such as x, n, and k stand for real numbers.

4. Since there are only four choices, NEVER MARK (E).

*Examples:*

| | Column A | Column B | Answers |
|---|---|---|---|
| E1. | $2 \times 6$ | $2 + 6$ | ● (B) (C) (D) (E) |
| E2. |  $180 - x$ | $y$ | (A) (B) ● (D) (E) |
| E3. | $p - q$ | $q - p$ | (A) (B) (C) ● (E) |

| | Column A | Column B |
|---|---|---|
| | $5x + 3y = 22$ | |
| 27. | $x$ | $y$ |

## Answer Key

| *Question number* | *Correct answer* | *Percentage of 450-scorers who answered correctly* |
|---|---|---|
| **Verbal** | | |
| 1 | C | 96 |
| 8 | D | 23 |
| 10 | E | 93 |
| 16 | C | 39 |
| 19 | D | 93 |
| 26 | B | 80 |
| 27 | D | 20 |
| **Mathematical** | | |
| 1 | D | 90 |
| 15 | E | 22 |
| 17 | E | 47 |
| 20 | E | 20 |
| 27 | D | 39 |

# Advisory Panel on the Scholastic Aptitude Test Score Decline

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PREPARED TESTIMONY OF RONALD R. EDMONDS, SENIOR ASSISTANT TO THE CHANCELLOR FOR INSTRUCTION, LECTURER AND RESEARCH ASSOCIATE, HARVARD UNIVERSITY

"Effective Teaching and Learning in Secondary Schools"

For the record, I am submitting 2 written documents. The first is entitled "Alternative Patterns for the Distribution of Social Services." That is a conceptual description of the circumstances under which publicly supported Social Service institutions are most successful in serving a heterogeneous clientele. The second document is a description of a research project analyzing the characteristics of instructionally successful city schools. What I will be doing this morning is a summary of our major insights into the circumstances under which secondary schools are most likely to be instructionally effective. In the course of my remarks, I will combine the major conclusions from each document.

RONALD R. EDMONDS

# Alternative Patterns for the Distribution of Social Services

Institutions of social service are nonprofit agencies whose purposes are to assist groups and individuals to maintain or advance themselves in the social order. Schools, adoption agencies, welfare agencies, and counseling centers are all examples of social service settings.

We now know that as a social order we are least effective in delivering social service to those who are impoverished, of color, physically handicapped, or otherwise different in ways that are observable. The literature that describes the social pathology of our response to such individuals is both substantial and persuasive. Perusing that literature from the perspective of my own experiences as teacher, researcher, and administrator persuades me that our "bad" social service institutions are, for the most part, staffed by "good" men and women. Certainly there are teachers, social workers, doctors, and administrators who are racist, autocratic, ethnocentric, and, in general, personally and professionally repulsive. I do not believe such individuals constitute the norm among social servants. I rather believe that most social servants are decent men and women who work hard and conscientiously strive to benefit the needful portions of our population. If you are prepared to accept such a characterization of social service settings and the people who staff them, you must acknowledge the paradox of bad social service being delivered by good people.

This discussion is principally directed to those of good intention and thwarted purpose who daily participate in the paradox that

is the object of these remarks. The paradox need not continue; my own experience illustrates that social service settings, which serve all manner of American minorities, can be effective, efficient, and, most important, respectful of those to be served.

I make this last point because being respectful of those to be served is the minimal prerequisite to effective social service. A technically competent teacher who is disrespectful of students and parents cannot create or maintain that mood of consensus and cooperation that characterizes a good school. Effective social service reform must be characterized by both technical proficiency and an institutional climate that acknowledges and respects the unique characteristics of the client population.

My design for betterment has three parts which, taken together, describe a method of successful intervention in social service delivery. First, clients must become as influential as constituents in defining the uses to which the social service setting will be put; second, the social servants, as internal advocates for reform, must develop and articulate a "maximal" concept of effective social service; third, the community to which the service is to be delivered must adopt the "utility of minimums" as the conceptual basis for describing improved social service.

Clients are those individuals with whom the institution has direct contact, those who are present to receive the social service. Constituents are those on whose behalf the social service is made available. When a teacher is teaching, the students are clients. When an adoption worker arranges permanent parentage, the child being placed is a client.

Identifying constituents is more difficult, but may be made easier by putting the question, to whom do the teacher and other social servants think they must answer for their professional conduct? The teacher's answer may describe a group as small as an elected board of education or as large as the entire population of the school district. The group to whom the teacher feels accountable is a constituency. Of particular importance in this discussion is the frequency with which social servants answer this hypothetical query by describing a population that does not include their clients.

Constituency is a dynamic concept and may vary from social

servant to social servant. At the core of the concept of constituency is the notion of representing interests and standards. The social servant who seeks internal reform must come to understand that the aura of respect I mentioned earlier requires perceiving clients as synonymous with constituents when interests and standards are being articulated.

Effective social service settings need not perceive all constituents as clients, but all clients must be perceived as constituents. It is a general principle of good social service that the constituent population is larger than the client population. Thus any institution that serves large numbers but is answerable to small numbers cannot effect good social service.

By its very nature, social service requires a norm. Whether the social servant is a teacher, social worker, or counselor, there must be a standard of personal attainment toward which the client is to move. In the instance of schooling, the norm may be as tangible as minimal competence in reading, writing, and computing or as intangible as the teacher's perception of pupil behaviors that demonstrate socialization. "Good" school districts confer school skills that are explicitly or implicitly a response to parental consensus on the school skills prerequisite to mastery of the successive levels of schooling. Such socialization as may occur in a good school derives its description of socialized behaviors from educator perception of parental behavior norms. School districts that are "bad" or that become "bad" do so largely because of failure to effect or maintain a community dynamic characterized by responsiveness to the community such as I have described for "good" school districts.

In adoption, the norm may be placing a child in a family. In counseling, the norm may be full, useful, and gainful employment. These personal attainments are the objects of social service and the end toward which the social servant strives as he works with clients.

A basic issue in social service reform is the origin of the norm of personal attainment that describes successful social service. It is a premise of this discussion that successful social service can never be managed in a setting in which the norms are developed in consultation with constituents but not with clients. In the instance of primary schooling, for example, the teacher can never be instructionally suc-

cessful when the standards of pupil performance are derived from groups that do not include a preponderance of the parents of the pupils.

Adoption agencies whose placement practices are designed to serve the parenting needs of adults with only modest attention to the parental needs of children cannot manage effective placement for all children who are adoptable. In the same way, counselors who define useful and gainful employment in exclusive consultation with employers can never offer employment counseling that will be in the best interests of clients. In each instance, the social service's disability has its origin in the social servant's perception of a constituency that need not include clients.

The social servants who do not perceive of clients as constituents usually develop a set of professional behaviors that are proprietary and culturally autocratic. One of the clichés in social service rhetoric is that "we must help our clients to help themselves." That is a good cliché and forms a simple and proper basis for evaluating the appropriateness of the social servant's professional behavior. Clients in social service are being helped most when they are provided the means to greater appreciation and utilization of their own skills and resources. Recognizing client skills and resources that can be cultivated requires respectful appreciation of the unique characteristics that describe all individuals. Interacting with individuals on the basis of definition and standards that are not developed in close consultation with those individuals precludes insight into the skills and resources that they may possess.

First, the definitions often turn out to be inaccurate. That there are impoverished Americans of color who are culturally deprived, cognitively deficient, and otherwise pathological is certainly true. That the incidence of such individual disability is as great as social service institutions would like to believe is certainly not true. Social service programs predicated on such a profound misrepresentation are bound to be ineffective.

The second mischievous consequence of the imposition of a definition of client need is the effect on the social service milieu. When institutions compel individuals to conform to a set of capricious and autocratic expectations, abrasive interaction invariably

occurs. If the social servant does not question the imposing of definitions of client need, then the social servant behaves as a stereotypical, rigid bureaucrat, with a manner that is offensively arrogant. If the social servant has misgivings about the autocracy of his institution, then his behavior is either defensive or ambiguous and otherwise not helpful to the social service needs of the client.

Improving the quality of interaction in social service settings that impose definitions of need is a virtually impossible task. Neither staff courses in group dynamics nor sensitivity sessions can alter the fundamental inappropriateness of institutional practice that is not mindful of the unique character of those to be served.

Defining clients as constituents creates a process of institutional decision making that can avoid or overcome these dangers. In the instance of schooling, educator consultation with parents, when such consultation is instrumental in defining instructional purposes, may profoundly alter the standard to be used in measuring satisfactory pupil progress. Since standards of pupil progress must, for the foreseeable future, remain normative, it is essential that the parents of pupils be instrumental in the establishment of the norm if schools wish to work in a milieu characterized by community acceptance of, and support for, the instructional goals of the school. The most singly pervasive characteristic of successful schooling is consensus within and between school and community on the uses to which the school is to be put. Parent accusations of teacher arrogance, indifference, or antipathy can be avoided only when parents can observe the positive relationship between their interests and the school's behavior.

Institutional response to parental interests cannot occur unless one of two circumstances prevail. The school can be in cultural conformity to the community of which it is a part. This often occurs in middle-class suburbs or rural settings characterized by minimally satisfactory income and cultural homogeneity. In circumstances of cultural homogeneity and consensus, the school's policies and procedures are rarely distant from the interests and expectations of the community. Teachers are so like the families they serve, and so attuned to the social dynamic and community

milieu that describes the community, that they invariably reflect the interests and disposition of the families of the children they serve.

In instances in which the community to be served is ethnically, racially, culturally, or economically different from the middle-class milieu that characterizes teachers and schools, teachers cannot rely on their intuitive understanding of the community to know how best to proceed when the purpose is pupil progress that is both acceptable to, and appreciated by, the community. Such a circumstance requires school personnel to make parents and community representatives explicitly instrumental in determining the programs and instructional activities of the school. The community must be chiefly responsible for the school's perception of which bodies of knowledge and sets of skills will best prepare students to be of service to the community.

Thus clients become synonymous with constituents when, and only when, the social servant's definition of community need is principally determined by information provided by those to be served. Teachers thus develop standards of pupil performance principally as a function of interaction with the parents of their pupils. When this happens, the probability of misdiagnosis of instructional need is dramatically reduced. Of equal importance, parents can observe the consequences of their willingness to share with instructional personnel parental standards for instruction and parental definition of the schooling needs of their children.

I turn now to the second part of my design. In recent years, great efforts have been made at institutional reform. Substantial numbers of social servants have pursued a variety of strategies intended to alter the basis on which their institutions operated. These efforts have produced only modest gains in relation to need and effort. These tactical failings have most often occurred because of a failure to identify those fundamental institutional characteristics from which the disability flows. The most effective internal advocacy of reform depends on the advocate's addressing himself to the basic premises that describe the institution.

Social service practice is dictated by administrative rules and regulations. Institutional rules and regulations proceed from policy.

Policy proceeds from premises which are a function of the policy maker's values and attitudes. This reform effort within an institution should be directed to those decisions that are of the most importance because their consequences are pervasive. Reform efforts that are exclusively invested in administration or policy rarely yield the gains that are sought.

Adoption agencies are a case in point. Substantial numbers of social workers in adoption agencies have struggled to alter the nature of service in their agencies. These internally generated reforms have usually consisted of activities such as recruitment of minority professional personnel, increased community contact in the form of addresses to civic groups and media descriptions of the agencies' services, and an effort to streamline the processing of prospective parents. These activities are usually intended to increase the number of children placed, especially those defined as "hard to place." The "hard to place" are children of color, children with physical or mental handicaps, or children over six months of age. The kinds of activities described rarely generate levels of gain that satisfy the expectations of the internal reform advocates. More important, the gains do not bring the agency to levels of service that meet the needs of children who are not being served. This discussion proceeds on the assumption that no child in the custody of an adoption agency should wait more than six months for permanent placement.

The tactical failure of many internal reform efforts is a function of their superficial relationship to the origin of the institution's behavior. Both administrative practice and policy proceed from the institution's basic notions of the uses to which the setting should be put. Thus one can manage considerable change in administrative practice only to discover that new policies and their subsequent administration recreate the negative circumstances that initially prompted the effort at internal reform.

The social servant is in a unique position to discern the fundamental premises to which I refer. Participation in the internal life of an institution offers one the opportunity to observe that staff respond to behavioral parameters set forth in institutional policy. Access to policy makers in a context of shared understanding of the institution and shared information that precisely describes insti-

tutional behavior lends itself to pursuit of the question, What is the origin of the policy makers' disposition to implement certain goals and standards of institutional behavior?

In the instance of adoption, for example, recruitment of minority staff is a modest reform because staff of an institution usually behave in conformity to institutional policy. If policy is defective, the mere presence of minority staff will not improve administrative behavior. Minority staff may be sought to encourage applications from prospective minority parents, to make processing more comfortable, etc. If the criterion for successful service is the placement of more "hard-to-place" children, minority staff may discover that they are participating in a process that neither increases minority applications nor makes parent processing more comfortable. Thus, despite the presence of minority staff, placement for children of color may not improve.

This discussion proceeds on the assumption that most adoption agencies have premises that are profoundly unresponsive to children. We come, then, to the basic perspective that describes the institutional approach to adoption and the impact of that premise on serving children. In the United States, the function of adoption is to serve adults who wish to have children. Adoption agencies define their purpose as "creating families," "placing children in appropriate homes," etc. Such language should be considered in the context of the overall approach to placement that describes adoption agencies. In general, adults are being evaluated to discover whether or not they are deserving of the service the agency has to offer. Hence, rigorous and extensive tests must be passed if one is to qualify as a parent. The emphasis in the whole of this is on adults, not children.

Most adoption agencies prefer prospective parents who are biologically incapable of parentage. That is so because American adoption came into being as a consequence of the same ideology that produced compensatory education. The American norm is observable virility in men and maternity in women. The observable proof of one's passing the test of manliness and womanliness, thus defined, is biological offspring. Failure to produce offspring deprives society of its superficial test of sexual acceptability and con-

formity. Individuals who cannot pass the test thus seek the means to mask their failure. It is in this context that one should consider adoption workers' preoccupation with physical matching. Further, the purpose of the historic secrecy surrounding adoption was not to benefit the child but to assist the adoptive parents in their masquerade as virile man and fertile woman.

The preceding is descriptive of certain early premises that characterized adoption. The rhetoric of adoption has evolved sufficiently to emphasize children, but that rhetoric does not proceed from a decision to make adoption a child-centered service. Thus adoption policies and practices continue to flow from an adult-oriented premise of service while social servants struggle to develop practices that will better serve children. One should consider the language that is used to describe any agency that lacks children for placement. Great lamentation is raised because needful adults are being deprived of the trappings of manliness and womanliness. An agency defining itself as child-centered would rejoice that there seemed to be fewer needful children than at an earlier moment.

One further point should be made in this regard. When agencies say they lack children, they usually mean they lack normal, white infants. Consider the ideology of service and cultural perspective that allows a social service agency to say it has insufficient children for placement while retaining custody of great numbers of children who are of color, over six months old, or physically or emotionally handicapped. The agency's dismissal of such children as "hard to place" or "unadoptable" is illustrative of cultural autocracy in two ways. First, there is the bias against peoples of color which makes serving children of color less urgent than serving children who are white. Second, placement of children who are different in the ways described does not facilitate masking the infertile adult by placing a child who is "matched" so as to seem a biological offspring of the infertile adult. Each of these culturally autocratic illustrations proceeds from an ethnocentric perception of constituency. That social servants define their constituents as white, even when serving clients of color, is fairly easy to discern. In the same sense, the effort to aid the infertile in seeming fertile proceeds from perceiving of

constituents as normal by virtue of their biological parentage while the clients are deficient by virtue of their infertility.

Observation of these and other behaviors of any institution ought to raise serious questions about the uses to which the setting is being put. More important, internal reformers should proceed from the general principle that effective reform depends on access to those who define the uses to which a setting is being put. Given limited energies and resources, reform effort should bypass ascending levels of administration and decision making in pursuit of those individuals or that group from whom the institutional definition flows.

Every institutional behavior that has its origin in the culturally autocratic premises described earlier must be eliminated. Moreover, the adoption agency must so define itself as to preclude further policies and practices that proceed from cultural autocracy. This requires analysis that goes beyond particular policy practice to a basic premise such as the adoption agency's perception of constituency.

The language of internal change should be grand. My intent in making this suggestion is that the social servant engage in an analysis of his role as a social servant that will bring him to a subservient and receptive frame of mind. The proper interaction between a social servant and the community he serves is one in which the social servant strives to understand how his professional resources can best advance the interests and needs of those he serves. The scenario I seek in my reference to "grand" is as follows.

The social servant begins by committing himself to the most auspicious standard of service. For example, the teacher vows "to prepare each student for the fullest realization of his intellectual and academic potential and the most positive participation in his community." Implementing such a standard necessitates criteria for judging academic and intellectual progress. Thoughtful social servants will soon recognize that "academic and intellectual potential" has no meaning outside of a community context. Realizing potential requires having some sense of the range of community need that should be addressed. It may well be that urban, black communities have greater need for architects than veterinarians. What this is

intended to suggest is that parental and community perception of pupil progress is bound to be more tangible than the abstract goals to which schools commit themselves.

In such a context of analysis, the social servant is brought to the question, what does the community need? Answering such a question identifies the social frame within which academic and intellectual progress can be assessed. When the community in question is of color, or otherwise different from the cultural context that describes a school, it becomes necessary to develop intimate insight into the community to answer the question of community need. Once community enters into the social servant's implementation of the auspicious standard to which he has committed himself, representatives of the community begin to be perceived as the sources of intimate insight needed to ascertain community need.

The particular bodies of knowledge and sets of skills to be conveyed to the students derive from intimate interaction between the teacher, the parents, and other representatives of the community. The social servant's own analysis has thus moved from the grandiose and the abstract to the tangible and the practical. Equally important, the social servant has come to understand that the best social service requires definition by those to be served. Once the teacher is brought to the realization that he cannot do his job to his own satisfaction without the help and guidance of those he is to serve, there comes into being the accepting frame of mind that can make clients become constituents.

The substance of this process should be interest in a more culturally neutral setting. Blaming the victim and requiring individuals to meet institutional expectations are manifestations of cultural autocracy. The process of utilizing a description of the maximum social service outcome of institutional behavior eventually brings one to the substantive concept of cultural democracy as the basic premise from which an institution proceeds. The parent-teacher consultation described above is culturally democratic. Cultural democracy is a circumstance in which difference is acknowledged, understood, and appreciated.

The preceding is directed to internal institutional change. I turn now to externally imposed institutional change, which is the third

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part of my design. The nature of external intervention in the life of an institution imposes dramatically different perspectives on how best to make progress. The recommendations made earlier regarding tactical perspectives on internal change have disastrous consequences when used by community advocates.

However, community demands are often couched in the language of maximums. Black students often demand "education that is responsive to black needs." Black parents often demand "education that will help our children realize their potential." Such language is tactically disastrous when the goal is institutional improvement. Abstract and grandiloquent description of the desirable outcomes of institutional behavior deprives the intervener of unambiguous measures for assessing institutional behavior.

What is wanted is a concept of institution-intervener interaction that will describe proper behavior for both. It is the responsibility of the institution to pursue lofty goals and to take fullest advantage of the bodies of knowledge and sets of skills the staff represent. It is the responsibility of the community to know precisely what service it seeks and to have criteria for determining whether or not that service is being made available.

For example, schools describe themselves as teaching citizenship, civility, respect for others, and equally insubstantial characteristics. The words describe the maximum of institutional attainment. By their very nature, such goals preclude external observation and evaluation. Institutional decision makers in a community exchange based on such language are protected from accountability, partly because the nature of the dialogue does not require the decision makers to precisely articulate the service that is being delivered. Who knows whether or not citizenship is being taught? Parental interest in other services, such as reading, can be shunted aside by being placed in the larger context of the institution's presumed teaching of citizenship and equally abstract skills.

Allowing an institution to publicly commit itself only to grand and abstract goals leaves the institution free to use its own judgment of how best to pursue its goals and to describe whether or not progress is being made almost entirely on the basis of the social servants' feelings about what is going on. I use the word *feelings*

to emphasize the imprecise and subjective language that must be used in discussing the abstract language of maximum institutional outcome.

The above may seem to contradict my earlier suggestion that the internal change agent should be grand in articulating his concept of social service. The purpose of the internal change agent's exercise is to identify the origin and nature of the uses to which the setting should be put. Having done that, clients should be instrumental in determining the appropriateness of the definition. Using grand language in community-institution dialogue is inappropriate unless all parties in the dialogue agree that acceptable levels of service are being attained. Such is rarely the case. Institution-community dialogue usually occasions community effort to improve service. Thus those who staff the social service setting should enter the dialogue in a subservient frame of mind, prepared to respond to the description that is put forward by community spokesmen.

Now consider the tactical efficacy of community use of the language of minimums in discussing whether or not a social service institution is fulfilling its obligation to serve community needs. The community advocate faces four distinct tactical necessities. First, he must generate constituency or coalition to be able to profit from describing himself as representing substantial numbers, or the interests of substantial numbers. Second, he must effectively manage the public process of making demands of the institutional decision makers. Third, he must have criteria for evaluating institutional response to his demands, which criteria must meet the test of being acceptable to his constituency or coalition. Fourth, he must be prepared to articulate the actions to be taken by the community, depending on the outcome of the demands that are made of the institution. Each of these processes recommends the utility of minimums as the most effective tactical instrument.

Ordinarily, constituency or coalition grows out of community response to a visible spokesman who uses language that is dramatic, general, and vaguely responsive to such disquiet as may exist in the community in response to inadequate social service. Coalescing around vague demands such as "the schools should communicate with parents better" or "kids should get more out of being in school"

is a very superficial and potentially disabling basis on which to generate constituency or coalition. The parties to this process have little sense of whether, and at what level, their interests coincide. Such groups often flounder when compelled to deal with specific institutional response to vague community demands.

This discussion suggests that it is better to postpone community coalition than establish it on the basis of abstract maximums that will not survive confrontation. Community dialogue that seeks minimum and precise description of acceptable institutional behavior constitutes a firm basis on which to found constituency and coalition. For example, few parents would resist reading, writing, and computation as a minimal description of proper educational outcome. The sophisticated community advocate will discern the radical implications of community consensus on the desirability of universal primary pupil acquisition of these basic school skills. In fact, schools, as presently constituted, cannot effect universal primary pupil acquisition of these basic school skills.

There will be many in the group who will articulate interest in discipline, human relations, group dynamics, and a variety of other interesting, but imprecise, educational outcomes. Such goals should be resisted on the grounds that schools might well accept any or all of them without incurring the obligation to deliver observable and evaluable institutional behavior.

If the community advocate has been persuasive in his advocacy of universal primary pupil acquisition of basic school skills as the definition of the community's standard of schooling, then the stage is set for making good use of the confrontation that should occur. The central substantive issue is the community's response to "universally" successful primary pupil mastery of schooling. That means that no child free of certifiable handicap will be expected to acquire less than the community's definition of basic school skills.

Educator rejection of such a notion proceeds from two culturally autocratic premises. First, there is the widespread educator belief that pupil home life and social milieu are the principal causes of pupil performance. Second, there is the educator rejection of community definition of schooling when the community does not fulfill the educator's cultural expectations of what a community should be.

Both premises have the effect of placing the burden of performance on pupils with no concomitant responsibility for teachers. It is in such a context that educators reject universally successful primary pupil mastery of basic school skills as a standard. Assuming that parents have a more accurate perception of their children's abilities than such educators, there will be dramatic educator-community disagreement on the utility of universal primary pupil acquisition of basic school skills.

The community advocate can, therefore, predict dramatic confrontation based on either the school's refusal to accept such a goal or its inability to meet it. As a result, as time goes on the coalition or constituency will grow more cohesive, partly because of the precision of their shared interests and partly because of their shared rejection of the institution's inability or refusal to meet so reasonable and seemingly modest a demand as universal primary pupil acquisition of basic school skills. If such demands can be extracted from community and coalition dialogue, the opportunity for a deceptively dramatic presentation to institutional decision makers then presents itself. Extensive public notice should be taken of the presentation, more because of the advocate's representation of substantial numbers than because of the initial drama of the substance of the demands that are being made.

The tactical value of external institutional intervention, predicated on the tangible nature of the language of minimums, allows a calendar of response to be made a part of the presentation. The schools might be given an academic year in which to demonstrate substantial progress toward the goals. In Michigan, each community is annually provided with a public description of pupil performance. Such public information lends itself to the process that is being suggested. Any community that can agree on what constitutes minimally successful schooling has accomplished the first major step toward annual description of the primary school's competence.

The nature of the community demand being made logically proceeds to subsequent objective evaluation of the nature of movement toward the goal. Evaluation of minimal and precise institutional outcomes predicts two possibilities. There may be school

systems that do, in fact, manage universal primary pupil acquisition of basic school skills. Such an event could occur only as a consequence of radical alteration in institutional behavior. There is not now, nor has there ever been in the United States, a school district that has managed to teach all primary pupils free of certifiable handicap to read, write, and compute to demonstrable levels of minimal competence. Therefore, any societal circumstances causing such a school district to come into being would be a success of the first order.

It is more likely that the school district will not have attained universal pupil acquisition of basic school skills, and that failure will have occurred substantially along class lines. Such a moment confronts a community with the flagrantly discriminatory concept of social service that describes its schools and other public institutions. The confrontation cannot occur in the absence of unambiguous evaluation of institutional response to reasonable community expectations. The predictable school response to such a confrontation will consist of blaming the victim. The struggle is thus defined between the community advocate and his institutional protagonist. At issue will be a basic question such as can schools be held responsible for children who violate institutional expectations by reason of culture, class, or color?

The community advocate, in articulating minimal performance standards to be applied to the institution, has engaged in a reform effort with auspicious cultural and political implications. Culturally, the language of minimums seeks to neutralize a hostile social service setting. The neutrality occurs because the institution is being made to do the community's bidding.

Three important factors relating to this discussion should be emphasized. First, the community advocate now represents the community with a set of specific and measurable institutional goals. Second, all resources for change can gravitate toward the precise and minimal reform agenda that has been articulated. Third, and most important, the tactics under discussion offer the greatest possibility of success in making social service institutions more responsive to poor and minority communities. What is wanted is eventual success that will persuade poorly served communities that

they need not despair of improvement in the quality of social service now available to them. What is being tactically recommended is that such communities initially concentrate their reform energies on precise agreement and definition of minimally acceptable schooling and other social services.

In sum, my purpose has been to articulate a set of behaviors which might profitably engage the energies of a substantial number of men and women who are dissatisfied with the quality of social service. The process I have proposed combines elements of participatory decision making, community control, and organized community action. The substance of my suggestions is that cultural and institutional autocracy be replaced by an appreciation for difference that is best summarized as cultural democracy. Thus might our social service settings become instruments of equity for us all.

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# Effective Schools for the Urban Poor*

Ronald Edmonds

*Urban schools that teach poor children successfully have strong leadership and a climate of expectation that students will learn.*

It seems only fair that the reader know what biases, if any, inform the summary remarks I plan to make. Equity will be the focus of my discussion. By *equity* I mean a simple sense of fairness in the distribution of the primary goods and services that characterize our social order. At issue is the efficacy of a minimum level of goods and services to which we are all entitled. Some of us, rightly, have more goods and services than others, and my sense of equity is not disturbed by that fact. Others of us have almost no goods and access to only the most wretched services, and that deeply offends my simple sense of fairness and violates the standards of equity by which I judge our social order.

I measure our progress as a social order by our willingness to advance the equity interests of the least among us. Thus, increased wealth or education for the top of our social order is quite beside the point of my basis for assessing our progress toward greater equity. Progress requires public policy that begins by making the poor less poor and ends by making them not poor at all. This discussion of education will apply just such a standard to public schooling. Equitable public schooling begins by teaching poor children what their parents want them to know and ends by teaching poor children at least as well as it teaches middle-class children.

Inequity in American education derives first and foremost from our failure to educate the children of the poor. *Education* in this context refers to early acquisition of those basic school skills that assure pupils successful access to the next level of schooling. If that seems too modest a standard, note that as of now the schools that teach the children of the poor are dismal failures even by such a modest standard. Thus, to raise a generation of children whose schools meet such a standard would be an advance in equity of the first order. I offer this standard at the outset to note that its attainment is far more a matter of politics than of social science. Social science refers to those formal experiments and inquiries carried out by

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sociologists, psychologists, educational researchers, and other academicians whose inquiries are described as seeking the relationship among school characteristics, pupil performance, pupil family background, and pupil social class. Politics in this case refers to the substantive and procedural bases for deciding the distribution of educational resources, defining the uses to which the schools are to be put and establishing the criteria by which school personnel are to be evaluated.

Specifically, I require that an effective school bring the children of the poor to those minimal masteries of basic school skills that now describe minimally successful pupil performance for the children of the middle class. My subsequent discussion of certain of the literature on school effects must not be taken to mean that whether or not schools are effective derives from matters of research or social science. Such is not the case. Schools teach those they think they must and when they think they needn't, they don't. That fact has nothing to do with social science, except that the children of social scientists are among those whom schools feel compelled to teach effectively.

There has never been a time in the life of the American public school when we have not known all we needed to in order to teach all those whom we chose to teach. The discussion of research literature that follows may illuminate that fact, but it cannot change it.

Weber was an early contributor to the literature on the school determinants of achievement. In his 1971 study of four instructionally effective inner-city schools, Weber intended his study to be explicitly alternative to Coleman (1966), Jensen (1969), and other researchers who had satisfied themselves that low achievement by poor children derived principally from inherent disabilities characterizing the poor. Weber focused on the characteristics of four inner-city schools in which reading achievement was clearly successful for poor children on the basis of national norms. All four schools had "strong leadership" in that their principal was instrumental in setting the tone of the school; helping decide on instructional strategies; and organizing and distributing the schools' resources. All four schools had "high expectations" for all their students. Weber was careful to point out that high expectations are not sufficient for school success, but they are certainly necessary. All four schools had an orderly, relatively quiet, and pleasant atmosphere. All four schools strongly emphasized pupil acquisition of reading skills and reinforced that emphasis by careful and frequent evaluation of pupil progress.

Weber went on to identify and discuss additional reading personnel, phonics, and individualization as important to the instructional success of the four schools. I'll not endorse or pursue these latter Weber findings—first, because subsequent research does not sustain their relevance as it does leadership, expectations, atmosphere, reading emphasis, and assessment; and second, my own research, of which more will be said later, gives greater weight to the variables noted first rather than later. Despite these reservations, my own view is that Weber was essentially correct both in concept and basic research design, considering the relative modesty of his enterprise.

In 1974, the State of New York's Office of Education Performance Review published a study that confirmed certain of Weber's major findings. New York identified two inner-city New York City public schools, both of which were serving an analogous, predominantly poor pupil population. One of the schools was high-achieving, and the other was low-achieving. Both schools were studied in an attempt to identify those differences that seemed most responsible for the achievement variation between the two schools. The following findings were reported:

- The differences in student performance in these two schools seemed to be attributed to factors under the schools' control.
- Administrative behavior, policies, and practices in the schools appeared to have a significant impact on school effectiveness.
- The more effective inner-city school was led by an administrative team that provided a good balance between both management and instructional skills.
- The administrative team in the more effective school had developed a plan for dealing with the reading problem and had implemented the plan throughout the school.
- Classroom reading instruction did not appear

to differ between the two schools since classroom teachers in both schools had problems in teaching reading and assessing pupils' reading skills.

• Many professional personnel in the less effective school attributed children's reading problems to nonschool factors and were pessimistic about their ability to have an impact, creating an environment in which children failed because they were not expected to succeed. However, in the more effective school, teachers were less skeptical about their ability to have an impact on children.

• Children responded to unstimulating learning experiences predictably—they were apathetic, disruptive, or absent.

Admittedly this study has not identified all factors relating to student reading achievement. However, these preliminary findings are consistent with a significant body of other research. While more research should be encouraged, it is even more important that we begin to apply what is already known.

This study has shown that school practices have an effect on reading achievement. At the very least, the children in low achieving schools should have the opportunities available to the children of the high achieving schools. These opportunities, which do not result from higher overall expenditures, are clearly within the reach of any school today (pp. vi, vii).

For our purposes, these findings reinforce the relevance to pupil performance of the institutional elements of leadership, expectations, and atmosphere. If further evidentiary support for these findings is wanted, the reader is invited to close scrutiny of the 1976 Madden, Lawson, and Sweet study of school effectiveness in California (Note 1). In a more rigorous and sophisticated version of the Weber and New York studies, Madden and his colleagues studied 21 pairs of California elementary schools, matched on the basis of pupil characteristics and differing only on the basis of pupil performance on standardized achievement measures. The 21 pairs of schools were studied in an effort to identify those institutional characteristics that seemed most responsible for the achievement differences that described the 21 high-achieving schools and the 21 low-achieving schools. The major findings are the following ten:

1. In comparison to teachers at lower-achieving schools, teachers at higher-achieving schools report that their principals provide them with a significantly greater amount of support.

2. Teachers in higher-achieving schools were more task-oriented in their classroom approach and exhibited more evidence of applying appropriate principles of learning than did teachers in lower-achieving schools.

3. In comparison to classrooms in lower-achieving schools, classrooms in higher-achieving schools provided more evidence of student monitoring process, student effort, happier children, and an atmosphere conducive to learning.

4. In comparison to teachers at lower-achieving schools, teachers at higher-achieving schools reported that they spent relatively more time on social studies, less time on mathematics and physical education/health, and about the same amount of time on reading/language development and science.

5. In contrast to teachers at lower-achieving schools, teachers at higher-achieving schools report: (a) a larger number of adult volunteers in mathematics classes; (b) fewer paid aides in reading; and (c) they are more apt to use teacher aides for nonteaching tasks, such as classroom paperwork, watching children on the playground, and maintaining classroom discipline.

6. In comparison to teachers at lower-achieving schools, teachers at higher-achieving schools reported higher levels of access to "outside the classroom" materials.

7. In comparison to the teachers of lower-achieving schools, teachers at higher-achieving schools believed their faculty as a whole had less influence on educational decisions.

8. In comparison to teachers at lower-achieving schools, teachers at higher-achieving schools rated district administration higher on support services.


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9. In comparison to grouping practices at lower-achieving schools, the higher-achieving schools divided classrooms into fewer groups for purposes of instruction.

10. In comparison to teachers in lower-achieving schools, teachers in higher-achieving schools reported being more satisfied with various aspects of their work (pp. 4-9).

My own conclusion is that, aside from instrinsic merit, the California study is notable chiefly for its reinforcement of leadership, expectations, atmosphere, and instructional emphasis as consistently essential institutional determinants of pupil performance.

### The Brookover and Lezotte Study

I want to close this part of the discussion with summary remarks about a recent and unusually persuasive study of school effects. In 1977, W. B. Brookover and L. W. Lezotte published their study, *Changes In School Characteristics Coincident With Changes In Student Achievement*. We should take special note of this work partly because it is a formal extension of inquiries and analyses begun in two earlier studies, both of which reinforce certain of the Weber, Madden, *et al.* and New York findings. The Michigan Department of Education's *Cost Effectiveness Study* (1976) and the Brookover, *et al.* study of *Elementary School Climate and School Achievement* (1976) are both focused on those educational variables that are liable to school control and important to the quality of pupil performance. In response to both of these studies, the Michigan Department of Education asked Brookover and Lezotte to study a set of Michigan schools characterized by consistent pupil performance improvement or decline. The Brookover and Lezotte study is broader in scope than the two earlier studies and explicitly intended to profit from methodological and analytical lessons learned in the *Cost Effectiveness* and *Elementary School Climate* studies.

Since the early 1970s, the Michigan Department of Education has annually tested all Michigan pupils in public schools in grades four and seven. The tests are criterion-referenced standardized measures of pupil performance in basic school skills. Over time these data were used by the Michigan Department of Education to identify elementary schools characterized by consistent pupil-performance improvement or decline. Brookover and Lezotte chose eight of these schools to be studied (six improving, two declining). The schools were visited by trained interviewers who conducted interviews and administered questionnaires to a great many of the school personnel. The interviews and questionnaires were designed to identify differences between the improving and declining schools, and which differences seemed most important to the pupil performance variation between the two sets of schools. The following list gives the summary results:

1. The improving schools are clearly different from the declining schools in the emphasis their staff places on the accomplishment of the basic reading and mathematics objectives. The improving schools accept and emphasize the importance of these goals and objectives while declining schools give much less emphasis to such goals and do not specify them as fundamental.

2. There is a clear contrast in the evaluations that teachers and principals make of the students in the improving and declining schools. The staffs of the improving schools tend to believe that *all* of their students can master the basic objectives; and furthermore, the teachers perceive that the principal shares this belief. They tend to report higher and increasing levels of student ability, while the declining school teachers project the belief that students' ability levels are low, and therefore, they cannot master even these objectives.

3. The staff members of the improving schools hold decidedly higher and apparently increasing levels of expectations with regard to the educational accomplishments of their students. In contrast, staff members of the declining schools are much less likely to believe that their students will complete high school or college.

4. In contrast to the declining schools, the teachers and principals of the improving schools are much more likely to assume responsibility for teaching the basic reading and math skills and are much more committed to doing so. The staffs of the declining schools feel there is not much that teachers can do to influence the achievement of their students. They tend to displace the responsibility for skill learning on the parents or the students themselves.

5. Since the teachers in the declining schools believe that there is little they can do to influence basic skill learning, it follows they spend less time in direct reading instruction than do teachers in the improving schools. With the greater emphasis on reading and math objectives in the improving schools, the staffs in these schools devote a much greater amount of time toward achieving reading and math objectives.

6. There seems to be a clear difference in the principal's role in the improving and declining schools. In the improving schools, the principal is more likely to be an instructional leader, more assertive in his/her institutional leadership role, more of a disciplinarian, and perhaps most of all, assumes responsibility for the evaluation of the achievement of basic objectives. The principals in the declining schools appear to be

permissive and to emphasize informal and collegial relationships with the teachers. They put more emphasis on general public relations and less emphasis upon evaluation of the school's effectiveness in providing a basic education for the students.

7. The improving school staffs appear to show a greater degree of acceptance of the concept of accountability and are further along in the development of an accountability model. Certainly, they accept the MEAP tests as one indication of their effectiveness to a much greater degree than the declining school staffs. The latter tend to reject the relevance of the MEAP tests and make little use of these assessment devices as a reflection of their instruction. (MEAP refers to Michigan Educational Assessment Program.)

*"There has never been a time in the life of the American public school when we have not known all we needed to in order to teach all those whom we chose to teach."*

8. Generally, teachers in the improving schools are less satisfied than the staffs in the declining schools. The higher levels of reported staff satisfaction and morale in the declining schools seem to reflect a pattern of complacency and satisfaction with the current levels of educational attainment. On the other hand, the improving school staff members appear more likely to experience some tension and dissatisfaction with the existing condition.

9. Differences in the level of parent involvement in the improving and declining schools are not clear cut. It seems that there is less overall parent involvement in the improving schools; however, the improving school staffs indicated that their schools have higher levels of *parent initiated* involvement. This suggests that we need to look more closely at the nature of the involvement exercised by parents. Perhaps parent initiated contact with the schools represents an effective instrument of educational change.

10. The compensatory education program data suggests differences between improving and declining schools, but these differences may be distorted by the fact that one of the declining schools had just initiated a compensatory education program. In general, the improving schools are not characterized by a high emphasis upon paraprofessional staff or heavy involvement of the regular teachers in the selection of students to be placed in compensatory education programs. The declining schools seem to have a greater number of different staff involved in reading instruction and more teacher involvement in identifying students who are to be placed in compensatory education programs. The regular classroom teachers in the declining schools report spending more time planning for noncompensatory education reading activities. The decliners also report greater emphasis on programmed instruction (pp. 79-82).

### The Search for Effective Schools Project

Before making summary remarks about the policy import of these several studies, I want to say something of my own research, *Search for Effective Schools: The Identification and Analysis of City Schools That Are Instructionally Effective for Poor Children* (Edmonds and Frederiksen, 1978). This discussion will describe our ongoing efforts to identify and analyze city schools that are instructionally effective for poor and/or minority children. I am pleased to note that we have already developed unusually persuasive evidence of the thesis we seek to demonstrate in the research under discussion. Our thesis is that all children are eminently educable and that the behavior of the school is critical in determining the quality of that education.

The Search for Effective Schools project began by answering the question: Are there schools that are instructionally effective for poor children? In September 1974, Lezotte, Edmonds, and Ratner described their analysis of pupil performance in the elementary schools that make up Detroit's Model Cities Neighborhood. All of the schools are located in inner-city Detroit and serve a predominantly poor and minority pupil population. Reading and math scores were analyzed from Detroit's spring 1973 use of the Stanford Achievement Test and the Iowa Test of Basic Skills. Of the 10,000 pupils in the 20 schools in the Model Cities' Neighborhood, 2,500 were randomly sampled. With minor variation, the sample included eight pupils per classroom in each of the 20 schools. The mean math and reading scores for the 20 schools were compared with citywide norms. An effective school among the 20 was defined as being at or above the city average grade equivalent in math and reading. An ineffective school was defined as one below the city average. Using these criteria, eight of the 20 schools were judged effective in teaching math. Nine were judged effective in teaching reading, and five were judged effective in teaching both math and reading.

We turned next to the problem of establishing the relationship between pupil family background and building effectiveness. Two schools among the 20, Duffield and Bunche were matched on the basis of 11 social indicators. Duffield pupils averaged nearly four months above the city average in reading and math.

Bunche pupils averaged nearly three months below the city reading average and 1.9 months below the city math average.

The similarity in the characteristics of the two pupil populations permits us to infer the importance of school behavior in making pupil performance independent of family background. The overriding point here is that, in and of itself, pupil family background neither causes nor precludes elementary school instructional effectiveness.

Despite the value of our early work in Detroit, we recognized the limitations of the Model Cities' Neighborhood analysis. Our evaluation of school success with poor children had depended on evaluating schools with relatively homogeneous pupil populations. The numbers of schools were too few to justify firm conclusions. Finally, the achievement tests were normative, as was the basis for determining building effectiveness among the 20 schools. Even so, valuable lessons were learned in Detroit from which we would later greatly profit.

The second phase of the project was a reanalysis of the 1966 Equal Educational Opportunity Survey (EEOS) data (Frederiksen, 1975). Our purpose was to answer a number of research questions that required a data base both larger and richer than had been available to use in the Model Cities' Neighborhood analysis. We retained our interest in identifying instructionally effective schools for the poor, but in addition, we wanted to study the effects of schools on children having different social backgrounds. Such an inquiry would permit us to evaluate school contributions to educational outcomes independent of our ability to match schools on the basis of the socioeconomic characteristics of their pupils.

Summarizing and oversimplifying results, we found at least 53 effective schools in the Northeast quadrant of the EEOS. Our summary definition of school effectiveness required that each school eliminate the relationship between successful performance and family background. The effective schools varied widely in racial composition, per-pupil expenditure, and other presumed determinants of school quality.

In our reanalysis of the EEOS, separate evaluations of the schools were made for subgroups of pupils of different races and home backgrounds. Schools were found to be consistently effective (or ineffective) in teaching subgroups of their populations that were homogeneous in race and economic condition. These schools were not found to be consistently effective in teaching children of differing economic condition and race. School effectiveness for a given level on Coleman's home items scale extended across racial lines. The prime factors that condition a school's instructional effectiveness appear to be principally economic and social, rather than racial.

Without seeking to match effective and ineffective schools on mean social-background variables, we found that schools that were instructionally effective for poor and black children were indistinguishable from instructionally less effective schools on measures of pupil social background (mean father's and mother's education; category of occupation; percentage of white students; mean family size; and percentage of intact families). The large differences in performance between the effective and ineffective schools could not therefore be attributed to differences in the social class and family background of pupils enrolled in the schools. This finding is in striking contrast to that of other analyses of the EEOS, which have generally concluded that variability in performance levels from school to school is only minimally related to institutional characteristics.

*"Thus, one of the cardinal characteristics of effective schools is that they are as eager to avoid things that don't work as they are committed to implementing things that do."*

A very great proportion of the American people believe that family background and home environment are principal causes of the quality of pupil performance. In fact, no notion about schooling is more widely held than the belief that the family is somehow the principal determinant of whether or not a child will do well in school. The popularity of that belief continues partly because many social scientists and opinionmakers continue to espouse the belief that family background is chief cause of the quality of pupil performance. Such a belief has the effect of absolving educators of their professional responsibility to be instructionally effective.

### Basic Skills for All Children

While recognizing the importance of family background in developing a child's character, personality, and intelligence, I cannot overemphasize my rejection of the notion that a school is relieved of its instructional obligations when teaching the children of the poor. I reject such a notion partly because I recognize the existence of schools that successfully teach basic school skills to all children. Such success occurs partly because these schools are determined to serve all of their pupils without regard to family background. At the same time, these schools recognize the necessity of modifying curricular design, text selection,

teaching strategy, and so on, in response to differences in family background among pupils in the school.

Our findings strongly recommend that all schools be held responsible for effectively teaching basic school skills to all children. We recommend that future studies of school and teacher effectiveness consider the stratification design as a means for investigating the separate relationship of programs and policies for pupils of differing family and social background. Information about individual student family background and social class is essential in our analysis if we are to disentangle the separate effects of pupil background and school social class makeup on pupil achievement. Moreover, studies of school effectiveness should be multivariate in character and employ longitudinal records of pupil achievement in a variety of areas of school learning.

The Search for Effective Schools Project is now completing its analysis of social class, family background, and pupil performance for all Lansing, Michigan, pupils in grades three through seven. We have identified five Lansing schools in which achievement seems independent of pupil social class. The achievement data are local and normative, and state and criterion. We use both sets of data to identify schools in which all pupils are achieving beyond minimum objectives, including most especially those children of low social class and poverty family background. We are now gathering similar data for Detroit pupils in the elementary grades in schools whose pupil population is at least 15 percent poor.

The onsite study of Lansing's effective schools as compared to ineffective schools is scheduled to begin during the 1978-79 school year. Our basic notions of the character and origin of effective and ineffective school differences derive from work we've already done in combination with ideas on school effects that I've held for a long time (R. R. Edmonds, 1978). On the basis of the review of the literature in this paper and the Effective Schools project's earlier study in Detroit Model Cities and EEOS's Northeast quadrant, I offer the following distinguishing characteristics of schools that are instructionally effective for poor children:

- What effective schools share is a climate in which it is incumbent on all personnel to be instructionally effective for all pupils. That is not, of course, a very profound insight, but it does define the proper lines of research inquiry.
- What ought to be focused on are questions such as: What is the origin of that climate of instructional responsibility? If it dissipates, what causes it to do so? If it remains, what keeps it functioning? Our tentative answers are these: Some schools are instructionally effective for the poor because they have a tyrannical principal who compels the teachers to bring all children to a minimum level of mastery of basic skills. Some schools are effective because they have a self-generating teacher corps that has a critical mass of dedicated people who are committed to being effective for all children they teach. Some schools are effective because they have a highly politicized Parent-Teacher Organization that holds the schools to close instructional account. The point here is to make clear at the outset that no one model explains school effectiveness for the poor or any other social class subset. Fortunately, children know how to learn in more ways than we know how to teach, thus permitting great latitude in choosing instructional strategy. The great problem in schooling is that we know how to teach in ways that can keep some children from learning almost anything, and we often choose to thus proceed when dealing with the children of the poor.

One of the cardinal characteristics of effective schools is that they are as eager to avoid things that don't work as they are committed to implementing things that do.

## Summary

I want to end this discussion by noting as unequivocally as I can what seem to me the most tangible and indispensable characteristics of effective schools: (a) They have strong administrative leadership without which the disparate elements of good schooling can neither be brought together nor kept together; (b) Schools that are instructionally effective for poor children have a climate of expectation in which no children are permitted to fall below minimum but efficacious levels of achievement; (c) The school's atmosphere is orderly without being rigid, quiet without being oppressive, and generally conducive to the instructional business at hand; (d) Effective schools get that way partly by making it clear that pupil acquisition of basic school skills takes precedence over all other school activities; (e) When necessary, school energy and resources can be diverted from other business in furtherance of the fundamental objectives; and (f) There must be some means by which pupil progress can be frequently monitored. These means may be as traditional as classroom testing on the day's lesson or as advanced as criterion-referenced systemwide standardized measures. The point is that some means must exist in the school by which the principal and the teachers remain constantly aware of pupil progress in relationship to instructional objectives.

Two final points: First, how many effective schools would you have to see to be persuaded of the

educability of poor children? If your answer is more than one, then I submit that you have reasons of your own for preferring to believe that basic pupil performance derives from family background instead of school response to family background. Second, whether or not we will ever effectively teach the children of the poor is probably far more a matter of politics than of social science, and that is as it should be.

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While it may be improbable that our politics will ever bring us to educational equity for the poor, it is inconceivable that NIE (National Institute of Education) or AERA (American Educational Research Association) should do so. What I am therefore suggesting is that if you genuinely seek the means to educational equity for all our people, you must encourage parents' attention to politics as the greatest instrument of instructional reform extant. You must not for an instant suggest that social science as practiced in AERA or as subsidized at NIE will advance the equity interests of the poor. I mention AERA and NIE in this slightly disparaging manner for a particular reason. Their contribution to our national discourse on educational equity graphically illustrates my point that the poor are far more likely to be served by politics than by any equity interests to be found in the educational research establishment. That is, social-service enterprises like NIE are not substantively different from the schools whose study has been the object of this paper. Left to their own devices, social services serve those they think they must, and that does not often include the children of the poor. This is not meant to suggest that NIE does not support socially useful projects, carried out by men and women of substance and merit. It is merely meant to suggest that those who get NIE money will, more often than is helpful for our purposes, be white, and of very conventional social science wisdom. Being white and of conventional wisdom is not, of course, an intrinsic disability. However, the combination does preclude repudiation of those of our social science notions that are most pernicious when discussing school reform. Repudiation of the social science notion that family background is the principal cause of pupil acquisition of basic school skills is probably prerequisite to successful reform of public schooling for the children of the poor.

It seems to me, therefore, that what is left of this discussion are three declarative statements: (a) We can, whenever and wherever we choose, successfully teach all children whose schooling is of interest to us; (b) We already know more than we need to do that; and (c) Whether or not we do it must finally depend on how we feel about the fact that we haven't so far.

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## Schools Alone are Insufficient: A Response to Edmonds

Ralph Scott and Herbert J. Walberg

*Schools must provide quality instruction to poor children, but the home and the individual student are also important factors.*

Ronald Edmonds wants to promote school changes that produce the greatest learning benefits for poor and minority children who are likely to fail in school and become vulnerable, dependent adults.[1] We support this goal. Edmonds contends that some schools and some teachers do a better job than others and that many educational inputs analyzed by economists and sociologists such as school size, teacher salaries and experience, teacher race, per-pupil expenditure, and school facilities are not strong determinants of student performance. He also recognizes that the family contributes to the shaping of a student's character, personality, and intelligence. We concur.

### A Parting of the Ways

Not only do we support the goal and these contentions, but we believe that it is now possible to identify three sets of factors that are strongly and consistently productive of academic learning: student ability and motivation, amount and quality of instruction as well as the social-psychological morale of the classroom group, and the educationally stimulating qualities of the home environment (Walberg, in press). The student as an individual, the school, and the home are like a three-legged stool: it is as strong as its weakest leg; strengthening the stronger legs is far less productive than strengthening the weakest.[2] Therefore, we must part company from Edmonds and others to the extent that they single out the schools alone for improvement.

[1] Ronald Edmonds graciously shared two of his more lengthy unpublished research papers with us, which permitted us to discuss the research that is the basis for his present, necessarily condensed, paper.

[2] This is not to rule out such factors as the community, the mass media, and—particularly for adolescents—the peer group in having some effect on learning.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF HERBERT A. SANG, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

## INTRODUCTION

The doomsayers have predicted an early demise for public education in the large urban school districts of America. My goal today is to demonstrate to you that in Jacksonville, Florida, urban education is not only alive and well, but is progressing beyond reasonable expectations for districts of similar size and situation. The public school system in Jacksonville, Florida is one of the 25 largest school districts in the country with an enrollment exceeding 102,000 students. Jacksonville public schools have experienced many of the difficulties faced by other large urban school districts In 1969 the district was embroiled in court-ordered desegregation and later confronted with the problems of a declining student enrollment, an increasing black minority population, decreasing student achievement test scores, increased teacher militancy, and a general disenchantment of the public and parents with the performance of graduates from public schools.

In my opinion, several factors have contributed to the present general situation in public education. Among these are a lack of consensus among educators regarding an appropriate methodology of instruction, a preoccupation with gadgetry and innovation, and a lack of clearly identified instructional objectives with well-defined procedures for accomplishing those objectives. Faced with this same dismal situation, in 1976 the Duval County School Board embarked upon an ambitious program to establish the Duval County public school system as a leader in urban education. Several factors have contributed to the achievement of this goal in a three to four year period. In addition to obvious factors such as a strong School Board with a commitment to an accepted goal, and compatibility between the elected School Board and administration were more important factors such as the identification of specific educational objectives for each grade level and the correlation of all instructional materials to accomplish the objectives identified.

In addition, I am convinced that the success achieved in Duval County has been a direct result of the establishment of a pupil progression plan for the district with minimum promotional standards for students from kindergarten through graduation. We have demonstrated that students will rise to the level of expectation. Experience has also demonstrated that meaningful participation of parents as partners in the educational process is necessary if students are to achieve their full potential. With these factors in mind, permit me to indicate several measures of the success achieved in Duval County.



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The phenomenon of social promotion has resulted in many students moving from grade to grade without mastering the necessary skills for success at the next highest grade level. In Jacksonville, we have effectively eliminated social promotion. Two years prior to the State of Florida mandated competency testing program, locally developed and validated math and functional literacy tests were made a requirement for graduation from all Duval County public high schools. A recent court decision delaying the implementation of the State Functional Literacy Test until 1982 prompted the administration and the Duval County School Board to reinstate the county test as a requirement for graduation.

In 1977 a pupil progression plan was adopted for all grades and a new elementary report card was implemented to reflect grading on achievement rather than aptitude and effort.

## TESTING AND DISTRICT ACCOUNTABILITY

Essential skills objectives and essential skills tests were developed by teachers and administrators to help insure student mastery of basic skills at each grade level. These tests are administered to all students in Grades K - 6 as a part of the promotional criteria for elementary students. During the first year of implementation of this test, some 11,500 students failed with 6,418 promoted after attendance in remedial programs conducted during summer school. A comparable testing program was developed and implemented at the secondary level. Successful passage of a minimum level skills test in each required course, along with teacher judgment and teacher-made tests, constitute the promotional criteria for all secondary students. In addition to the testing program, a renewed emphasis was placed on basic skills in our schools. Graduation requirements were increased from 15 credits to 17 credits with a greater emphasis on the academics such as English, math, social studies and science. With these changes, test scores began to increase dramatically. These increases have continued since 1976 to the present.

Table 1 illustrates a significant change that has occurred during the period of 1976 - 79 for Grades 1 - 5 on the Stanford Achievement Test, a nationally normed test.

**TABLE 1**
**SAT RESULTS 1976 - 79**
**DISTRICT-WIDE PERCENTILES**

| Grades | 1976 | 1977 | 1978 | 1979 | INCREASE |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 - 5 | 39.5 | 45.3 | 51.8 | 52.4 | 12.9 |

Similar increases have been noted at the other grade levels. Duval County public school students now score higher on the Stanford Achievement Test than any other large urban school district.

Since the 1976 school year, Duval County's average verbal score on the Scholastic Aptitude Test, another nationally normed test, has increased at a rate three times greater than the State of Florida average, thirteen times that of the southern states, and fifteen times as great as the national average, which has actually declined.

The State of Florida instituted a State Educational Accountability Act in 1976. This Act established a statewide assessment testing program. One of the main components of this program was a functional literacy test. Although full implementation of the program has been delayed until 1982 by court order, it is significant to note, however, Duval County eleventh grade scores during the two-year period in which the test was administered. In the first year, our students did not do well, some 45 percent failed the math portion of the test and 14 percent failed the communication section. Remedial programs were established and now Jacksonville students score at the top of the State with 98 percent passing communication and 77 percent passing math. Teachers and students took great pride in the increased test scores. These tests have served to stimulate a revitalization of public education in Florida. A comparison of assessment test results for the seven largest counties in Florida is presented in Table 2.

The State Assessment Tests for the Basic Skills are given to public school students in October in grades 3, 5, 8 and 11. They measure how well each student has mastered the basic skills of communication (reading and writing) and mathematics. These tests are divided into several standards and there are basic skills within each standard. (For example, the standard Rounding Numbers might have three skills: rounding whole numbers, rounding mixed numbers and rounding decimals.) Several test questions are designed to measure each skill. To master a skill, the student must correctly answer 70% of the items measuring that skill. To pass a standard, the student must master 50% of the skills and correctly answer 70% of all of the items within the standard.

**TABLE 2**
**FLORIDA STATE STUDENT ASSESSMENT PROGRAM**
**COMPARISON OF SEVEN LARGEST SCHOOL SYSTEMS**
**STATE STUDENT ASSESSMENT TEST, PART II**
**OCTOBER 1979 RANK ORDER**

| County | Rank | Standard | Percent Passing Oct. '78 | Percent Passing Oct. '79 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Duval | 1 | Communication | 96 | 98 |
| Pinellas | 1 | Communication | 98 | 98 |
| Broward | 3 | Communication | 96 | 97 |
| Dade | 3 | Communication | 96 | 97 |
| Hillsborough | 3 | Communication | 97 | 97 |
| Orange | 6 | Communication | 96 | 96 |
| Palm Beach | 6 | Communication | 96 | 96 |
| STATEWIDE | | Communication | 97 | 97 |
| Pinellas | 1 | Mathematics | 75 | 81 |
| Broward | 2 | Mathematics | 73 | 78 |
| Duval | 3 | Mathematics | 73 | 77 |
| Hillsborough | 3 | Mathematics | 72 | 77 |
| Dade | 5 | Mathematics | 72 | 76 |
| Orange | 6 | Mathematics | 69 | 73 |
| Palm Beach | 7 | Mathematics | 68 | 71 |
| STATEWIDE | | Mathematics | 74 | 78 |

## MINORITY STUDENTS AND ACADEMIC ACHIEVEMENT

A persistent problem facing urban education has been the academic performance of minority students. The Jacksonville public school system currently has a black minority student population of 34 percent. This percentage compares to 23 percent statewide and is higher than any of the seven largest school districts in the state.

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE BLACK MINORITY STUDENTS
FLORIDA SCHOOL DISTRICTS

| | |
|---|---|
| Duval | 34.34 |
| Dade | 29.92 |
| Palm Beach | 29.76 |
| Broward | 22.75 |
| Orange | 22.13 |
| Hillsborough | 20.03 |
| Pinellas | 16.97 |
| TOTAL FLORIDA | |
| Black | 23.13 |
| Other | 7.70 |
| White | 69.17 |

Wendell P. Holmes, minority member of the Duval County School Board, presented the Board's philosophy on minority student achievement most adequately in regular session on August 20, 1979, as follows:

> "First of all, let me emphasize that I fully support and applaud the setting of minimal levels of competence which must be achieved for graduation from our schools. We should also emphasize that teachers, students, and parents share equally in the responsibility of meeting those expectations. Philosophically, I tend to agree with the Court that the broad spectrum of those things which impact upon the acquisition of knowledge about black youngsters who have been obliged to bare an inordinate share of the burden of the desegregation process suggests that a reasonable waiting period before implementation of plans such as that which we have before us tonight would be fair and equitable. But how long is fair and equitable. At the same time, we must also recognize the carry-over evidence of racism still persist in our school system just as they persist in the life of society. There are teachers as well as administrators who are incapable of or are unwilling to teach youngsters of a different ethnic background and these students, naturally, have difficulty. Now, we have – and I'm speaking about the Board and this administration – the obligation of dealing with that problem. Students, too, have an obligation in this matter; they need to learn by way of a counselor, or the guidance of teachers and, in particular, their parents what is important as they develop through the educational process. They must understand the importance of taking advantage of those opportunities which are presented to them to reach

those levels of competence required for graduation. It is distressing that many of our students, irrespective of color, appear to lack this understanding and even more than that parents, again irrespective of ethnic origin, are going to have to insist that their children stay aw[illegible] the T.V. sets for a couple of hours and get off the telephone for a couple of hours and study for a couple of hours. All of us need to recognize the importance of bands, and choral groups and the like but there also has to be a cracking of the books. I have talked to a number of educators concerning this matter of the tests and they tell me the students need this challenge, that it would be a drastic mistake to revert to those days of prelibrary conscienceness. We are real concerned that certain things had to be done before the spring walk across the stage to receive their diplomas. I expect to support the reinstitution of reasonable tests to make sure our graduates are functioning at certain minimal levels but I want to be certain that: (1) it's clearly understood that all teachers teach all students entrusted to their care and that all administrators understand the basic equality of opportunity which is supposed to exist for all students in our system; (2) that students understand that their primary purpose for being in school is to be taught academic or vocationally oriented skills and that extracurricular activities are secondary; (3) that parents recognize their responsibility of insisting that their children place first things first and that their children's education is a cooperative effort between school and home, teachers and parents; (4) most importantly, that the administration aggressively address a commitment made in April, 1978 toward the increased application of time and resources for the development and implementation of improved programmatic design, expanded and meaningful programs for students who presently fail to meet the school system's standards, the development of meaningful compensatory education programs and progression for students with academic deficiencies, the elimination of crash programs and initiation of programs systematically planned, the allocation of additional funds from our operating budget for program development, recognition in the budgetary process that certain schools have special needs based on their students' academic needs and therefore require additional funding. I might add here, parenthetically, that the Superintendent has moved in this direction as evidenced, for example, by the present thrust of Ribault Senior High School. One final comment, my position is that in spite of the problems that are presented to some youngsters in our system I'm going to recommend to those students with whom I can talk that as they look around at their peers that they take the attitude that if you can do it, I can do it as well or I can do it better. Now that's the way I've tried to live my life. I'm going to take your challenge. If there is learning going on in that classroom, I'm going to get some of it. If you teach it, I'm going to get some of it regardless of what you do. You can push me in a corner if you want to but I'm still going to get some of it. If you open your mouth, I'm going to hear you. That's the challenge I think that some people need to accept and we just have to move away from the excuses. There are some things we've got to do and one of them is that when youngsters come out of these classrooms they've got to be able to perform at certain levels of competency."

An examination of assessment data for Duval County indicates that black minority students have surpassed the State average for minority students passing the State Assessment Test. Analysis of Table 5 reveals significant increase in the percentage of Duval County black minority students passing the test for the three-year period 1977 - 79. It should also be noted that although the percentage of minority students passing is below that of their white counterparts the percentage gained is considerably above that for white students.

TABLE 4
FLORIDA STATE STUDENT ASSESSMENT TEST
PART II, ELEVENTH GRADE - DUVAL COUNTY

COMMUNICATION

| | Percent Passing 1977 | 1979 | Gain |
|---|---|---|---|
| White | 94.9 | 99.3 | 5.6 |
| Black | 67.2 | 94.3 | 27.1 |
| Total Duval | 86.0 | 98.0 | |
| STATEWIDE (Minority) | 74.0 | 91.0 | 17.0 |

MATHEMATICS

| | Percent Passing 1977 | 1979 | Gain |
|---|---|---|---|
| White | 71.5 | 87.1 | 15.6 |
| Black | 20.6 | 87.1 | 34.8 |
| Total Duval | 55.2 | 77.0 | |
| STATEWIDE (Minority) | 23.0 | 47.0 | 24.0 |

An excellent example of what can be accomplished by minority students in urban school districts are the results achieved at Ribault Senior High School in Jacksonville. This school has shifted from a predominantly white school to predominantly black following court-ordered desegregation in 1970. The school currently has 1,611 students of which 99 percent are black. Ribault High School had a record and reputation for low achievement, poor discipline, and low student morale. The local media referred to the school as a "zoo" and teachers spoke of the "Ribault Jungle."

Prior to the beginning of the 1979 - 80 academic year, all Ribault faculty members who desired teaching assignments in another school were reassigned. Given the option of reassignment, 40 teachers of the 80 member faculty requested reassignment.

Parent participation at Ribault was unusually low prior to 1978. However, as a result of an intensive media campaign entitled "Education Is A Family Affair" parental participation increased from 300 parents in 1978 to 1,000 in 1979. With this increase in parent participation has come corresponding improvements in academic achievement, student discipline, dress, and school morale. Table 5 relates achievement test increases for Ribault High School students for the period of 1977 - 1979.

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE RIBAULT SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS
PASSING STATE STUDENT ASSESSMENT TEST, PART II

| | 1977 | 1979 | Gain |
|---|---|---|---|
| **MATHEMATICS** | | | |
| Ribault (Grade 11) | 20 | 62 | 42 |
| STATEWIDE MINORITY STUDENTS | 23 | 47 | 24 |
| **COMMUNICATION** | | | |
| Ribault (Grade 11) | 57 | 97 | 40 |
| STATEWIDE MINORITY STUDENTS | 74 | 91 | 17 |

In math competition between Jacksonville public and private schools, Ribault and Raines Senior High Schools, both public predominately black schools, tied for first place. Private schools placed fourth and eighth.

## ACCREDITATION AND EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

Related to the issue of minority student performance is the question of equality of opportunity for all students. Jacksonville, like many school districts in the past, operated a dual school system. Although court-mandated integration became a reality in 1970, remnants of the dual system persisted in facilities and the availability of financial resources and educational opportunities in general.

In 1976, the Duval County School Board and administration jointly committed themselves to full accreditation of all public schools in Duval County by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, Grades Kindergarten through Twelve. The rationale for this commitment being that accreditation by an objective third party organization would assure compliance with certain minimum standards in all schools. December 11, 1979, the final thirty-four schools in the Jacksonville system received accreditation by the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. This accomplishment means that Jacksonville's public school system is now the nation's largest fully accredited school system. The real significance of this fact is that it required over five million dollars worth of improvements to facilities and related items. This money would have been spent in any case, but probably not on the same schools. Full accreditation of all schools in the system required that priority be placed on those schools with inadequate facilities and programs to meet Association standards.

## DISCIPLINE, ATTENDANCE AND THE DISRUPTIVE STUDENT

A crackdown on discipline in Duval schools is meeting with overwhelming public approval. Schools are not patrolled by policemen and classes are not filled with disruptive students. A new, strict code of student conduct was adopted by the School Board in August, 1978. Enforcement of the code has assisted in removing disruptive students and making our schools a place for learning.

To help control truancy and reduce the drop-out rate, four attendance centers were established to work with truant students. These centers are staffed by a police officer who picks up truants, an attendance center coordinator, and a school social worker who counsels with students about their problems. The attendance centers work in cooperation with other community agencies so that the student's problems, whether social or educational, can be alleviated.

Jacksonville public school students adhere to a nine-day attendance policy in secondary schools. When a student misses more than nine days in any class during a single grading period, he or she automatically fails the class for that grading period. This policy has increased dramatically the daily attendance rate.

At the junior high level, an in-school suspension program was established to provide continuing instruction for students who normally would be suspended from school. These students are isolated from other students during the day and receive remedial instruction so that they can keep up with their class work. This program serves as a disciplinary measure without disrupting the student's academic program.

The nine-day attendance policy and the in-school suspension program have increased the daily attendance rate by 1,682 pupils per day. This is an annual pupil attendance increase of more than 302,000 students.

## TOWARD ACADEMIC EXCELLENCE

There is a need today at all levels of public education for systematic continuous long-range planning, based upon a defensible rationale for educational improvement. Local educators too often are caught up in the desire to be like other schools or districts. This attitude will inevitably result in mediocrity. Open-space schools, the extended school year, modular scheduling, instructional television, individualized instruction, and a host of other instant innovations are often implemented solely on the basis of teacher or administration desires to have the newest gadget available. This is not to stifle creativity, but the "monkey see, monkey do" syndrome will never produce an effective environment for learning.

Planned change in education will require that more attention and more effort be devoted to the identification of both short and long-term goals and education objectives based upon the needs of the consumer and society. Once goals and objectives have been identified teachers and other educators must be involved in the development of programs which are coordinated for each grade level and then communicated to citizens whose taxes operate the public schools.

In the Duval County public school system we have adopted the philosophy that "Education Is A Family Affair." That family may be so narrow as to include the individual student's immediate family or as broad as the local, state, and federal partnership. We commend the committee's efforts on behalf of an important part of this family, urban education. Student achievement represents only the end result. We must carefully examine current practices that demonstrate success if we are to develop an appropriate model to guide public education in America through the decade of the Eighties.

Chairman PERKINS. You go ahead, Dr. Hanford.

## PANEL PRESENTATION: DR. GEORGE HANFORD, PRESIDENT, THE COLLEGE BOARD; GEORGE WEBER, FREELANCE WRITER, ALEXANDRIA, VA.; DR. RONALD EDMONDS, SENIOR ASSISTANT TO THE CHANCELLOR FOR INSTRUCTION, NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS; AND HERBERT SANG, SUPERINTENDENT, DUVAL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

### STATEMENT OF DR. GEORGE HANFORD, PRESIDENT, THE COLLEGE BOARD

Dr. HANFORD. Mr. Chairman and members of the subcommittee, I am George Hanford, president of the College Board. It is a pleasure to testify before you on the subject of student achievement as it relates to the school curriculum.

Both topics are generally germane to the work that we do as an association of schools and colleges that worry about students going from secondary to higher education. Both topics were specifically addressed on our behalf by a panel appointed in the fall of 1975 to assess the implications of declining SAT scores.

My written testimony deals in large part with the panel's findings which were published in the summer of 1977. But a number of things have happened to the world of the college boards since the panel published its findings, and I would like to comment this morning on a couple of circumstances which seem to me to be particularly relevant to your subcommittee's general interest and your specific consideration of the causes of the decline in SAT scores between 1963 and 1977.

For one thing, the *Bakke* case has called our attention to a broader definition of talent, which the board, among others, has been exploring for years, an exploration which is conducted in the full realization that verbal and mathematical reasonability measured by the SAT constitute only a very small part of the college admissions assessment process.

*Bakke* also reminded us that minority and poor students do less well on tests like the SAT than do majority students, a circumstance which, in my opinion, reflects not bias in the tests so much as conditions in society.

You should, of course, also consider the panel's findings in light of the attacks that have been mounted on standardized tests recently, the SAT in particular, through legislative initiatives and consumer movement rhetoric. In this regard, I can only point to the timing of events and suggest that the SAT is being treated by its detractors like the messenger who brought the bad news.

And finally, before all too briefly summarizing the findings of that panel, let me make a point that was much emphasized throughout its deliberations. The scholastic aptitude test, the SAT, was and is designed to do only one thing, and that is to predict how well young people will do in college academically.

It was not designed to measure the effectiveness of the Nation's schools; and yet, that connection was made by others. The panel found the connection was not totally without substance. In any event, in October of 1975, in response to a steady decline in scores

which had begun in 1963, the College Board, in cooperation with Educational Testing Service, appointed a special advisory panel on score decline to take a look at the situation, chaired by former Secretary of Labor, Willard Wirtz.

The panel's 22 members included some of the country's top experts in measurement, education, sociology, and other fields, as well as some practicing school administrators and classroom teachers.

Between 1963 and 1977, the average scores on the verbal section of the test dropped 49 points, from 478 to 429. On the mathematical section, the scores droppped from 502 to 470, 32 points.

Chairman PERKINS. Briefly give us your explanation for that tremendous drop.

Dr. HANFORD. The panel found that the declines were real. They came in two parts. And they felt that about half of the change could be attributed to the changes in the group of students who were taking the tests. They attributed the remainder to problems in the schools and pervasive factors in society, including, for instance, less emphasis on critical reading and careful writing, excessive television viewing, changes in the family's role, and the social disruption that took place during most of the 1960's and early 1970's.

The first part of the decline really took place between 1963 and 1970, which really produced a change in the composition of the cross-section of students taking the SAT. There were more students with lower high school grades, more students from low income and minority groups who traditionally score lower on tests like the SAT, and more women, whose math scores tend to be lower than those of men.

In the second stage, from 1970 on, they found it was due less to changes, while there continued to be some change in the composition, but there were successive developments that were covered more fully in the written testimony. These were changes in the high schools' courses of study, such things as more electives and fewer required courses.

They felt a lowering, a changing of learning standards in school and in society, changes in the family structure and the family's role in education; again, the impact of television, the decade of national turmoil, and some diminished motivation for learning.

The panel cautioned, however, that these factors could not be assigned exact degrees of influence, and the evidence from any of them was simply circumstantial: they happened at the same time.

In reflecting on what the panel found, I am, frankly, struck by the wisdom of your subcommittee in undertaking its current exploration at this time. The decline in the SAT scores may, indeed, and I think they did signal a change in the quality of American education; but the change, in my own personal judgment, was worth the price.

People tend to forget the history of the American educational enterprise from World War II into the 1970's. It was, in my book, one of remarkable success, not only accommodating an age group that grew by 40 percent in 1 year and then stayed at that level, but also managing to keep more poor and minority young people in school longer.

That this result, so many more students, so many different kinds of students accommodated, could be achieved with so little change in quality is, to me, a remarkable tribute to the American people. But I entirely agree with the panel that there has been a change in quality of education.

Now the pressure of numbers is off and we have a breathing spell, a time when we can take stock and adjust quality if it needs adjusting, in ways that will reflect society's values now in the 1980's. So I am delighted that you are on the task.

Thank you, sir.

Chairman PERKINS. Go ahead, Mr. Weber.

## STATEMENT OF GEORGE WEBER, FREELANCE WRITER, ALEXANDRIA VA.

Mr. WEBER. My name is George Weber. For 15 years I was associate director of the Council for Basic Education, which is a national nonprofit membership organization working for better public schools. I am also the author of a monograph that I think some of the members of this committee may have read, called "Uses and Abuses of Standardized Testing in the Schools." I am now a freelance writer.

I was asked to speak today about student achievement at the secondary level. Unfortunately, whenever this subject is mentioned, everyone seems to jump into the SAT score decline, which is a decline of the scores on the scholastic aptitude test that is given for college admission.

We have had quite a bit of remarks about it from Mr. Hanford. This attention, in my opinion, given the SAT, is regrettable even though it is understandable. It is regrettable because the SAT scores are not a measure of overall U.S. academic achievement, as I will explain later; but it is understandable because the SAT scores are represented by two sets of simple numbers, three for the verbal part and three for the math part.

Because the SAT is national in scope and because of the prestige and importance of the test, it makes such a good story in the press, those numbers falling year after year. But it almost is never given any proper interpretation.

In order to see just why the SAT score decline is of very limited significance, we must define what the SAT score is, what its purpose is, and the extent of the decline. Mr. Hanford has discussed some of these things, but my statement is brief and I would like to go over what I have to say about it.

The SAT, in the first place, is a norm referenced test designed to differentiate among individuals who are applying for admission to college. It measures general verbal and math aptitude or ability, and it does a reasonably good job of what it sets out to do, which is measure the relative ability of able students to do college work.

There are a lot of important things that it does not measure. It does not assess writing ability, for example, and that deficiency was forcefully pointed out not so long ago by college officials who were concerned about the decline in writing ability among students who scored high on the verbal part of the SAT.

After all, if you score high on the verbal part of the SAT—you will excuse me, Mr. Hanford—by picking out one of four answers

and checking a box, that does not write anything. And in doing that, you don't write anything.

The SAT also does not measure science or history knowledge, or foreign language facility, or accomplishment in advanced mathematics, and I mean mathematics beyond algebra or geometry, or many other things. In fact, it is not an achievement test at all in the usual sense of that term.

So, as I say, it is unfortunate that the declining numbers were taken as a mark of declining overall achievement on the part of our students, because further, the SAT is taken by only a fraction of the senior high age group. Only about one-quarter of the age group take the SAT, and only about one-third of those who graduate from high school do.

It is a test taken by individuals more or less at their initiative. It is not given to a constant group of people. Thus, the composition of the tested group can change from year to year. And according to the Wirtz Commission Study, which you have already referred to, it did from 1963 to 1970.

It took the Wirtz Commission to be sure of this, but it certainly did. Some of us suggested that that might have been the reason for the decline before the Wirtz Commission met. But the important point here is that the SAT is testing only part of an age group, roughly the top one-fourth. It tells us nothing about the other three-quarters.

Finally, the SAT score decline is not very large. This gets into a lot of technical material which I am not going into, but the Wirtz Commission found that the decline between 1963 and 1970 was accounted for, as Mr. Hanford has already said, almost entirely by a change in the group taking the test.

Largely because of the greater opportunities available to them, a greater proportion of lower income students, minorities, and women took part in the testing program. On the average, these groups earn lower scores. It was their lower scores that largely accounted for the overall decline in that period.

The Wirtz panel found that since 1970, the composition of the test group has remained about the same, and from 1970 to 1977, the average verbal score fell 31 points on a range of 200 to 800, which is a standardized range, which is rather complicated to explain, and the math score fell 18 points.

These are not large declines. Even the larger verbal score decline represents four or five fewer correct answers on a fairly tough 85-item test. The Wirtz Commission could not pinpoint the causes for this decline, and their speculation has already been referred to by Mr. Hanford.

But it was speculation. It would not take much to cause such a small decline in the SAT scores. If you want my opinion, the major cause was a change in motivation. If it is not so hard to get into the college of your choice, you don't work quite as hard and you don't have to ease up very much to miss one or two questions out of eighty-five.

To conclude my remarks on SAT score decline, it may indicate a slight fall in the achievement of the top quarter of our young people, but this is by no means certain. The significance of the

decline has been greatly exaggerated, and this SAT score data tells us little about overall achievement.

Getting away from the SAT, do we have any other information that might tell us about changes in secondary school achievement? Before I answer that question, I would like to ask the question that should have been asked before people got so excited about the SAT score decline. These questions are who, what, and when.

First, who? That is, whose achievement are we talking about? Are we talking about all young people? The SAT was not. Only those in school? Only those who graduate? Only those who go to college? Blacks? The best students? Only those in South Carolina? Who are we talking about?

Next, what? Achievement in what? Reading? Writing? Science? American history? Foreign languages? The ability to juggle six balls in the air? That is a very important question.

And finally, when? That is, since when? This is very important because it can make a big difference in the answer. For example, basic reading achievement—what—in the primary grades—who—has gone up in the last 5 or 10 years. But before that, it had been declining.

Now, to return to the basic question about data on changes and achievement, unfortunately we have very little first rate data. The best is probably from the National Assessment of Educational Progress, the federally financed program that measures academic achievement in 10 different fields: reading, science, math, and so forth.

The National Assessment is a high-quality enterprise that samples all children and young people in four age groups: 9-year-olds, 13-year-olds, 17-year-olds, and young adults from 26 to 35. The trouble here is that the assessments began only relatively recently. The very first assessment in science was done in 1970, so you cannot tell from the National Assessment whether the achievement is better than when you were in school.

What we have here are some comparisons over 4 to 7 years, and for the 17-year-old group, which is the one most relevant to our discussion here today, here are the changes in achievement for the nationwide sample. Science from 1970 to 1977, down. Math from 1973 to 1978, down. Reading from 1971 to 1975, no change. Writing from 1970 to 1974, down. And social studies from 1970 to 1974, down.

I haven't gone into how much they are down because that is a very complicated question and you must look at these assessment reports, which I commend to you highly. From other information, we can be pretty sure that foreign language achievement, an area not covered by the National Assessment, has declined nationally in recent years.

You have the Presidential Commission on this matter which wrung its hands, not very effectively, if I may say so, or punctually, but with complete justification. Foreign language enrollments have fallen sharply, and it does not require any great analysis to conclude that average facility has fallen, too.

As a general rule, people do not learn what they do not study. So far I have been talking about changes in student achievement at the secondary level. Now I would like to talk about what I believe

is a more important subject, the level of student achievement. It is also a more fruitful topic because we know a lot more about the present level of achievement than we do about whether this level is higher or lower than at some prior date.

Here, our best source, again, is the National Assessment. These reports provide information on the level of achievement of 17-year-olds in 10 different fields, and I will name all 10. They are reading, math, science, writing, social studies, literature, citizenship, music, art, and one I am not entirely sure what it is: Career and occupational development.

Now, this information is too extensive and detailed to recount here. It is my opinion and the opinion of many others that the level of achievement in almost all fields is unmistakably unsatisfactory. I say unmistakably unsatisfactory not because it could be better—it could always be better—but because I believe it is reasonable to expect better results from the tremendous amount of resources we put into—I might say pour into—elementary and secondary education.

It is unsatisfactory, too, in the sense that many of the students, when they finish this education, lack the rudimentary knowledge, skills, and understanding that living in our contemporary society requires. Let me give you just a few examples from the 1978 math assessment.

Only 56 percent of our 17-year-olds could answer this problem correctly. A car traveled 8 kilometers in 5 minutes. At this speed how many kilometers could it travel in 1 hour. A very simple practical problem. One has to know how many minutes there are in an hour. Big deal for a 17-year-old, isn't it, after 12 years or 10 years of schooling. And one has to know how to do a simple division and single multiplication. Yet, almost half could not do it.

Only 52 percent of the 17-year-olds could answer this problem correctly. A hockey team won 5 of the 20 games it has played. What percent of the games did it win? This item requires understanding of what percentage is, and very little else. Forty-eight percent could not do it. You don't get this kind of information out of the SAT scores, I might interpolate.

Only 73 percent of the 17-year-olds could do this one, and this one makes me blush. What does two-thirds of 9 equal? The most rudimentary knowledge of fractions is all that is required, but 27 percent of our 17-year-olds could not do this in 1978. I don't know what the percentage was in 1910. No one else does, in my opinion. And I don't know what it was in 1935 either, even though there have been some attempts to find out.

Finally, I can't resist giving you an example from the 1970 citizenship assessment; 65 percent of 17-year-olds could not name their local Congressman. That should make you take this seriously. [Laughter.]

I have given you just four examples from hundreds that are published in National Assessment reports, and I recommend that you or your staff read these reports. Only by reading these specific examples in terms of the age groups, and so forth, do you get a feel for what the students and young people can do and what they cannot do in these 10 different basic fields.

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These reports reveal that the achievement of our lowest achievers, not the highest or the middle achievers—I am not talking about that in this brief statement—is very low indeed. In fact, about 15 percent of our young people leave our schools as functional illiterates. There is no excuse for this. And the toll that it takes in crime, welfare cost, and shriveled lives is very great.

If I could pick only one message to have you remember from my appearance here today, it would be this: Forget the small decline in the SAT scores; concentrate your concerns on the hundreds of thousands of young people who leave our schools for the last time every year as functional illiterates.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you for a good statement.

Our next witness is Dr. Ronald Edmonds, senior assistant to the chancellor for instruction, New York City public schools.

Go ahead, Dr. Edmonds.

## STATEMENT OF DR. RONALD EDMONDS, SENIOR ASSISTANT TO THE CHANCELLOR FOR INSTRUCTION, NEW YORK CITY PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Dr. EDMONDS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I am really here in two capacities. Since most of what I am talking about derives more from one capacity than the other, I probably should make that clear. At the moment, I am senior assistant for instruction in the New York City schools. As such, I am responsible for instructional efforts in New York. That has been true for somewhat more than 1 year now. That is an effort on my part to use what I think I know to improve some of the things Mr. Weber referred to and, in general, to improve teaching and learning in the New York City schools.

As I told my wife when we moved to do that, part of the value of doing it in New York was I would only have to do it once.

But the other reason I am here, which is the major origin of the substance I am going to talk about, derives from the fact that I am also a researcher of the Harvard University Graduate School of Education. As such, for most of the 1970's I have spent my time doing research studies that collect data on family background, on pupil income and social class, on achievement of pupils in public schools in big cities in the United States, and analyzing those data in ways which have permitted me and my colleagues to identify, in a good many American cities, those individual schools which come closest to the model of instructional effectiveness that was at least implied in Mr. Weber's remarks, and that have allowed us to be able to say with some certainty and with some specificity that there are individual schools in the United States that come very close to what all of us want.

And more important than that, there are individual schools that come very close to doing what we want for all of the children that go to them, and that is probably more important than anything else. The kind of analysis that I have been focusing on is one that does go directly to the question: Are there circumstances under which American public schools in cities can be reasonably certain that they can effectively teach precisely those children in cities who are presumed to be most difficult to teach.

And specifically, in the context of the research and analysis, that means that we focus our analysis of achievement most especially on children who are poor. That is, we analyze achievement for all children in the schools we study and in the school districts we study, but we do fix our analysis on children who are poor.

In order for a school to meet our standard of effectiveness, no matter how effective it is for others, it must be effective for children who are poor. So that when we make the remark that a school is effective, we precisely mean, first, that it is a school that is instructionally effective for all those enrolled in it; and secondly and more particularly, we mean that it is a school which is instructionally effective for precisely those children who represent the lowest portion of our income and social class in American cities.

My testimony this morning derives from two documents I have reproduced for you. The first document is a conceptual discussion of the circumstances under which all social service institutions, including schools, are most likely to be effective when they are trying to serve either heterogeneous populations in cities or when they are trying to serve city populations that are homogeneously poor and/or minority.

That first document is an analysis of what is there about issues of governance and administration and the interaction between those who govern social service enterprises like boards of education and those who come to them like service, like parents and children; and what is there about that interaction that is most likely to lead you to the kind of outcome in which you are interested.

That is a more conceptual discussion and I will not dwell at all on that because it was intended when I wrote it to help parents, policymakers, and others know what sorts of analysis to engage in and what sorts of changes to make if what they wanted was to improve the quality of social service that they derive from their local social service institution, whether it was a local hospital or a school or so on.

Since my own view is that there probably isn't all that much that legislation can do in that regard, aside from the fact that I think the information is useful in its own right, I don't want to dwell on that.

But the second document I have reproduced for you is rather more pointed in this regard, and that is the summary of the research that my colleagues and I have been carrying on at the university since the early 1970's. I am going to make some brief summary remarks about that, and then I will close by telling you of the efforts to implement those research findings in New York City in precisely the sorts of schools that I think you and your colleagues are most interested in.

This research does have its origins in my standing as a faculty member at Harvard University. I undertook the research in the first place, beginning in 1973, as an explicit repudiation of the major findings which at that time were represented by Mr. Coleman's Equal Educational Opportunity Survey, known as the Coleman report, and by Christopher Jencks, "Inequality," which had been published at Harvard University.

The part of those two works I was explicitly repudiating was the conclusion, or at least the very strong inference, that pupil per-

formance had its origins in family background: that is, that how well children did in school did depend primarily on the nature of the family from which they came.

Since I knew that not to be true but I also knew that merely making that statement wouldn't turn out to be particularly persuasive, what I set out to do was to accumulate the social science evidence that could match, if not exceed, the research methodologies of the Coleman report and "Inequality," and would therefore permit me more forcefully and with a greater evidence in support of the conclusion to argue that the explanation for how well children do in school, at least in their acquisition of basic school skills, does not have its origin in the nature of the family from which they come; it has its origin in the way schools respond to the families from which they come. And that is something we can do something about.

Since I presume by now that either the war on poverty is in some kind of abeyance or we have lost it altogether, what that says is that if we are stuck with the conclusion that you can't promise that children will do better in school unless you raise their social standing or drastically change their familial circumstances, that doesn't turn out to be a very fruitful line of discussion.

But for those of us who have concluded, alternatively, that it is not the family itself that is the principal cause of achievement of basic skills acquisition but is the way schools respond to that, that describes the line of research inquiry we have been engaged in since 1973.

In all that time, we have accomplished, I think, two things in summary sense. First, we have succeeded in identifying in a lot of cities individual schools that defy this general conclusion that city schools do not work well, and that even when they do work, they certainly don't work for children who are poor.

And that really is a reference to an increasingly predominant population to be found in the largest and oldest of the American cities. So that we are prepared to say now, fairly forcefully, that if you reproduce the methodology we are responsible for, we would be able to predict that it is very unlikely that you could not find the sort of schools we found in almost any big city in which you would care to look. And that includes New York City.

The second major conclusion we have come to was our attempt to sort out the explanation, the institutional, organizational explanation of why some schools are instructionally effective for all their pupils, including those children who are poor, while other schools nearby, serving highly analogous, highly similar pupil populations, are not successful.

Does the explanation have its origin in the difference of the teachers, in the differences of the size of the school, in the difference in the neighborhood from whence these children come, and so on and so forth? We have managed two conclusions in that regard.

The first conclusion is we have been able to reject the long laundry list of conventional variables that have historically been presumed to be the explanations for achievement in schools. That means we can reject racial composition of the pupil population and the teacher corps and the neighborhood.

We can reject per-pupil expenditure and we can reject neighborhood circumstances and size of the school and higher education origin of the professional population, class size and a long list of fairly conventional explanations that are ordinarily resorted to in an effort to explain these things.

What we fixed on are a very limited number of characteristics by the simple device of doing consistent analyses of these groups of schools we found to be effective when compared to similar schools we found to be ineffective.

What we have concluded is that if you fix your attention on the style of leadership of the principal and the instructional emphasis in the building and the climate that prevails in the halls and laboratories and lunchrooms, and the professional expectation that describes the teacher behavior in the classroom, and finally, the presence and use of standardized instruments for measuring pupil progress in relationship to instructional emphasis of the building, if you fix your attention on those five things, that what you have got onto is the soundest, the most defensible and apparently the most efficacious explanation of why some schools are instructionally effective for the full range of their pupil population while others are not.

Now, those conclusions are discussed with rather more detail in the documents that I have reproduced for this committee, so I will not dwell over long on them except to invite those of you and your staff who are interested to peruse them.

What I will tell you is that I think we can be very confident about the conclusions we have reached so far, especially since I have recently learned the extent to which the British study of high schools, the book entitled "Fifteen Thousand Hours," from Harvard University Press, which is a book very recently published by a group of researchers headed by Rutter, that that book is an extraordinary reinforcement of the conclusions that I refer to here.

I have had conversations and fairly sustained consultations with the coauthors of that book, and they are heartened by our conclusions, as I am prepared to say we are heartened by their conclusions. It is fairly clear by now that they do strongly reinforce each other.

In August of 1978 when my colleagues and I were in the process of going beyond the fact that we have published some of these things in journals and were prepared then to talk about a hard cover manuscript for the research, I was asked, in response to the newly chosen reform administration in New York City, to leave the university temporarily and go to New York City in order to implement some of these findings, which has caused the postponement of the manuscript that I am talking about.

I only mention that to you because I did want to say that since August of 1978 what I have been trying to do is to translate the conclusions to which I refer here into actual administrative design and school practice and instructional program in New York City, and to try to create in summary terms a climate in a school system that would allow the exploitation and reinforcement of the conclusions to which I refer.

I might also say that at least so far, I think that is going very well. A number of changes have been made in the New York City

schools that are designed to make that system more receptive to the school-based changes that I think are implied by the work I represent.

The most direct effort at intervention is in a project in New York called the school improvement project, which has been an effort on my part to directly intervene in a cross-section of New York City Schools to demonstrate that if you intervene directly in any school in any city and you modify its institutional organizational characteristics in response to the brief summary of characteristics that I gave, that the outcome will be that you will raise achievement self-consciously for precisely those children who ordinarily do least well in our city schools.

Incidentally and happily, I can also report that if you do that, the inadvertent outcome, or maybe I should say the serendipitous outcome will be that when you raise achievement for children who are poor, whether you intend to or not, you raise it even more for children who are not. That means that if you are a middle class parent, as some people in cities still are, not only are there no penalties associated with raising achievement for poor children in cities, but that in fact it turns out that you can support that kind of reform for very selfish reasons.

It is already fairly clear to me that the most effective way to persuade middle class people to keep their children in city schools or to reenroll their chidren in city schools is to create a climate of teaching and learning for all the children that are in the city schools that does not exist now.

In any case, I think these conclusions are fairly firm. Fortunately, I am not the only person who represents them. Far from it. And one of the things you will find in the documents I have reproduced for you is a very substantial bibliography that refers to a number of American researchers and social scientists who have also carried on these lines of inquiry and who represent, at least, happily, from my point of view, conclusions that are, if not identical to my own, complementary to my own.

Therefore, I am prepared to say that I think that there is rather a lot of compelling evidence to support the proposition that those who argue that city schools do not do well and couch that explanation in the income, social class, racial, familial circumstances that describe American cities are misleading and inaccurate and needlessly pessimistic in the public policy import of what they have to say.

We have it within our means right now to make American city schools as instructionally effective for all of the children who go to them as are those exceptional schools that I have been able to find and that others have been able to find. While it is true that at the moment, the existence of those individual schools is a statistical exception, our subsequent analysis of the characteristics that explain the existence of those exceptional schools make it also clear that they get that way for reasons which are, in my judgment, fairly ordinary.

They do not get that way for reasons that are esoteric or superhuman. They get that way because they set out self-consciously to be that way and they avoid some of the rather wrong-headed

programs of reform and the like which have misled some of our colleagues.

But the summary point of my remarks is simply meant to say we know now, as in my judgment we have known for at least the last quarter of a century, everything that we need to know in order to teach any group of children in our public schools that we choose to teach.

The explanation for why some children as groups have done consistently better in American schools than others has far more to do with the fact that our society values some of its children more than it values others than it has to do with the fact that there is some enormous body of knowledge which we have had to wait on in order to be able to predictably create school climates that are going to be instructionally effective for all of the children that are going to school.

So let me close this with just two notes of caution. The first note of caution is I am not discussing here good schools. I am only here discussing instructionally effective schools. Our research does not purport to identify, analyze or describe good schools in the way that word is ordinarily used. It may be that the schools that we identify as instructionally effective are good. I don't know. I hope so.

I can only say with certainty that what they are, at least on the basis of standardized descriptions of achievement, is that they are instructionally effective in their ability to deliver to children those schools skills their parents want them to have when they send them to school. That I can say with some certainty.

That simply means that when I encourage parents to do these things or to support these things or to encourage these things, I do not thereafter say to parents: Once you get this done you can relax and go away. That just is not true. Once this is done, it does mean that the school is going to be more instructionally effective than it was, but it also means that thereafter there are still fairly important things that ought to be attended to. So that is one caution.

The second caution is I am not talking about a concept of either equity or egalitarianism that abolishes the achievement gap as between people who are poor and children who are middle class. These kinds of changes do not do that. What they do is they do raise achievement for children who are poor; but since they simultaneously raise achievement for people who are middle class, an achievement gap remains.

The achievment gap, in my judgment, is acceptable because we are under those circumstances not talking about a situation in which some children are learning to read well and other children are not learning at all. Under the circumstances I am talking about, we are talking about a situation where some children read acceptably and other children read even better.

Raising achievement for poor children simply means that the advantages that middle class families are able to give their children allows middle class children to take even greater advantage of this improved instructional climate. And as a result, it means that achievement goes up for all of these groups of children.

But I don't think that, either for political or ideological or equity reasons, our various constituencies would be very much distressed

by our having to report to them that we have raised achievement for one group of children, and as a result, an achievement gap remains because performance for other children has risen even more.

So with those modest—I think they are modest—cautions, I am quite prepared to defend or answer questions about any of the remarks I have made. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Herbert Sang, superintendent, Duval County Public Schools, Jacksonville, Fla.

Go ahead, Mr. Sang.

## STATEMENT OF HERBERT SANG, SUPERINTENDENT, DUVAL COUNTY PUBLIC SCHOOLS, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

Mr. SANG. I am Herbert Sang, superintendent of schools in Jacksonville, Fla.

I commend your committee for taking a look at the academic achievement which I feel is the primary purpose of education, and also looking at urban education at the time the doomsayers are forecasting the demise of public education. It is very timely this morning.

I saw the new Secretary of Education on national television. The very subject was regarding academic achievement.

We are very pleased to say that in Jacksonville, Fla., education is alive and we are excited about it. Jacksonville, Fla has approximately 650,000 citizens. We have 103,000 students, which makes us the 23d largest school district in the United States.

Our school population consists of some 34 percent black students. We are not unlike many urban districts as far as having experienced some of the problems. In 1964 our schools were disaccredited. In 1968 we experienced a statewide teachers strike. Then in 1969 we received a desegregation court order.

We have had parents who have been unhappy with the results of the schools. We have had the business community that has been unhappy with the schools. And then we had a State assessment test which was adopted by the State of Florida, which was given in 1977. And Jacksonville had the distinction of being recognized as one of the six lowest achieving school districts in the State of Florida. We made national television, and we were not proud of it.

But today we have a different situation, and it has happened in a very short time, in some 2 years. We haven't done anything fancy. We just get results. And we have based it upon a philosophy that children will rise to the level of expectancy.

As a result of that, we have established standards. We have a new progression plan. We have eliminated social promotion. There is strictly no social promotion. In order for a youngster to move through the elementary grades, they must qualify on an assessment evaluation as well as teacher judgment.

We have, in fact, found youngsters who have been receiving "A's" on the report card in the elementary school unable to meet the minimum requirement. On the secondary level, to give you an example of what we took a look at when the test was given in 1977, there is the example of 2 of our 15 high schools.

They were built at the same time by the same contractor. They looked just exactly alike. The only difference is one of the high schools, Ribault High School, has 99 percent of the students black, and in Terry Parker High School, the majority of the students are white.

On the State assessment test, 80 percent of Ribault High School failed the math portion of the State assessment test for 11th graders. At Terry Parker, 80 percent of the students passed the math portion, just exactly the opposite. So I asked for a grade distribution.

When we took a look at the grades, looking at the math courses that had the identical course number, we found that more A's had been given to the students at Ribault High School than had been given to the students at Terry Parker High School. It was obvious that we had double standards. Again, students will rise to the level of expectancy.

So we have developed what we call a minimum level skills test. I know of no other district in the United States that uses this. We developed it locally. We require a student, no matter where they go to school in Duval County, to pass this in any required course they take before they can get a grade. And it has done miracles with what has happened.

Example. Taking a look at what our achievement has been, we have scored higher on the Stanford aptitude test, higher than any other urban district in the United States. You have heard these gentlemen testify to you this morning regarding the scholastic aptitude test. Whether or not it is meaningful, we take a look at it. And where the scores had been going down across the country, in Florida they have been rising. And in Jacksonville they have risen three times the rate they did in Florida.

On the State assessment tests given by the State of Florida, where in 1977 we ranked in the lowest six school districts, this year we tied for first place in communications among the major districts in the State of Florida, and we tied for third place in mathematics among the districts in the State of Florida.

We are very optimistic about what is taking place in this. And looking at our black students, our black students who had scored low in 1977, where only 20 percent of the black students passed at the 11th grade level, this year in Jacksonville, Fla., 55 percent of our black students passed the 11th grade math portion, as compared to 47 percent for the State.

And 97 percent of our black 11th graders passed the communications portion. Students will rise to the level of expectancy.

Another ingredient we have put in is that we know that where parents are involved, students will do a better job. So we have made an active effort and we have involved parents. Last year we had 50,000 parents come to school at open house at the beginning of the school. We have coined for ourself the phrase that "Education is a family affair."

We thought it would be difficult to change that, but this year we had over 60,000 parents at open house. One of those schools, the Ribault High School I mentioned to you, I would like to share with you what is happening at Ribault. There have been miracles at Ribault High School.

Ribault High School last year had approximately 300 parents who came out for open house. This year in talking to the parents and in telling them that if you really care you will come to school, they had 1,000 parents that turned out at open house at Ribault High School.

This year, 62 percent of the 11th graders at Ribault High School passed the State assessment test in mathematics. What did we do there? One thing we did was we told the teachers that if you don't want to teach at Ribault High School, you just let us know. The press carried an article which said that one of the teachers said the superintendent had better bar the doors because they are going to be leaving, and about half of them did.

So we changed the teachers there. The atmosphere in that school was almost unbelievable. I went out there about 18 months ago, and I saw the students milling all over the place. I saw them lined up going up the steps to an auditorium. I thought they were buying tickets to something, so I went up and said, "What are you buying tickets to?" They said, "We're not buying tickets; we're getting admits to class."

They had students sitting at the top of the stairs writing the admits back to class. The line was so long that by the time they got through the line and got their admit back to class, they were late and they had to go back through it again. They would take paper towels and stick them in the sinks. They would turn the sinks on and water would go all over the place.

We have adopted a conduct code where we spell it out. We tell exactly: if you perform a certain offense, this is the penalty you are going to get. Students will rise to the level of expectancy, and they know we mean what we say. As a result, I invite anyone to go and visit that school, and you will see a miracle.

You will see discipline. You will see dress. You will see attitude. And the bottom line is when those students said this year we might not have won the football championship and we may not this year have football power, but we have brain power. And one of our other large high schools, whenever they beat Terry Parker for the first time, which had been our academically high achiever, they announced it over the intercom system and they gave a yell as if they had won first place in the basketball tournament.

That is what we have got to get excited about. We have got to get excited to the point that we get teachers who jump off the bench like a coach does when they get really excited about what is happening academically. We are excited, and what we are doing about it, where this is a free enterprise in which we operate in our economy, I believe in competition.

As a result, we have established competition academically. We enter into competition with the private and parochial schools in the other counties in the State of Florida academically. We go into what we call a math field day. There they give out the questions in algebra, geometry, calculus, all of the different areas. You get so many points for how quickly you answer and the accuracy.

In Jacksonville, we won first, second, and third place in the math competition. The private and parochial schools came in fourth and eighth. Believe me, if that doesn't raise some eyebrows, especially in the math, when we found that the first two teams that won had

predominantly blacks on the team in competition. That makes some of those people who are paying their money to go to private and parochial schools take another look.

We won first place in Latin. We won first place in the State in forensics. In every academic area in which we entered into competition this year, we won. In addition to this, we are competing locally. We have been on our educational television in what we call Brain Brawl," where the schools are competing against each other.

We are now down to four teams. They will be on commercial television in March, in which they will compete for first and second place. An insurance company there is so interested in this that they are giving $1,000 to the school that wins first place, and they will give $500 to the school which gets second place. In addition, they will each get a trophy.

Now, it has been a long time since schools have seen trophies in the trophy case recognizing academic achievement versus athletics. So we are excited about what is taking place. By adding to the situation there, on attendance we have established the standards of absenteeism.

We found for academic excellence that we were our own worst enemies. Even with those, and we are not overlooking those individuals who are high achievers, we found that we would take the attractive young cheerleader and would have her, even though she would be in school, showing the dignitaries around the school. They would go down and sing in the chorus, would have their cheerleading, pep rallies, and so forth.

So when we talk about absenteeism, we are talking about any time you miss a class, you are absent. In other words, if you go on a field trip and it is a science field trip, you are only present in science. In all of the other courses, you are absent.

As a result of this, we have increased over 1,000 youngsters a day in average daily attendance in our school as a result of this. This past year we had 19 national merit scholars in our school system. That is more than all of the private and parochial schools around us combined. That is an increase of nine over the year before, and we want to double it.

We are a firm believer that students will rise to the level of expectancy, and we know also that we adults will rise to the level of expectancy. We feel that education is a family affair, and in Jacksonville, education truly is a family affair. We are pleased to say that, having been disaccredited in 1964, that we were recognized in Atlanta, Ga., in December, that we are now the Nation's largest fully accredited school system in the Nation.

We have had every one of our schools, our elementary schools, our junior high schools, our senior high schools, and our special education schools now accredited. Needless to say, we are very pleased about that and we are excited to be in the field of education.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. Dr. Edmonds and Mr. Sang, both of you may be saying somewhat the same thing in that you are describing schools as individual entities which don't appear to be molded into a single form across the New York City school system or the San Francisco school system or the L.A. school system, but that they take on a

personality of their own, they take on leadership of a principal, they take on leadership of teachers, coaches, PTA's, cafeteria workers.

They take that on, and if molded together in some type of leadership, they can, in fact, respond to the needs of the students and the desires of their parents. And you are suggesting that they can, in fact, meet those needs under almost any circumstances with that desire, if that is the desire.

You talk in your paper about some of the characteristics of the more effective schools and the lesser effective schools, and it seems like it has a lot of similarity with almost any other—I am not sure this word holds well in your paper—social service institutions, where you find very successful models.

As we look at them on this committee, we find, again, that many times they are based upon the personalities of those who are running them. In our desire as legislators to have successful models everywhere in 435 districts, we say replicate one of those for me, and we find out in many cases that cannot be done because it was the dynamics of the team that was putting together that suicide prevention clinic, that abused child clinic, that medical team, that bilingual instructional team.

And my concern is this. In our previous hearings we have had people discussing secondary education, and I get the feeling that many of the problems of the junior high schools are of a local political nature; that a principal may be without power to create that team or, as you suggested, to open the doors and say those teachers who are dissatisfied here can leave, or to reward good instructors, or to provide incentives to help students.

I am wondering to some extent what we do here as we try to respond to the criticisms, if you will, or even the affirmative desires that have been expressed by parents across this country about the students when you describe basically a system of local control, subject to local political desires.

And here we sit at the national level looking to see how do we improve this on a nationwide basis.

Dr. EDMONDS. I think, Mr. Miller, it is not quite as bad as that. The analysis to which I refer is not one that depends upon the personalities of the participants. I am not the only one who has this conclusion in the field of educational research. If we have a firm conclusion, it is this: The school effect is more powerful than the principal effect, and it is more powerful than the teacher effect, and it is more powerful than the familial effect, and it is even more powerful than the neighborhood or district effect.

That remark merely means that teachers who have taught in schools where they were either ineffective or traditionally effective for middle-class children while not being effective for poor children, when placed in schools that have the characteristics to which I refer, will themselves, as my colleague from Florida remarks, rise to the level of expectation in the new setting in which they find themselves.

And you can also reverse the trend. The point of it is simply this. The research discussion that is contained in the article you have is not a description of charismatic personalities. It is simply a descrip-

tion of a set of minimum institutional, organizational circumstances that must prevail in order to have what you want.

If we have a conclusion about it, it is that almost anyone can do it. This simply means I think we know for sure that there are a lot of bad schools who have good principals, but there are no good schools who have bad principals, which is simply a way of saying a good principal is a necessary but clearly insufficient prerequisite to a good school.

So it is something that you can do something about, especially since we now know how to describe for principals the differences between effective leadership and ineffective leadership. A part of what is going on in New York is to help principals profit from what we know in that regard and therefore do something about it.

Mr. MILLER. Excuse me just a moment. As you outlined, you talked about teachers in high achieving schools were more task oriented in their classroom approach than those in lower achieving schools. By comparisons to classrooms in lower achieving schools, classrooms in higher achieving schools provided more evidence of student monitoring process, student effort, happier children.

In comparison to teachers in lower achieving schools, teachers in higher achieving schools reported they spent relatively more time on social studies, less time on mathematics.

I guess what I am saying is what is the role of the Federal Government if it is these kinds of variables and the variables you just described again, which really are changed at the local level or are determined at the local level.

We are sitting here having hearings on the successes or failures of high school. I just came upstairs from the NIE hearings, and I don't see any promise there. I was just wondering, and the question is: Is there a role or isn't there?

Dr. EDMONDS. The Federal Government is now engaged in a very substantial effort to assist public schooling in the United States. I think that effort is formidable and necessary. Most Federal programs are predicated on a set of conclusions about teaching and learning which are more in keeping with inequality and the conventional wisdom of the sixties than they are in keeping with the discussion that you are carrying on today.

An analysis of title I, an analysis of most of the major titles in federally funded programs will reveal that that is an analysis predicated on the assumption of how well pupils do in school does have its primary origin in the income and social class circumstances from which they come.

I think that that is a mistake, although I think I can understand very easily where it came from. I think most of our colleagues in the sixties were giving testimony that encouraged legislation just like that, but I do think Federal legislation is moving in alternative directions and I think that is a desirable thing to see.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Miller, you will have a chance to ask questions. No one will be cut off.

Mr. Goodling.

Mr. GOODLING. First of all, Mr. Chairman, I would like to say there are many times I leave these hearings wondering what was discussed and what relevance it had to what we were supposed to be doing. However, the testimony I heard this morning was not

only very interesting but, I think, very revealing and very important, to the concerns of this committee.

I do have a couple of questions. First of all, I will ask Mr. Weber, may I duplicate your testimony? I think the administrators and teachers back in the district, would do well to read it. I would like to encourage them to do just that.

Mr. WEBER. Please do.

Mr. GOODLING. Let me ask you one or two questions in relationship to this. You indicated, first of all, that it is unmistakable that achievement has declined. The level of achievement in almost all fields is unmistakably unsatisfactory. I say unmistakably unsatisfactory not just because it could be better but I believe it is reasonable to expect better results for the tremendous amount of resources we have put into elementary and secondary education.

My question comes with your last statement. Forget that small decline in the SAT scores. Concentrate your concerns on the hundreds of thousands of young people who leave our school every year as functional illiterates. I guess I am following up what Mr. Miller was just saying and what Dr. Edmonds, I believe, was responding to.

From the Federal level, what should our role be if we are going to concentrate on the concerns of hundreds of thousands of young people who leave our school every year as functional illiterates? We have poured more and more and more in each year at the local, State and Federal level, and apparently things are not getting better. Apparently they are getting worse.

What should we be doing?

Mr. WEBER. I agree with a great deal Dr. Edmonds says. I don't agree with what he says about the Federal role. I think the Federal role has largely been either ineffective or negative. The Coleman report that Dr. Edmonds and I have both spent, a lot of time fighting was federally financed, federally cheered, and would not have come about without the Federal Government, for example.

The Federal Government has spent, I don't know how many billion it is now, $40 billion, in title I. And in title I while a very few schools have benefited by title I, I don't mean benefited by having more things to play with. I am talking completely, as I always am, in terms of student achievement. Of course they have benefited in getting money.

But as few schools have benefited, most have not. I mean we would not be talking about the level of achievement in 1978, 1979, and 1980 the way we can talk about it if title I over a period of 13 years had done a fraction of what it was supposed to do.

As I said several years ago to another congressional committee, the Federal Government's role is a very difficult role if what the Federal Government hopes to do is improve achievement in elementary and secondary schools in the United States. By "difficult," I am being euphemistic. I think it may well be impossible.

To get it down to a specific, to improve the achievement of the children in elementary schools, in, say, the inner cities of Detroit, Cleveland, and New York and Kansas City, you have to change what goes on in the second grade classroom in Detroit and the third grade classroom in Cleveland, a kindergarten in Kansas City.

Well, what can you do? What can be done, sitting on Capitol Hill, to do that? It is like the economists used to say. It is pushing on a string. I mean you can make money available, but if the people who receive money don't know what to do with it or do the wrong things with it or are kept from doing what they would like to do with it because of restrictions which are quite understandable, I think he who pays the piper ought to call the tune.

I have never been in favor of the Federal Government or any other government putting the money on the stump and disappearing, but I am sorry to say that in my opinion, Federal activity would be an incredible triumph of hope over experience. [Laughter.]

Mr. GOODLING. Dr. Edmonds, would you repeat something? You made an excellent statement that I would like to quote from time to time, and I am not sure that I got it correctly. It was something to the effect that it is not the family they came from but how the school responds to them. Just how did you say that?

Dr. EDMONDS. I said that conventional social science has concluded up to now that how well children do in school has its primary origins in the nature of the family from which they come, that family background causes basic pupil performance. What our research has concluded is that at least in basic skills acquisition, that is not true.

Pupil performance has its primary origins in the way schools respond to the families from which children come. I think that what my colleague from Florida is describing and what is a very successful program of reform in the Florida schools is that he and his administration have intervened in a set of Florida schools to modify the way those schools respond to the nature of the families from which these children come.

When he talked about the fact that there existed a double standard in the predominantly black school as contrasted to the predominantly white school, and then he said he had abolished that, what he had done was not change the families from which these children came, and he certainly did not change their race. What he changed was the way the school responded to those two groups of children and their families.

And the outcome has been an increase in achievement that I think he can be justifiably very proud of. I am only saying that his behavior, although I have no reason to believe he grounded it in research at all, the truth is his behavior is reinforced by the most up-to-date research literature that is trying to analyze the interaction between pupil performance and family background.

Mr. GOODLING. I appreciated your optimistic presentation. I was reading in the Wall Street Journal this morning a very pessimistic one where the reporter went in—excuse me, George—to a California school as a substitute.

Mr. MILLER. We are dismantling our schools in California. [Laughter.]

Mr. GOODLING. And he was very pessimistic about just trying to survive during the day.

Mr. SANG. May I say something?

Mr. GOODLING. Yes. I want to ask you a couple of questions, Mr. Sang. You talked a great deal about raising expectations of pupils,

and you have talked lightly about raising expectations of teachers, but I would imagine that is tied very much into what you have done through your testing program. Let me ask you two questions about the testing program.

Are all of these minimal level tests given, the same test, given to all of the children in that particular grade?

Mr. SANG. Yes, districtwide, and that is what makes the difference.

And speaking to Mr. Miller's comments about the schools, some are good and some are bad, I would have trouble going to sleep at night if I thought that one of our schools was identified as being bad. We are no stronger than the weakest school in the system. So I think that is what makes a difference.

We have standardized throughout the system, even to the textbook that is being used. You see, too many districts say these youngsters over here come from this type of an environment, they can't handle this level of instructional material. I say: baloney.

Mr. MILLER. If the gentleman would yield.

Mr. GOODLING. Are you saying that seven students, say, from the same family are all equally as capable and will be able to do equally as well academically in achievement?

Mr. SANG. Oh, no. Each child has his own capabilities. And out of what we have done, I thought someone might ask, is we failed 11,000 students the first year. They say necessity is the mother of invention. And out of that has come another program that takes care of the child that I call the forgotten child. It does not qualify by psychological testing for special education, but at the same time it cannot fit into that mold we have tried to create and say you must slip through there.

We have identified for them a program done on a voluntary basis. The student through the parent can go into the program and end up with a diploma of competency but not a regular diploma. So we do expect certain standards if you are going to get a diploma from Jacksonville.

Mr. GOODLING. Now you are answering my question.

Mr. SANG. But we meet the need of every child.

Mr. GOODLING. I did that 20 years ago when there was a diploma of achievement and a diploma of competency. But what I was concerned about was that you were saying that every youngster, no matter what their ability may have been, could achieve some set level that you were going to set.

Mr. SANG. We are obligated to meet the needs. But what we are saying is every youngster, no matter what their ability, if they get a diploma will have to meet a certain standard in order to achieve it.

Mr. GOODLING. Let me ask you one last question. Do you have any fear or have you seen any possibility of teaching to tests?

Mr. SANG. It is always said that there might be teaching to tests. We teach to the objectives of a test and not teach the test. But as we have said so many times, if a youngster can memorize all the answers to some of those tests, they were a lot better off than what they were coming out.

The true test, and what I say to parents every time I talk to them, no matter what the test reveals, no matter whether you

approve or disapprove of a test, the true measure is when your child comes home, is your child reading better? Is your child computing better? Are they doing those things you would expect them to do better?

And in the business community, when you receive our graduates are they doing a better job of filling out the applications? Can they spell better? Can they write better? Can they do those things you have been complaining about? And in Jacksonville, Fla., they are all saying, "Yes, we do see a difference."

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Kildee.

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Hanford, you said that in the period from 1963 to 1970, in effect, the net became larger, more people were taking the test. The composition of the population taking the test was different, and that accounted, to a degree for the drop in scores. Have you computed the top one-quarter of those who took the test during those years from 1963 to 1970 to see whether there is a measurable drop in their scores?

Dr. HANFORD. I don't remember the answer to that. I remember the answer to whether we did in the second part of the decline to find out whether it did affect the high scoring students, and it did. In other words, the decline in the second half, from 1970 on, was one that was general.

I don't recall the answer to the first question.

Mr. KILDEE. That is a sufficient answer for my point at this time.

Now, did you try to analyze why that would affect the top one-quarter, because you could not say the composition of those taking the test would be the factor there.

Dr. HANFORD. No. I think these were, in a sense, the six factors the panel itself felt were responsible. One had to do with lower standards in the school, a change in the curriculum, more in the way of electives, fewer required courses, television, motivation, family, and the period of turmoil.

And the panel put it in terms of circumstantial evidence. If I could be permitted a more general comment on this subject, it seems to me that what we are talking about here are factors of quality and equality in education. And somehow there is a feeling abroad, I think, that these two are somehow incompatible.

You are asking about the high-scoring students and what happened to them, and their performance did go down. It happened there. The emphasis in recent years, it seems to me, in national policy has, as I tried to say in my comments, been focused on equality, not only taking on those many more students the year that the birth rate went from 2.7 million to 3.8 million back in the late 1940's but also to undertake the responsibilities of the civil rights movement and bring more students into the system.

So the emphasis has been on, I think, Federal policy in terms of equality, as it should have been. And it seems to me that what we are all grasping for now is a formula by which we can put emphasis on quality in education and join it with an emphasis on equality that we are already engaged in.

I get the impression from Messrs. Edmonds and Sang that we have got now some models that suggest that these two things can be done, that support of quality as they are talking about in

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education, standards, if you will, expectations, if you will, but how that support of quality is not going to threaten equality for kids in these schools.

What it is really doing is improving their chance for equality in education. So that, if I may go back and answer the question Mr. Goodling and I think Mr. Miller have raised in terms of Federal emphasis, I don't presume to have the answer, but it seems to me it is in terms of providing an emphasis on raising standards, quality in education, and keeping on with the struggle for equality, because they can be, I am sure, joined.

Mr. KILDEE. As a corollary to that, do you think those top one-quarter students who took the test they felt less competitive or more competitive in placing in that test in the proper position?

Dr. HANFORD. As has been pointed out, the SAT is a very small window on the world, but it does provide some insight. I think there is less competition. There has been for some years. Part of the reason for the early part of the decline is we opened up community colleges around the country. We made higher education accessible to a great many more people.

At the same time, this diminished the competition, if you will, for spaces. But I think society demanded less in that period of young people. I think this was shown particularly in terms of their motivation.

I happen to believe in the free enterprise system, too, and I think competition does play a role in it. I think the brief answer to your question was "yes, there was less competition for a variety of reasons."

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you very much, Doctor.

Do I have time for one question of Mr Sang?

Chairman PERKINS. [Nods affirmatively.]

Mr. KILDEE. You mentioned that the philosophy in your school district in Jacksonville is that the students would rise to the level of expectancy, and that you had somehow fostered a spirit of competition and achievement in the school system even between schools. You mentioned cheering when the comparison between the two schools was announced.

This is awfully hard to achieve since I think it is a societal problem, too. I can recall when a school millage is turned down, usually in a city school district, they say they are going to end football or band programs. The football and band parents really get out and push the millage. You don't very often see English literature parents for millage organized. There isn't much competition there.

I think we must in our schools show that there should be a spirit of achievement in other areas, just as we find it in our competitive sports. That problem is real. I have never seen English literature parents organized as such to get a millage passed.

I have seen football and band parents organized, so I commend you for whatever you have done to encourage that.

Mr. SANG. I think you would find some of those in Jacksonville now, and the reason is that we did not have the best reputation. And when they came together and they saw that we came from a school system that had been disaccredited to being the only large school district that is fully accredited.

You see, when they are talking about accredited school systems, they are not talking about their elementary school. So what we did was make the schools equal. If we didn't have to make them equal, then it would have been a small matter.

For every school district who have their schools accredited, what happens is some schools get attention and the others don't. So you see, we use our own philosophy. We set for ourselves a level of expectancy, and that is to make all of those schools equal. So by this competition, these parents are proud when they see that.

The public schools came in first, second, and third place. You see, people talk about how poor the public schools are and how good the private and parochial school is. You see, if you are giving $3,000 a year or $4,000 a year to put your kid in a private school, you are not going to go out and say that is a poor school because it shows you are a poor judge by spending that amount of money. So you are going to talk in favor of it.

But when we come out in academic competition and can show that we win just like in football or basketball, this does get the excitement going and the youngsters get caught up into it.

Let me just point out one thing about the programs. You asked earlier about the Federal programs. I think one of the major problems is that too much of it is given away. It doesn't require something to happen on the part of the person. We know that an individual who gets involved in an organization, Congressmen who get involved in their committee, are better committee members than those who just show up.

Well, the same is true of youngsters. So we have set up with these youngsters that they receive their compensatory education after school. They have got to do it on their own. Someone said how are they going to get transportation? They get transportation down to the pool hall and over to these other places they want to go, so if they want to get a diploma out of our school, then they get over here and get some compensatory education.

And let me tell you, those schools I was talking about which have a majority of black students, we have the highest after-school enrollment in those schools than in any of them we have. And that is why miracles are happening. The grades that they are making, they have learned more—and we have been able to document this—out of those classes after school where they are there for a purpose than they had over the last 5 or 6 years.

We can document it. And if we have accomplished anything today, we would like to invite you to Jacksonville to visit us. We would just like to place some question in your mind as to is what this guy is saying really true. We say it is true. It is there and it can happen, and we would like for some to come and share with us what is taking place.

Some people still think blacks can't learn. That is ridiculous. All one has to do is provide the opportunity and place the motivation there. Just providing the opportunity isn't enough. They must be motivated in order to achieve, and that is what is happening. We don't expect a thing less of a black child or a poor child than we do from a white child or a rich child. Our standards are all the same.

I have just entered into an agreement with Hampton Institute in Hampton, Va., which is, I feel, one of the best academically black

schools in the country. The president visited me recently, and we have agreed that we will enter into an agreement where we will compare the grades of the students coming out of Jacksonville—and let's first qualify it. From our two major black schools, the students have gone to Hampton Institute, haven't done as well at Hampton as the black students coming from the North.

So we made an agreement that we are going to run a correlation between the grades that the students make in our schools with the grades they make at Hampton Institute. In other words, if they make A's for us, we will expect them to make A's at Hampton Institute; if they make B's for us, B's at Hampton Institute.

In other words, we are not stopping with the minimum level. We are going to the top. That is what has happened. And it is true, in my opinion, that in some of our black schools where we did not expect as much, we had this high 10 percent that could score but they didn't have that extra push. It was like a golfer who goes out on the golf course who will play well with someone who doesn't play well, but he doesn't play his best. He gets to flubbing around. But when he goes out against someone who is real good, he goes up to his maximum.

So that is what we are creating there by establishing the high standards where the students will rise to it. We feel that we will get good results out of what we have agreed to do with Hampton Institute.

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Miller, we have another panel. Do you want to go ahead?

Mr. MILLER. I have a couple of questions.

Chairman PERKINS. Go ahead, Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. What happens to the 45 percent of students who did not pass the test in Jacksonville?

Mr. SANG. We try to counsel those students into the compensatory program. We don't put them into it because they must put themselves into it, but we try to counsel them into the remediation classes we have after school.

The majority of the students go into them, and as a result, by getting support and training, they retake the test and pass the test. We have just a small percentage who end up, by the time they get to their senior year, who are not able to accomplish it. Some just do not put forth the effort.

Mr. MILLER. But you are talking about 11th grade students. That is 45 percent of your 11th grade students who didn't pass it.

Mr. SANG. That is right. In the future, since we have our new requirements which have been in operation the last 2 years, we expect that by the time they get there in the future, they better not under social promotion, and we won't have that problem. But we have them, and these youngsters, as I indicated to you, it is almost unbelievable that you could take a youngster after school or you could take a youngster in the 6 weeks between 11th and 12th grade and teach him to do the things he hasn't learned to do in the prior 11 years.

But I am telling you it is happening. The difference is there is a motivation there. We have set a standard and they know they meet it or they do not graduate.

Mr. MILLER. I don't understand. At least, I am not clear on the second diploma system. You have two systems of diplomas or something?

Mr. SANG. Yes. Actually we have three. We have one which can be obtained by children who are in special education programs where they meet the requirements of special education, so they graduate with a special education diploma. We have the regular diploma that meets the regular expectation for graduation.

The new program we have is for these youngsters who, no matter how hard they try, if they have been properly diagnosed they cannot meet all of the requirements which would be expected for graduation from high school. They do not qualify for special education. They are right above that mark. But they just cannot read at the rate or compute or do those things we expect from them, so we have developed this program where they may become competent in art, they may become competent in music, they may become competent in plumbing, welding, whatever it may be. But we are going beyond just the typical schools like a school center might give out in vocational education but these youngsters cannot meet it. What has been happening in the past is if they couldn't meet it, they just promoted them. And those youngsters became frustrated and dropped out. It may be true that they are moved to the next grade without having done anything, but once they get there they sit there and cannot read, and there is no way they can pass their science.

Most school districts really don't have nonsocial promotion. Oh, they will say they don't have social promotion any longer, but what they are doing is they will keep a youngster back for 2 years and go ahead and promote him. We do not. They must meet the standard before they move.

Mr. MILLER. Dr. Edmonds, in the summary of your paper, "Effective Schools for the Urban Poor," you describe some qualities of schools and you also have heard some suggestion here that all of the Federal money that we have been providing has really not done what we would have liked it to do.

I understand there is a proposal in part of the jobs proposal in the President's budget to put additional money in the schools to teach in theory the students who have been left behind. Why would we put money into schools that don't possess these qualities, three out of five of them?

Dr. EDMONDS. If you did it, I would hope you would do it to encourage them to acquire these characteristics. You asked earlier the question what might the Federal Government consider doing in this regard. The first is I do think the Federal Government needs much better measures of the achievement levels it gets for the money it spends. You need much better instruments for assessment.

Second, you do need much better rules and regulations for responding to the evaluation you get. And finally, I think you do need programs that become less categorical than they have been and focus more on school-based intervention in a set of circumstances that can encourage that and can exploit what I think we know now and can put you in a much better position to hold

educational decisionmakers responsible for the outcomes they get. I hope that you do that.

Mr. MILLER. In the school-based intervention, again, the various descriptions you provide of the effective schools, I am a little lost how we would do that from Washington, D.C.

Dr. EDMONDS. For example, you made reference to the National Institute of Education. The National Institute of Education is the major instrument of the dissemination of Federal conclusions with respect to teaching and learning of any organization extant in the United States, including any private or public university or college.

The National Institute of Education could become, with congressional encouragement, much more aggressive than it has been in the dissemination of its own conclusions about what do we think now is the state of art of teaching and learning.

The National Institute of Education does not do much of that. It encourages inquiry, it encourages research, and it accumulates that information. But it is not particularly forceful because it has not been asked to be in representing such a perspective as congressional consensus might generate, assuming congressional consensus might be possible in such an area.

The only reason I am giving these abbreviated answers——

Mr. MILLER. In your remarks, the suggestion is they have gone the other direction. The NIE has developed the conclusions with which you disagree, in that sense, on family backgrounds and expectations of students rather than what schools can positively do. You are talking about a $90 million institution.

Dr. EDMONDS. Part of the reason I make optimistic remarks is Mr. Weber referred to the fact that both of us have spent a devil of a lot of energy in the last 10 years trying to undo what we saw as the damage of the Coleman report. He may be happy to know that in my most recent public meeting with Jim Coleman in New York City, Jim said that as far as he was concerned, if anyone used the Coleman report any more to argue that poor children in cities were not as educable as anyone else, then he was ready to repudiate any such interpretation.

Mr. MILLER. One final question. I am not quite clear on your description of the role of the family. I read it as you saying that educators or policymakers look to the family and make the decision about what level of attainment children from that kind of family can reach.

You are suggesting that that is not the case at all; that what should, in fact, be done is it is a question of how you develop resources, about children within that specific school. But what is the relationship of the family to success?

Obviously, we like to see our children in a beautiful light and a successful light, and we may be more inclined to talk to them and spend time with them if we think, in fact, they are developing in that fashion. So there must be some role, it seems to me, for the family in this encouragement process, in this learning process.

I just wondered if I am understanding your suggestions about what is not the role or what conclusions cannot be drawn.

Dr. EDMONDS. Some things we know about the family affirm and others null. First, the family's primary job is to inform the schools

what they want their children to learn when they send them there. That is the first role of the family.

The second role of the family is to encourage what children do in school as much as possible. And when families do that, pupil performance is easier. However, the last part may be the most important of all. School improvement and school reform cannot, must not, ought not, should not depend upon parent participation in educational decisionmaking, for three reasons.

The first reason is because the analysis of parent participation in educational decisionmaking does not reveal that it always works. Poor schools often turn out to have levels of parent participation at least as great as for good schools. I don't think we have sorted that out yet.

I think I would encourage NIE to pursue that. My own analysis is that the role of parents in educational decisionmaking has more to do with whose idea it was. That is, in and of itself, having families participate in schooling is not necessarily a way to raise achievement for children who don't do well.

But I do in general terms encourage parent participation for reasons of citizenship and all the rest. But it is a real mixed bag. Finally and most importantly, public school systems in the United States, in my judgment, are infatuated with the idea that the prerequisite to raising achievement for poor children is to compel their families to participate in their schooling more than they do.

We have many national rhetorical campaigns predicated on that assumption. It does cause me to ask a disquieting question: What the devil do you do for children whose families either are not interested in or do not respond to their schooling? What we do now is we explain their low achievement away by saying that is all you can expect of families who do not support their children's schooling.

So on the one hand, I encourage parent participation in educational decisionmaking. On the other and, I think it is given an altogether exaggerated attention. It is too tempting for educational decisionmakers and the like to explain away the lack of achievement for poor children by the fact that many, many American families do not now, nor do they plan in the immediate future, to have anything to do with their children's schooling.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me thank the entire panel. I have many questions I would like to ask myself. The testimony has been most interesting.

I would like to wind up the questions by asking Mr. Sang. Do you feel you have value received from the compensatory education program, from title I money in Jacksonville?

Mr. SANG. Yes, I do. The reason I do is because of the way we have managed it. I think in the beginning we did not receive the value from taking in; namely, the title I money. But I think it was our fault. We had not applied it. What we were doing was actually moving youngsters out of the class into special laboratories, and when we did that, they were missing what was happening in their classrooms.

So we have been evaluating what we are doing, and as a result of our own management and planning, I think too many times in public schools things that happen are just a happening and it isn't

done by good managerial planning. So we cleaned up our act, and as a result, in answer to your question, yes, I think we are getting good results based upon what we have done in using that money properly.

Chairman PERKINS. And do you think it is serving a good purpose?

Mr. SANG. No question about it.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much, all of you gentlemen. You have been very helpful to the committee.

Our next panel is Dr. Kenneth S. Goodman, professor of education, University of Arizona; Mr. Dennis Gray, associate director, Council for Basic Education; Dr. David Cavanaugh, principal of the Worthington High School; Mr. William Rosenbloom, who is a parent from St. Paul, Minn.

You are all going to talk about curriculum in the high school, as I understand.

[The prepared statements of Kenneth S. Goodman, Dennis Gray, David Cavanaugh, and William Rosenbloom follow:]

## Prepared Statement of Kenneth S. Goodman, Professor of Education, University of Arizona

The major educational achievement of the last decade was the rededication of our schools to equal educational opportunity for all American children regardless of race, ethnic and socioeconomic background of parental status. The legal, social, and moral barriers have largely been knocked down. We've removed some of the de facto racial and ethnic segregation by moving children by bus out of racially and economically segregated neighborhoods to more integrated schools.

But such actions, though necessary, are only the pre-requisites to the curricular and methodological reforms necessary to provide a true educational "affirmative" action program. In fact, both the profession and the public are aware that there has been little impact of any of these changes on the wide gap in the effectiveness of our schools in serving the privileged and underprivileged in our country.

The legal barriers are gone. Now we must actualize the promise: We must truly equalize educational opportunity. That's the challenge of the 80's.

The key to this actualization is the central truth that <u>education must start where the learners are</u>. That means we must put the learners at the center of our attention: who they are, where they come from, where they're going. Equal educational opportunity is not the equal chance for everyone to become the same, to be exposed to the same materials, the same body of knowledge. Equal educational opportunity is the right to grow, to expand, to become more fully functional. If we've failed to meet the needs of the minority youth and the children of the poor in our country, it's because we've made them adjust to the school rather than adjusting school to them.

In education, as in so many other attempts to eliminate the effects of discrimination, we thought simply opening closed doors was enough.

But all that opening the doors meant was that many pupils were admitted to classrooms not prepared for their coming. The curriculum, methods, materials, and teachers were largely not open to the differences in language, culture, values, and experience represented by their new pupils. That led to frustration and disillusionment for pupils, for teachers, for parents.

Some teachers found that their low expectations were proven true and some privately confirmed their belief in the inferiority of minority children. Parents reacted to low expectations and demanded that teachers maintain "high standards" which led to intensified pressures on pupils and narrowing the classroom experiences to those calculated to strengthen so-called basic skills. So the classrooms of minority pupils became arenas in which teachers strove to bring a devitalized but unyielding curriculum to alienated, uninspired and sometimes hostile pupils.

Federal programs tended to intensify through financial support what was already not working. Special remedial teachers pulled pupils out of their regular classrooms for extra drill on isolated skills. Federal and state guidelines stressed more frequent use of biased standardized tests. And, in turn, the test led to narrowing the curriculum even more to the things the test tested. Even many of the supposed success stories of these school programs have often turned out to be embittering failures. The scenario often goes like this:

A school (or school system) experiences an influx of minority and/or lower socioeconomic level pupils.

Both the teachers and pupils experience initial discouraging affects. Difference becomes labeled deficiency.

Schools decide "these" children are low achievers because they have difficulty learning.

The conclusion is reached that these children need massive doses of basic skills and more formal highly structured programs. There's no time for the frills.

So the schools adopt a tightly sequenced "direct instruction" program that deals mechanistically with reading with lesser amounts of writing and arithmetic and virtually nothing else.

Tests are chosen which narrowly focus on mechanistic skills.

After a short period of use of the program, three to six months, the children are tested. To everyone's delight, they do moderately well with the group mean being near the national norms. The schools announce they have achieved a successful program for "these" children. But as time continues, the results on the tests become less distinctive and by the time the pupils are in middle grades they are showing the low group test performance they showed before. Furthermore, the pupils have been turned off by the constant pressure and the monotony and barrenness of classroom activity.

The key fallacy involved in all this is that "these" children, as a group, have difficulty learning and that accounts for low achievement patterns. When they're given intensive drill, they do in fact learn what they're being taught. There is nothing wrong with them as learners. And they're able to perform well on tests where the items are much like the exercises they've been drilled on. But the learning is not useful or relevant and is narrowly focussed on skill for its own sake. So as standardized tests in ascending grades begin to shift away from isolated skills to integration and use of reading, writing and arithmetic the pupils show poorly.

The pattern of response of pupils to such rigid, narrow and barren skills programs is not unique to minority and lower socioeconomic level

pupils. But many of the more privileged pupils have several things going for them.

1. The schools and teachers tend to view middle class pupils positively and orient instruction to the experiences common to middle class pupils.
2. Their homes provide many school-related experiences and provide many alternate opportunities to develop abilities that schools value.
3. As they progress, the school program tends to broaden.

All this narrowing of the school experience for the "disadvantaged" has been happening in an era in which the schools generally have been undergoing severe pressure to utilize industrial "systems" approaches and cost accounting procedures to show that tax payers are getting value for their money.

This industrialization has particularly taken its toll from underprivileged children. "Accountability" criteria for promotion and graduation are linked to standardized tests or to criterion referenced tests. High failure rates create defeatist feelings among pupils and low morale among teachers who feel they're being blamed for the inadequacies of the system. The accountability laws accomplish, absolutely, the segregation and discrimination which were once legally mandated but now is done in the name of achievement. Even patterns of de facto neighborhood segregation are being reestablished as those who can afford to do so flee schools with low test scores.

But the schools can achieve the goal of actualizing equal educational opportunity. We can return to a positive path of accepting the learners and their cultures and building the professionalism in our teachers and administrators that can produce universally effective schools.

Even among the privileged our schools have not tended to accept the full

range of differences among children. Those whose interests, values, abilities vary significantly from the norm have not been well served by inflexible curricula. The trend toward focus on "basic skills" and minimal competencies has hurt these children, too. To provide equal educational opportunity, schools must accord all children the right to be different and help them grow, too. Too many creative children are turned off by schools.

A Historical View

Thomas Jefferson's dream of schools as a democratizing force in the development of our nation, with free education available for all, was a long time in developing.

Our first century was long past before we could claim with any reality that every American child had a free elementary education truly available. And not until a combination of court decisions, child labor laws, compulsory attendance laws, and economic changes occurred did we make universally available secondary education. The comprehensive high school was slow in its evolution and it still has not shaken off the narrowing tradition of secondary education as preparation for the university.

Early advocates of compulsory, free public education sold the public on the role of schools as the crucible or melting pot that made loyal Americans out of culturally diverse immigrants. They sold the immigrants on education as the socio-economic ladder into the middle class. They sold industrial and political leaders on the need for an educated work force to function in a modern industrial society. That meant that schools aimed toward conformity to a narrow norm and justified that in terms of preparing pupils for their roles as workers and citizens.

As schools developed, their objectives became more complex. They became concerned with education for citizenship, for mental and physical health,

for the future as well as the present. The curriculum which had grown in a largely unplanned way in response to various traditions and pressures needed to become more rational and more relevant to the needs of learners and the aims of education.

Professionalism in education began to develop with a growing base in knowledge of learning, teaching, child development, and curricular theory.

The goals of professionalism were:

Schools that could serve our pluralistic American society, now and in the future.

Schools that could serve each and all learners.

Schools staffed by knowledgeable professionals dedicated to their pupils and to the improvement of education.

Almost from the beginning educators tended to polarize. Some saw an educational science emerging with an explicit quantifiable technology which would solve all problems of teaching and learning an explicit detail with a high degree of efficiency and predictability.

Others saw the relationship between teaching and learning as more subtle and complex. They saw education in essentially humanistic terms and the science of education as focussing around child study, curriculum development and the professional knowledge of teachers.

It was John Dewey more than anyone that articulated the essentials of humanistic education based in scientific understanding of the learning and teaching as they relate to developing personal and social needs.

Though Dewey began publishing his ideas before the turn of the century, it was not until the thirties that his ideas began to seriously influence schools and teaching. Some of Dewey's key premises were:

- Adapting schools to learners rather than making learners adapt to

the schools. Accepting their differences.

- Defining the curriculum in terms of children and their needs and placing the child at the center of concern.
- Viewing the role of the school as accepting learners and expanding on where they are when they come to school.
- Involving children in learning by doing, that is making them active participants in their own education.
- Integrating the curriculum and centering it around problem solving experiences.
- Making education life itself rather than preparation for living.

The era of the 30's and 40's was a period of great innovation and experimentation in American schools. Much of this innovation was based on the work of Dewey and others who came to be called progressive educators. Some major achievements of the time were:

- Expansion of social studies programs organized around social topics and problems and integrated with the language arts through "units".
- Elimination of non-promotion, tracking, and ability grouping and provision for grouping within heterogeneous classes by interest and pupil choice in order to serve the full range of abilities. The work of social psychologists had strong influence to redefine the classroom as a social system.
- Organizing the curriculum to move from familiar to unfamiliar and from near to far building on what was known about children's conceptual development.
- Focus in selection of content on function and relevance for the learners.

In this same era, a child study movement flourished dedicated to providing teachers with as much insight as possible into children and their natural physical and mental growth so that teachers might be better able to reach each child.

I don't want to paint a picture of a golden age in education or claim that these changes were realized in all or even a majority of schools. American schools have always shown a wide range of response to innovation. What I want to show, however, is that there has been in existence for some time an articulated and demonstrably effective base for dealing with serving all children and expanding on cultural pluralism and individual difference in our schools.

In 1928, Harold Rugg described the child-centered school in this manner:

> "Pupils are alive, active, working hard, inventing, organizing, contributing original ideas, assembling materials, carrying out enterprises. As individuals and as social groups pupils grow and they grow in their capacity to govern themselves, to organize machinery for handling their collective affairs as well as in individual capacity for creative self-expression."
>
> (Rugg, 1928, p. 57)

Somehow as a result of a series of events: World War II, the huge expansion of our schools in the forties and fifties to cope with the population explosion, the Sputnik era with its emphasis on academic competition and high schievers, the tremendous pressures on our schools that the civil rights upheavals produced, and of economic and political pressures in the current era, our schools lost the direction set by the progressives.

What our schools need for the 80's is a new progressive education built on the solid base of the original movement but informed by new scientific knowledge about human development, cognition, language, and the relationship of teaching and learning, This new progressivism needs to be focussed on those children and youth whose needs our schools are currently not according equal educational opportunity.

A key tenet of the neo-progressive movement must be accepting cultural and linguistic difference and treating it as strength rather than weakness.

Several decades of research and theoretical development have supported the wisdom of starting where the learner is. We can demonstrate now that all children learn language easily and well and that the form of language they learn, the dialect of their home and community, is the one best suited to their needs for communication, for thinking and for learning. Starting where the learner is means accepting the home language as the base and helping children to expand this base in and out of school.

Each dialect of each language, we now understand is equal to all others in serving the language needs of its users. All dialects are systematic and rule governed. All provide for growth and change to meet their users needs.

If pupils come to school with a language other than English then schools must accept that language and support the expansion if its use while assisting growth in productive and receptive control of English. We cannot impose the condition on non-English speakers that they must first acquire English before we will permit them to learn in school.

If pupils come to school with a socio-regional dialect which has low social status we cannot impose on them the condition that they must learn "standard" English before they may learn in school. And if, as is true of most bilinguals in the United States, pupils come to school controlling low status dialects of two languages we cannot negate this strength and render them "non-verbal".

Similarly in recent decades ethnographic research has demonstrated that there are no "culturally deprived" people. All children bring a cultural heritage to school. Schools can be flexible and adapt to the cultural pluralism of American pupils and help them expand on their cultural heritage. In doing so they are working with pupils rather than



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at cross purposes to them. There is no need to force pupils to choose between what they are and what they want to become. They can develop pride in their ethnic, linguistic, and racial heritage as they expand their ability to function in wider cultural circles.

From cognitive psychology, we've learned that learning is interactive: what the learners already know and believe strongly influences how they will interpret new experience and what they will learn. Dewey preferred the term transaction, to indicate the extent to which learners are involved through experience with their environment. Piaget has helped us to understand learning as assimilation and accommodation. Learning is seen as a process of internal growth and change within the learner.

All of these developments have led us away from simplistic passive views of learning in which young people are considered empty vessels to be filled with knowledge, one piece at a time. Schools, to be successful for all pupils, cannot be places where things are done to children. They must be places where children grow through useful relevant experience. We've come to understand that literacy develops naturally just as oracy does when language is meaningful and functional. That leads to holistic literacy programs in which the emphasis is on using real meaningful written language from the very beginning. Research helps us to understand the driving need to make sense out of things that motivates and keeps reading moving. It helps us to understand that children develop schema which are strongly influenced by their cultures which they use to predict, organize, and comprehend what they read. It helps us understand that we learn to read by reading and to write by writing.

Out of this emerges a greatly strengthened foundation for the child-centered curriculum Dewey and his colleagues advocated. It's an optimal

curriculum for actualizing equal educational opportunity because it sets neither pre-requisites for learning nor limits on what can be learned. It is not a curriculum to be imposed on learners but a curriculum to be defined in terms of the learners themselves. It is sensitive to the socio-cultural and personal differences among learners and expands on strengths. It is open not closed, positive not negative, expansive not restrictive, dynamic not fixed. It views knowledge as relative to the learner. It sees ends becoming means as pupils learn to learn.

In this neo-progressive view schools can personalize learning while helping children to use and respond effectively to social interaction. That's because each child is seen as unique and his/her interests, abilities, enthusiasms, needs, and growth patterns are respected.

This is a curriculum that is sensitive to and responsive to minority and underprivileged learners because it is sensitive to all learners. Its basic principles and methods are the same in the inner city as they are in the affluent suburbs because flexibility is their most essential quality. It builds on the universal human attributes of language and learning while being adaptive to the personal and social differences to be found in any classroom.

The role of the teachers in the new progressive classrooms is that of facilitator, guide, monitor. The teachers are informed professionals able to help children define problems, see relationships, identify needs and seek solutions. The teachers know children and they know about teaching, learning, language, and the structure of knowledge. They can monitor progress, see developing strengths, help pupils find their way around barriers. They can shape the curriculum to take advantage of the learner's strengths. They help learners define their aims.

The materials of learning are those of the real world including the community itself. But there is active use of a full range of media to bring the world into the classroom.

An evolution of school texts from the controlling force that determines the day-to-day curriculum to resource books that teachers can use to support a flexible program needs to be continued. School texts have deteriorated badly in quality and utility as a result of the back-to-basics movement. A good deal of the progress made in past decades to make texts more usable, interesting and more relevant to learners has been reversed. Recent texts are overlayed with sterile management systems keyed to narrowly viewed skill sequences. Publishers advertise how old-fashioned the ideas in their texts are.

Teachers may need to set aside the use of such text series and use other resources to serve the varied needs, interests and ability levels of their pupils.

Our classrooms need to be organized so that teachers can make learning relevant to each learner. That means the use of interest centers. It means paperback and hardcover book libraries in the classrooms. It means movable, modular furniture to facilitate individual and small group instruction. A variety of staffing plans including teams composed of teachers and aides needs to be used. That can make it possible to provide for language difference as well as difference in interest and ability. It's less important that we open the classroom walls than that we open the curriculum and minds of teachers and administrators.

In recent decades the role of school administrator has narrowed to that of manager of the industrialized structured system. In the new progressive tradition the principal must once again become the curricular leader

facilitating and guiding the professional staff and making sure all children are welcome and growing.

The entire educational profession needs to be revitalized to make use of new knowledge in planning the new progressive curriculum. Federal programs can be very useful in encouraging the research, synthesizing, and dissemination necessary to create a practical program teachers can implement. Particularly our teacher education colleges need to develop people who can translate theory and research into practice through in-service education for teachers. Highly effective teachers, particularly those who are minority members themselves, need to be encouraged to develop themselves through such programs as teacher educators and administrators so that they may lead the way for others.

Current uses of standardized tests must be abandoned. Nothing has been more destructive of teacher morale and curricular relevance than the abuse and misuse of group evaluation. These tests are the chief instrument of institutional discrimination and the major barrier to equalizing educational opportunity.

In any case, neo-progressism has useful alternatives to offer:

Self evaluation. If children are involved in their own learning, if the aims are their aims then they can judge their own progress. Have I understood? Am I learning? Is my solution to the problem an effective one? What else do I need to know? Am I making progress? These are questions teachers can help pupils ask and answer. No evaluation is more useful than self evaluation in planning further learning.

Our schools have been preoccupied with evaluation for rewards and punishments. So we confused the purposes of evaluation. Evaluation's primary purpose is to see where learners are so they can be helped to grow.

Kid-watching. Earlier we said an important child study movement was flourishing in the 30's. Teachers used to become "kid-watchers" once again. They need to know how to observe learners and infer their strengths and needs so that they can facilitate their growth. Teachers spend up to 30 hours a week with children but expensive test programs have undercut their confidence to form their own evaluative judgements. They've come to believe that a test written in Princeton, New Jersey or Iowa City and administered in a few hours can somehow show more than they know about their students. We must give the authority and responsibility for useful evaluation back to the teachers.

Public scrutiny. The public, particularly parents, have a right to know what our schools are doing. Parents need to be involved in planning. They deserve regular professional reports and they must be welcome in the schools. They need the help of professionals in knowing how to judge pupil progress. That means they need help in developing alternatives to "common sense" views of what schools are accomplishing.

Conclusion

The new progressivism I am calling for is by no means a reality yet. But I'm convinced that there are strong forces which will make it a reality.

One force is the knowledge base I've cited. This knowledge base from recent scientific inquiry creates a strong pressure for change.

Another force is rebellion of teachers and other professional educators against the dehumanizing and limiting minimal competency-accountability-systems programs. Teachers have been pushed too far and their alarm for the welfare of children is causing them to seek positive alternatives.

But the major pressure is from the children themselves. We've made them a promise: that promise is equal educational opportunity. They will not be denied that. They will continue to reject schools, in one way or another, until our schools become truly open to them all.

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DENNIS GRAY, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, COUNCIL FOR BASIC EDUCATION

THE HIGH SCHOOL CURRICULUM: OBSERVATIONS AND PROSPECTS

The Council for Basic Education is happy to present a view of secondary schooling that is intended--as I understand the chairman's invitation--to help supply background information and opinion for considering any legislative initiatives affecting secondary schools that may come before the committee during this session.

First, a few words about the Council for Basic Education, a paragraph borrowed from The Washington Post for the purpose of baring our biases from the beginning:

> In the education business--where beguiling gimmicks come and go with the regularity of trouser cuffs--the Council stands like some unchanging force of nature. From its founding in 1956, it has argued over and over for a single proposition: that the main purpose of schools is to teach children an "aristocracy of basic subjects"--reading, writing, literature, mathematics, history and government, science, foreign languages and the arts. Anything that distracts them from that purpose...makes the Council cranky and quarrelsome.

Most people do not know it, but the term "basic education" was invented by the founders of the Council for Basic Education back in 1956, when they wanted a new term to describe the kind of public school education that they advocated. They believed that there are some subjects that all students should study and master to the best of their ability. Putting it another way, they believed that some subjects are more important--far more important--than others.

Twenty years ago, Clifton Fadiman, a pioneer member and spokesman for the Council, explained the rationale of selecting English, mathematics, science, history, foreign languages, and the arts as basic subjects. It was, Fadiman said,

> ...not a matter of accident. Nor is it a matter of preference. The teacher may not teach only what happens to interest him. Nor may the student choose to be taught only what happens to interest him. The criteria of choice are many and far from immutable. But there is an essential one. Basic education concerns itself with those matters which, once learned, enable the student to learn all the other matters, whether trivial or complex, that cannot properly be the subjects of elementary and secondary schooling. In other words, both logic and experience suggest that certain subjects have generative power and others do not have generative power.
>
> ...Among [the] subjects [with generative power] are those that deal with language, whether or not one's own; forms, figures and numbers; the laws of nature; the past; and the shape and behavior of our common home, the earth. Apparently these master...subjects endow one with the ability to learn the minor or self-terminating subjects. They also endow one, of course, with the ability to learn the higher, more complex developments of the master subjects themselves.[2]

The idea of a basic and limited curriculum was not a new one in 1956, of course, but events and trends in public schooling then and now amply demonstrate that the nation's commitment to basic education is far from unshakeable.

The tides of educational fashion are powerful, unpredictable and erratic. As a result, sensible generalizations about the vastly heterogeneous array of secondary schools in this country are elusive. But I won't let that deter me from responding to the committee's request. Nor will I dwell lengthily on the many examples of excellence in the schools that bolster the Council's bedrock optimism about the future. Instead (and in keeping with The Washington Post's characterization), I'll mainly be cranky and quarrelsome.

I feel that way because the condition of the high school curriculum in America reminds me sadly of the condition of too many American cities--undisciplined sprawl at the edges and creeping decay at the core. The high schools of the nation are afflicted with curriculum sprawl and are blighted by the debilitation of teaching and learning in the basic subjects.

Just as cities have found ways to prevent the death of urban life and even to restore its vigor, schools must arrest the decline of learning and renew their capacity for basic education. This means finding agreement in every school district to limit what citizens want their schools to accomplish and to concentrate energies on a modest set of goals. An accumulation of courses, electives, governmental mandates, court decisions and experimental programs has sapped the ability and the will of high schools to assure their graduates of mastery in basic academic subjects, the subjects that enable people to learn whatever new knowledge and skills life may demand.

The National Assessment of Educational Progress, now just past ten years old, has sent America a gloomy report card. The achievement of 9, 13, and 17-year-old students in several of the basic subjects has been surveyed twice in ten years. What is the record of the 17 year-olds, high school juniors and seniors? Only in reading has there been no decline; reading scores have held steady in the 1970s--not high, but steady. In science, writing, social studies and mathematics, scores have dropped. Student mastery of the mechanics of writing (capitalization and punctuation) has not fallen off, but content and coherence have worsened. Achievement in social studies has dropped badly, along with students' knowledge of politics. In math also, these older students have not fared well. A report released last September tells of a troubling weakness in problem-solving and gives no cause for joy about computation skills. The good news about improved mathematics achievement among younger black students does not apply to their elders in high schools. You might want to raise one cheer, however, for improving mastery of metric terminology as the nation centimeters toward the goal of joining the rest of the world in measuring metrically.[3]

I turn now to some observations on the high school curriculum, a

word meaning, in Neil Postman's phrase, "a course of study intended to train or cultivate both mind and character."[4]

You must recognize from the start of this discussion that I may sometimes blur important differences among the many courses of study that usually are compressed into the word curriculum:

| | |
|---|---|
| PUBLISHED CURRICULUM: | (1) What is written in statutes, regulations, board directives, and district guides. |
| | (2) What is contained in textbooks, which control 90% of classroom time and which are heavily influenced by what sells in Texas and California. |
| TESTED CURRICULUM: | What testmakers think students have had a chance to learn. |
| TAUGHT CURRICULUM: | What teachers present in classrooms; students may engage in part of it. |
| REAL CURRICULUM: | Whatever students actually learn, in school or elsewhere. |

For the most part, I will be trying to talk about the published curriculum, the fiction we all share about what our children are studying for 6.5 hours a day and 180 days a year through four years of high school.

It is now common to hear the high school curriculum described as a failed attempt to be all things to all people, as my metaphor of urban sprawl suggested. Curriculum sprawl is variously termed a smorgasbord; a patchwork; an accretion of watered-down requirements, flabby electives, and slapdash mini-courses; altogether lacking in coherence and deficient in value for the purpose of general education.

A survey of high school principals by the National Institute of Education in 1977 revealed that in the preceding five years 35% of the schools sampled had increased the number of course requirements and 64% had increased their offerings of electives.[5]

This is a case of more equalling less: giving more to teachers and students means having less time for each task. And when time is stolen from basic subjects--the subjects that are the building blocks of life-long learning--students are cheated.

Let's list some of the programs funded by the Congress and administered by the Office of Education that add to the high school curriculum:

| | |
|---|---|
| Law-related education | Civic and citizenship education |
| Vocational education | Energy education |
| Career education | Metric education |
| Alcohol and drug abuse education | Population education |

Marine and aquatic education

While acknowledging the praiseworthy goals of all these programs, is it inappropriate to question their importance relative to basic learning skills, or to the basic subjects urged by the Council for Basic Education, or to programs in aid of disadvantaged students?

Along with the Congress, state legislatures compete for the precious time of high school students. The following table illustrates the willingness of states to weaken the power of schools to do anything well by compelling them to do too much.

PERCENT OF STATES WITH LEGISLATED SUBJECTS

| Basic Subjects | Percent | Other Subjects | Percent |
|---|---|---|---|
| U.S. history | 64 | Alcohol and drugs | 68 |
| English | 56 | Physical education | 66 |
| Government | 54 | Health | 58 |
| Geography | 40 | Driver training | 36 |
| Mathematics | 28 | Morals | 28 |
| Science | 24 | Fire prevention | 24 |
| | | Humane treatment of animals | 22 |
| Foreign languages | 12 | Agriculture, free enterprise, conservation, consumer education, vocational education, temperance, & venereal diseases | Under 20 but over 10 |
| Arts | Under 10 | First aid, sanitation, traffic safety, & Bird Day | Under 10 |

Source: Phi Delta Kappan, Oct. 1979

Plainly, both federal and state legislators share in the national penchant for inventing a new course to cure any freshly-discovered social ill. Ready as we are to make our schools the engines of reform, we have depleted their capacity for basic education.

Fortunately, there is a heightened awareness throughout the nation of a need to strengthen the teaching and learning of the basics. Let me mention some of the hopeful signs that can be seen from the perspective of the Council for Basic Education.

Possibly the most constructive effect of the back-to-basics movement is a belated emphasis on basic learning skills and on remediation for students still in school who failed to master them in the early grades. The 1977 NIE study previously mentioned found that 78% of high schools had increased their attention to basic skills in the preceding five years and that 82% had students from grades 10-12 in math remediation, 87% in remedial reading.

Another widespread indicator of mood is the so-called minimum competency testing movement, which, although susceptible to misuse, is now present in some form in 40 of the 50 states. The laudable premises of this effort are that all students can learn and that ways can be found to insure that they do.

We are seeing new and welcome indications that fewer electives are being offered as substitutes for required basic courses and that the popularity of mini-courses is waning.

Concern for the improvement of writing skills is burgeoning, partly in the form of better sequencing of writing courses throughout the curriculum and partly in workshops to help teachers become better writers themselves. The Council for Basic Education is active on this front.

One encouraging example of interest in the schooling of gifted and talented students is a 52% increase over the last four years in the number of examinations taken as part of the College Board's Advanced Placement Program.[6] Originally designed to permit bright and industrious high school students to complete college-level work while yet in secondary school, the Advanced Placement Program produces the added benefit of raising the sights of teachers and students throughout a school.

The trends of 1980 are not entirely happy, however. Several of the basic subjects are threatened by a combination of forces:

- A destructively narrow definition of basic education, one limiting it to the traditional Three R's.
- Budget-cutting aimed at subjects that have been mistakenly labelled frills, the arts and foreign languages, especially.
- A continuing parade of rival "educations," from cardio-pulmonary resuscitation to hunter education.
- An exaggerated concern for career education, which often means sacrificing basic subjects for "experiential education" or trendy courses that falsely appear to be good preparation for the work place.

Specifically, science, foreign languages, the arts, and mathematics are in trouble.

The National Science Foundation says that science instruction is hard aground in the schools. Over two decades of fast sailing ended in 1977 when an ocean of federal money dried up. In 1980 more than half of American high schools require only one year of science study, usually completed by the end of tenth grade. Moreover, there has been considerable slippage on the gains achieved in the post-Sputnik heyday. Nearly one-third of the high schools used the much-praised, NSF-supported biology curriculum before the dwindling of funds three years ago; that fraction has now fallen to 15%. In physics, the drop has been from 14% to 4%.

Roughly a tenth of high school teachers believe they are unqualified to teach an assigned course. There is often too little money for laboratory equipment and materials; thus, laboratory instruction is fast disappearing. In the face of the science-related problems that confront us in energy, transportation, defense and the environment, the situation is dire. Has there ever been a more urgent need for science literacy--the capacity for critical, rational thinking about public policy coupled to an understanding of scientific principles and methods?[7]

Foreign languages and the arts have never been well-supported in the public schools. Course offerings in these subjects constitute no more than 5% to 8% of the total number of courses offered in high schools, while student enrollments in foreign languages make up only 2% to 15% of total course enrollments, depending on the size of schools (smaller schools have fewer offerings). The figures for the arts are lower, 2% to 7% of enrollments.[8] When budgets are being tightened, any courses not required for everyone (for example, English) are especially susceptible to cutbacks. This appears to be the fate of foreign languages and the arts.

The jeopardy of foreign languages flies in the face of their importance to achieving mastery of standard English and in addition hardly squares with the nation's sudden awakening to the importance of international studies. A presidential commission has recently reminded us of our almost total inability to teach Russian, Chinese, Japanese, or Arabic in our high schools, even though our future is surely connected to speakers of these languages. What may be worse is our hopelessly dilettantish approach to the learning of foreign languages even when we do study them. Here is an informed observation that may help to dispel the doubts of any who seriously question the importance of foreign language study:

> If 18 percent of all public school students in grades 7-12 study a modern foreign language, and if 90 percent of those students are in the first or second year course, then only 1.8 percent of American students ever reach the third year or higher. Let us grant that in any given class that figure might creep up to 4 or 5 percent....But the same figure in practically every other advanced nation would be close to 100 percent. Indeed, many Third World nations now boast similarly high percentages. Thus, the United States' neglect of modern foreign language study in the schools is an absolute anomaly among nations.

e statement is taken from "Foreign Languages in the American Sch a paper prepared by S. Frederick Starr of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies for President Carter's Commission on Foreign Language and International Studies. Starr contends that our "traditional neglect" of foreign language study was "enshrined and even legitimated" by the National Defense Education Act of 1958, with the result that foreign language teaching still lacks a proper foundation in schools.

For more than twenty years, the Council for Basic Education has insisted that foreign language study is part of basic education, not a frill or an adornment of the elite. The basic importance of foreign language study for Americans has never been more evident that it is today, when people are not only talking globally but beginning to think and act globally.

The last of the basic subjects now in marked difficulty in the high schools is mathematics. The "new math" has fallen into disfavor, especially with teachers and parents, who never did cotton to it or learn to cope with it. Math educators now acknowledge that the new math failed in elementary schools. There is confusion and conflict about what should or will happen to math instruction in secondary schools.[9] While professional disagreements can only be harmful to the education of our children, we must recognize that the majority of high schools require only one year of mathematics--yet another cause for concern.

I will end this discussion of curriculum trends by mentioning four others, the first three having been identified recently by Scott Thomson, Executive Director of the National Association of Secondary School Principals. At the Council for Basic Education, we see all of them as constructive and promising.

- New courses are being created to help students achieve "computer literacy," a development not to be confused with computer-assisted instruction, which has produced mixed results at best.

- New research on brain functioning is beginning to improve our understanding of differing styles of learning and thus our approaches to teaching.

- The emphasis in physical education, especially in the later years of high school, is moving away from traditional team sports and toward individual sports that can be enjoyed by men and women for a lifetime.

- History is the subject of a renewal, partly because of the global awareness previously mentioned, partly because of a belief that history became lost in the shuffle of social studies, and partly because of Frances FitzGerald's alarms about history textbooks in her recent book, America Revised.[10]

I invite your attention to the Council for Basic Education Commission on the Place of History in the Schools, now at work under the sponsorship of the National Endowment for the Humanities, The Rockefeller Foundation and the Institute for Educational Affairs. The commission is scheduled to report in late 1980. I will make sure that the committee receives a copy of the report.

In view of the condition of the high school curriculum at the start of the 1980s, it is no surprise that the winds of reform are blowing briskly. John Henry Martin, author of the 1974 Office of Education report, The Education of Adolescents, said recently that "the time has come to agree upon a more circumspect and modest set of aims for the American high school."[11] Historian Diane Ravitch sets the proper agenda:



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> The schools must concentrate on doing well that which they are fitted to do best. The schools are the only community agency in which young people may gain a liberal education, an education that emphasizes intellectual growth and that prepares students to assume the rights and responsibilities of citizens in a free society. Even if nothing else were to change, the reordering of the schools' priorities would itself constitute an important reform in secondary education.[12]

The first step will be to learn to say no to the endlessly multiplying assignments that are given to schools. Next, there must be movement toward consensus in defining a basic curriculum, a definition broader than the Three Rs, but inhospitable to courses in dairy products or hygiene.

The high school curriculum, however defined, can never be more than the means to reach the desired ends of schooling. On behalf of the Council for Basic Education, I urge the following goal for curriculum reform:

> It should be the central purpose of the public schools to give instruction in the basic learning skills (reading, writing, and computing) and in the fundamental intellectual disciplines (English, mathematics, science, history, foreign languages, and the arts) to the end that all students attain the capacity for independent thought.
>
> Schooling thus defined is the cornerstone on which all other forms of education must rest: education for citizenship, for careers in a free enterprise economy, for cultural and personal enrichment, and for membership in society.

A thoroughly discouraging fact in this business of rebuilding a curriculum is that few changes are more difficult to fashion. The impediments are formidable:

- The power of the college curriculum to influence curriculum planning for high schools, whether or not it should, because it is the model most familiar to the planners and because it dictates college preparatory studies.

- State or local decisions on adapting textbooks, which often are made with scant attention to the advice of curriculum planners.

- The temptation to teach mainly what will be covered by standardized achievement tests.

- Ambiguity or conflict about who's in charge--teachers, taxpayers, board members, or legislators.

- The capacity of teacher training and tenure to sanctify the status quo.

- Ambivalence toward federal involvement--dollars, yes; governance, no.

- Inertia, the general resistance to change that is common to most institutions.

- Deficiencies among school leaders in knowledge and skills needed to effect change.

- The fragmentation of power among competing interest groups, especially teacher unions, school boards, and legislators, with students and parents having almost no power.

- Unavoidable conflicts among valued priorities in an era of dwindling resources.

Perhaps the most disquieting thought--and the most compelling reason to get on with the job of making schools concentrate on what they can do best--is Neil Postman's idea that the preeminent curriculum in America is television. His raw statistics don't tell the whole story, but they are appalling enough. Schooling takes 13 years and 11,500 hours. In those same years television commands 15,000 hours from the typical youth, almost 30% more than school. Adding time spent with records, radio, and films, the total comes to some 20,000 hours, nearly double the claim of schools.[13] I recommend that you read Postman's essay, understand his argument that television opposes all the essential values

and methods of school, and conclude with him that schooling must become a stronger counterforce to television.

Postman's call for more effective schools brings me to my final point, which might well be headlined "The Irrelevance of Curriculum." What I mean to say is that curriculum repair in and of itself will not produce better teaching and learning. If curriculum is the word for what we want students to learn, then whether they learn it depends on whether their school is effective, not on what was decided their curriculum would be. In recent years, researchers have begun to discover what makes an effective school. A good place to begin a review of these important findings is a book from England called Fifteen Thousand Hours by Michael Rutter and several colleagues.[14] Rutter reports on an eight-year study of twelve London secondary schools, proving conclusively that schools have a great effect on children and that it matters which school children attend. The proof that schools do make a difference contradicts the destructive nonsense that has ruled much educational thinking for fifteen years.

Rutter's counterpart in the United States is Ronald Edmonds, a professor at the Harvard Graduate School of Education and also Senior Assistant for Instruction to Chancellor Macchiarola of the New York City public schools. Edmonds has just begun a pilot program in 32 New York City schools to test whether the characteristics of effective schools can be transplanted.[15] The work of Rutter and Edmonds bears close watching by all who care about the quality of American schools.

As an attachment to this statement, I am providing the committee with a draft of materials now in preparation at the Council for Basic Education that will amalgamate information on school effectiveness.

Successful schools--those where children learn--have an ethos made up of six characteristics:

1. Pervasive emphasis on academic achievement.
2. Strong academic leadership by the principal.
3. Clear expectations that all can and will learn.
4. Regular academic testing to measure progress.
5. A climate of orderliness.
6. Reinforcement from parents and other citizens.

The Council soon will publish a guide to what makes an effective school as part of our effort to help parents, teachers, administrators and school boards to reverse curriculum sprawl, to revitalize the basic subjects at the core of the curriculum, and to strengthen the effectiveness of teaching and learning in American schools.

From its inception in 1956, the Council for Basic Education has steadfastly believed that there is an inseparable connection between the survival of American democracy and the excellence of American public institutions. Currently, there is a serious faltering of the people's confidence in schools, just as there is in government and other institutions. In this testimony, as in all our work at the Council, we wish to highlight the steps necessary to strengthen public education. We can and must take these steps. To do less is to imperil the nation's children and thus our nation's future.

NOTES


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3. George Neill, "Washington Report," Phi Delta Kappan, November 1979.

4. Neil Postman, "The First Curriculum: Comparing School and Television," Phi Delta Kappan, November 1979.

5. High School '77 (The National Institute of Education, 1978).

6. Carl Haag, Educational Testing Service (Interview in January 1980).

7. Gerard Piel, "The Sorry State of School Science: A Study in Decline," The National Elementary Principal, January 1980.

8. "High School Course Offerings and Enrollments--A Normative Reference," an undated report by the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.

9. Bruce R. Vogeli, "The Rise and Fall of the 'New Math'," (a lecture given on February 5, 1976), Teachers College, Columbia University.

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12. Diane Ravitch (in a response to John Henry Martin), Educational Leadership, January 1980.

13. Neil Postman, ibid.

14. Michael Rutter et al, Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children (Harvard University Press, 1979).

15. Ronald Edmonds, "Effective Schools for the Urban Poor," Educational Leadership, October 1979.

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WHAT MAKES AN EFFECTIVE SCHOOL?

This checklist of questions is intended to sharpen inquiry into the quality of a school. Anyone familiar with the information customarily given to citizens about schooling (budgets, costs per student, capital improvements, test scores, etc.) will recognize a new departure here. The six main divisions, as well as the questions, are based on recent research proving that schools have a powerful effect on a child's development and that schools differ greatly in how much learning takes place.* A child attending a school that can emphatically answer YES to all the questions is probably learning at capacity, because the questions highlight the factors that matter for learning. A NO answer should alert all concerned.

I. Emphasis on Academic Achievement in Basic Subjects

Does the curriculum include requirements in all the basic subjects: English (including reading, writing, literature and speech), mathematics, science, history, government, geography, foreign languages, and the arts?
Are elective subjects supplements to, rather than substitutes for, basic subjects?
Are academic priorities clearly understood by staff, students, and parents?
Is homework regularly assigned and checked?
Are academic problems diagnosed early and dealt with promptly?
Are learning results stressed over teaching methods?
Are the standards for promotion and graduation understood by all?
Are there checks for student mastery of basic skills and knowledge?
Does the school have its fair share of able students?
Are there programs for more able and for less able students?
Do assembly programs, clubs, and field trips reinforce the basic subjects, rather than detract?
Are curricular and classroom distractions from academic achievement recognized and eliminated?
Does early elementary reading stress phonics?
Is writing a part of all courses?
Are there writing courses for all students?
Does curriculum planning precede textbook selection, rather than vice versa?
Does the staff coordinate instruction grade-to-grade and plan the curriculum sequentially?
Does inservice training enhance the academic background of teachers?

II. Leadership by the Principal and Senior Staff

Is the principal well grounded in the basic subjects?
Does the school have a clear, well-written, concise statement of specific goals?
Is the principal authoritative, decisive, and firm?
Does the principal seek ideas and suggestions from the rest of the staff?
Are students given responsibility appropriately?
Does the principal fairly enforce rules and decisions for everyone?
Does the principal effectively ration scarce resources?
Is at least half the principal's time devoted to supervising instruction, visiting classes, and responding to such visits?
Do the principal and senior staff recognize and correct mistakes?
Does the principal hold high expectations of academic achievement for the staff and students?

III. Teachers' Values and Expectations

Are teachers confident that all children can learn?
Are teachers enthusiastic about teaching and learning the basic subjects?
Do teachers agree with curriculum policies and priorities?
Are teachers consistent in educational philosophy and approach?
Are teachers good models of conduct and academic commitment?
Do hiring practices yield well-educated teachers?
Is teacher morale good?
Do students think that teachers respect them and care about their learning?
Are teachers open to students for special help on schoolwork or personal problems?
Are teachers well-prepared for class? Do they start and end class promptly?
Is academic instruction demanding?
Do teachers write well?
Are teachers cooperative and supportive of each other?
Are all students expected, pushed, and helped to achieve in the basic subjects?

IV. Assessment of Student Progress and Academic Programs

Is there a coherent plan for regular assessment of students, individually and collectively, especially in the basic subjects?
Are the purposes of testing clearly understood?
Do test reports serve the stated purposes effectively?
Do test results tell all concerned what they want to know?

Are students judged only on what is actually taught, which is not always identical to curriculum?
Are multiple criteria used in making important decisions (e.g., promotion, remediation, graduation)?
Does the school seek useful comparisons with other schools?
Are disinterested outsiders asked to evaluate the school?
Are students, parents, teachers, board members, and citizens satisfied?

V. Climate of Orderliness

Has the school published statements of expectations and norms for the conduct of staff and students?
Are such statements widely understood and accepted?
Is the school small enough to be a cohesive social organization?
Does the school cooperate with parents and with civic agencies?
Are students ordinarily busy with productive activity?
Do large numbers of students have positions of responsibility for student activities, conduct, and school property?
Does the staff display consistent values and practices throughout the school, as opposed to having idiosyncratic norms in each classroom?
Are students praised for good performance?
Do students sense that staff members genuinely care about their well being?
Is the tone of the staff business-like and professional yet interested in students?
Does the staff spot disorders early and respond quickly and firmly?
Are reprimands delivered quietly, without disrupting class?
Do senior teachers who are skilled in keeping order act as mentors for less experienced teachers?
Are parents notified of discipline problems with their children?
Does the school keep useful records for delinquency, truancy, disruption, vandalism, tardiness, and other kinds of anti-school behavior?
Do students and staff have numerous opportunities to work jointly on school projects?

VI. Support From Parents and Other Citizens

Do parents, board members, and other citizens have access, as appropriate, to school records, teachers, administrators, and classes?
Are policies on relations with parents and the community clearly stated?

Are conferences scheduled for parents to pick up report cards and discuss their children's progress?
Are report cards designed to be helpful to parents?
Do parents and others receive prompt attention to their questions?
Do parents always learn about any academic difficulty their children may have?
Does the school state its expectations for support from parents? For example, do parents understand the importance of study-time free from TV and other distractions; of reading aloud to pre-school children?
Does the school have a handbook for parents?
Does the school teach parents about the uses and abuses of standardized testing?
Do parents receive enough information from the school and from the school board?
Does local news coverage of the school stress academic achievement?
Are parents and other citizens encouraged to exercise their legitimate shares of authority over school policies, priorities, and curriculum?
Is there constructive citizen participation in teaching, administration, and governance?

*See:

Educational Leadership, October 1979, especially "Effective Schools for the Urban Poor" by Ronald Edmonds.

Fifteen Thousand Hours: Secondary Schools and Their Effects on Children by Michael Rutter et al (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, MA, 1979).

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DAVID P. CAVANAUGH, PH. D., PRINCIPAL, WORTHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL, WORTHINGTON, OHIO

Worthington High School of Worthington, Ohio has been recognized for years as an outstanding secondary institution. This reputation is the by-product of the efforts of a fine student body, a professional staff committed to excellence, and a high level of expectations and support from the taxpayers.

Two important overall goals have been established for Worthington High School. They are:

(1) To provide throughout the school a wholesome, stimulating, productive, and satisfying learning environment conductive to the academic achievement and personal growth of the individual students and staff members.

(2) To provide that every student and every staff member, everyday, learns and grows and feels like a real human being.

These two goals were established several years ago as the result of two extensive in-service projects completed earlier in the high school. The Indicators of Quality project provided a measurement of interpersonal relationships between students and students, students and staff, and staff and staff. A subsequent School Climate (Humane) Improvement Project dealt with an assessment and analysis of the school's climate as well as direction on how to improve the factors which comprise and determine the quality of the climate.

These are just a few of the activities which have helped the school continue to build a most deserved reputation as an outstanding educational institution. The day-to-day instructional leadership provided by each teacher and the backup support system provided by the rest of the staff have remained the foundation upon which the school continues to build and grow.

While the above projects dealt extensively with the affective domain, the cognitive domain has been emphasized in the development and/or revision of curriculum, graded courses of study, and criterion referenced testing.

This concern with accountability has been in concert with national and staff trends calling for educators to be more and more accountable for student learning.

The commitment to achieving productivity coupled with a sense of satisfaction for both students and staff has led to a continuing search for a process which would provide tools to enhance student learning. (Chart 1) Basic questions began to appear and reappear with a high degree of frequency. How do students learn? What affects a student's ability to learn? What can the staff do to help students learn?

In recognition of our two overall goals, we at Worthington High School have been involved the past few years with developing a system toward implementing a diagnostic/prescriptive method of education. In moving toward the generation of such a system, we have researched the literature as well as attended workshops dealing with learning. The research and articles by Drs. Rita and Ken Dunn on Learning Styles and the work of the late Dr. Joseph Hill, et al., on Cognitive Mapping appeared to be complementary with our objectives. They dealt directly with our questions about student learning.

Chart 1

PRODUCTIVITY
OF STUDENTS AND EDUCATORS
ACHIEVING BASIC SKILLS
DEVELOPING CONSTRUCTIVE ATTITUDES
DEVELOPING AND EXPANDING AN ADEQUATE KNOWLEDGE BASE
CLARIFYING VALUES AND PURPOSES
UTILIZING INQUIRY AND PROBLEM-SOLVING PROCESSES
SATISFACTION
ON THE PART OF STUDENTS AND EDUCATORS
GAINING A SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH
ENJOYING SCHOOL AS A PLEASANT PLACE TO LIVE AND WORK
GAINING REWARDS FROM PARTICIPATION IN WORTHWHILE ACTIVITIES

Perhaps at this point I should issue a disclaimer. I don't claim that what I'm about to describe is the answer to all problems in education. I am excited, however, with what we are doing and believe that we are heading in the right direction. We plan constant evaluation of the process.

Our efforts have been designed to find out how students learn and then to prescribe them into environments complementary to their learning needs. Sounds simple, eh? How many schools do you know that are doing it?

Our approach uses two different instruments from two different vantage points. The Learning Style Inventory (LSI) approach deals with how an individual absorbs or retains information. The Cognitive Style Mapping (CSM) approach deals with how a person processes information received from the environment.

My reading of the literature, coupled with attendance at a National Association of Secondary School Principals' Institute in Kansas City, Mo. in April, 1978 on Learning Styles, led me to certain conclusions. The Learning Style Inventory approach is essentially an instructional tool which could be employed by a classroom teacher who is attempting to individualize. The second approach, Cognitive Style Mapping, appeared to me to be a tool which could be utilized by members of our guidance department in their attempts to help students and staff. To reiterate - the LSI is a classroom tool - the CSM is basically a guidance counselor's tool to aid in prescribing learning situations for a student.

I introduced the above premises to my faculty in May, 1978. We agreed to administer the CSM to all students in the fall of 1978 to provide information for use by the guidance counselors in their work with students. At the same time we agreed that participation in the LSI process would be strictly voluntary. If any faculty member wished to administer the LSI to his or her class, he/she would be granted permission. However, participation in the process would carry with it certain obligations. Most important was that those teachers using the LSI would meet as a group once a month to share successes, strategies, and setbacks in our attempts to tie instructional strategy and environment to students' learning styles.

The first year forty-two faculty members (out of a staff of 136) volunteered to become involved in the learning style process. (That number has increased annually.) They not only agreed to meet with me monthly, as mentioned above, but to do so on their own time, with no extra pay or released time, to participate in in-service on learning styles prior to administering the Inventory to their students. During the in-service program, each staff member was provided with feedback on his/her own learning style. I recommend this step highly. Everybody wants to learn more about himself/herself and in learning about themselves, the Worthington High School staff members developed an awareness which was to help later in learning about their pupils' learning styles.

In approaching the implementation of a two-prong approach (LSI and CSM) there are obvious problems. One involves training the staff in the use and interpretation of existing instruments. If the guidance counselors are to use CSM in their department, they obviously need help in developing awareness and skills in the use of this tool.

I have already referred to the late Dr. Joseph Hill of Oakland Community College. His work, with others at that college, provided us with much information and direction. Additionally, Mr. Gerald Kusler, former Principal of East Lansing High School, Michigan, and some of his staff have been working on CSM at East Lansing High School for several years. Gerald graciously provided an in-service (May, 1978) program at East Lansing High School for my guidance staff. His sharing provided a foundation to build a program for our guidance counselors in working with CSM. Our guidance people then returned to Worthington High School and spent several months in in-service developing awareness and skills in working with CSM. Their in-service dealt with terminology, interpretation, validation and negotiation of prescriptions. In summary, the problem of implementing the CSM component was dealt with by researching the literature, in-service sessions and sharing with our friends at East Lansing High School, and many long in-service sessions by our counselors in our own school.

Basically the CSM process involves the administering of a rather long inventory to all our students. This inventory will eventually be shortened as the reliability and validity of the instrument are established.

The inventory measures how a student processes information he or she receives from his/her environment through 28 elements. A brief listing of those 28 elements appear on Chart 2. (See Appendix A for a brief description of each of the 28 elements)

The inventory indicates to what degree each of the twenty-eight elements seems to be significant in the person's cognitive style. There are three different levels of importance: a major - true more than half the time; a minor - true less than half the time; a negligible - rarely ever true. By plotting the inventory results, element by element, we produce a picture of the student's Cognitive Style Map. (Chart 2)

The elements considered fall into three groupings: (1) How a student takes in and processes stimuli and information. This group includes factors like the impact of spoken and written words and numbers, the response to sensory stimuli, the impact of settings. Chart 2 shows this group to include elements from spoken words through meeting time expectations within the categories entitled Theoretical, Sensory, Programmatic and Cultural Codes. (2) How the student learning is affected by others. Chart 2 shows this group, called Cultural Determinants, to include associates, family and individuality. (3) How the student reasons to conclusions. In this last group, called Modalities of Inference, we find how a student uses inductive or deductive reasoning tools. Reasoning by applying rules, by contrasting, by comparing or by using a combination of these approaches, as well as using logic, are inventoried.

Once the inventory is scored, the results are returned to the guidance counselor. The counselors use the feedback in two ways.

(1) Individual consultations with students having academic problems

(2) Consultations with small groups of students who are not necessarily having problems but who are curious as to what their CSM means

**COGNITIVE LEARNING STYLE PROFILE**

Chart 2

WORTHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL
Worthington, Ohio 43085

STUDENT _____ COURSE _____ HR. _____ DATE _____

| SCORE | ELEMENT | MEANING | NEGLIGIBLE | | MINOR | | MAJOR | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **THEORETICAL** | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| _____ | T(AL) | SPOKEN WORDS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | T(AO) | SPOKEN NUMBERS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | T(VL) | WRITTEN WORDS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | T(VO) | WRITTEN NUMBERS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| **SENSORY** | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| _____ | O(A) | SOUND OTHER THAN WORDS & NUMBERS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(O) | SMELL | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(B) | TASTE | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(T) | TOUCH | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(V) | VISION (OTHER THAN WORDS & NUMBERS) | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| **PROGRAMMATIC** | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| _____ | O(P) | AUTOMATIC MOTOR RESPONSE | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| **CULTURAL CODES** | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| _____ | O(CEM) | EMPATHY | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(CES) | ESTHETICS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(CET) | ETHICS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(CH) | STAGED BEHAVIOR | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(CK) | BODY LANGUAGE | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(CKH) | PRACTICED MOTOR SKILLS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(CP) | JUDGMENT OF PHYSICAL & SOCIAL DISTANCE | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(CS) | SELF UNDERSTANDING | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(CT) | MAINT/ACH POSITIVE INTERACTIONS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | O(CTM) | MEETS TIME EXPECTATIONS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| **CULTURAL DETERMINANTS** | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| _____ | A | ASSOCIATES | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | F | FAMILY | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | I | INDIVIDUALITY | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| **MODALITIES OF INFERENCE** | | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 |
| _____ | D | DIFFERENCES | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | L | APPRAISAL (USING M, D, & R TOGETHER) | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | M | MAGNITUDE (CATEGORICAL REASONING) | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | R | RELATIONSHIPS (OR SIMILARITIES) | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |
| _____ | K | DEDUCTIVE REASONING PROCESS | 8-10 | 12-14 | 16-18-20 | 22-24-26 | 28 | 30-32 | 34 | 36 | 38-40 |

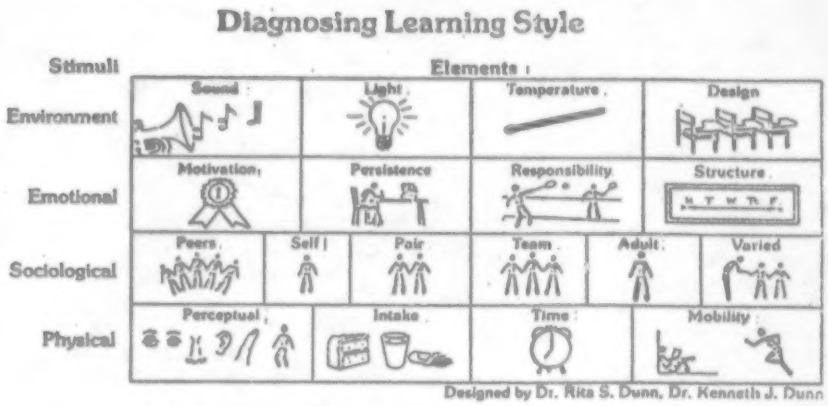
This is basically the chart used by Oakland Community College, East Lansing High School and Worthington High School, Worthington, Ohio

The Cognitive Style Mapping Inventory is administered to all students (9-12) with the results being returned to the guidance counselors who in turn share them with students in the manner indicated above.

In order to implement the more exciting prong of our two-prong approach, the Learning Style Inventory, the staff had to be thoroughly educated in the philosophy of its use. By this I mean that there had to be developed an awareness which allowed each involved staff member to move from a global, universal acknowledgment that all students are different, to a particularizing, specific understanding of that difference for each student. This movement was critical and was accomplished by supplying each staff member with pertinent literature, opportunities to discuss that literature, in-service sessions, and exposure to learning style conferences outside the school.

Worthington High School is using the Learning Style Inventory (LSI) concept developed by Drs. Rita and Ken Dunn. Dr. Rita Dunn is a full professor at St. John's University. Dr. Ken Dunn is superintendent of schools in Hewlett-Woodmere, New York, as well as an adjunct professor at Hunter College. Their research has led to the identification of at least 18 elements from four basic stimuli which affect a person's ability to absorb or retain information (See Chart 3). (See Appendix B for a definition of the 18 elements).

Chart 3



The approach at Worthington High School has been to administer the Learning Style Inventory to the students of the teachers who volunteer for the program. The present system for scoring the inventory provides each teacher with:

1. The learning style factors of each student (See Chart 4)

2. A subscale showing the percentage of students relating to each factor (See Chart 5)

3. A list of all pupils indicating which factors are important to each student (See Chart 6)

Those staff members who volunteer to be involved in the program receive the support and encouragement of the principal. This support has included the principal's modeling the process in the classroom and leading monthly in-service programs. The monthly in-service agenda looks like this:

1. Sharing of Successes
2. Diagnostic Exercise
   a. Staff Rotates in Simulation of Diagnostician's Role
   b. Critique from Group
3. Teaching of a Method by Staff Volunteer
   a. Small Groups - Team Learning;
      Circle of Knowledge; Brainstorming;
      Case Study
   b. Contract Activity Packages
   c. Programmed Learning
   d. Instructional Packages
      (1) Tactile Materials
      (2) Kinesthetic Materials
4. Questions to Consider
5. Establishment of Next Meeting Date
6. Scheduling Individual Conferences to Review and Plan Strategies for Implementation

The ability of the staff to develop an awareness of individual differences and to particularize those differences is the ultimate goal.

The steps of staff development in this process include:

1. Awareness of differences in individual learning styles
2. In-service objectives for staff in dealing with individual learning styles
   a. To understand differences
   b. To develop strategies to diagnose differences
   c. To develop ability to prescribe for differences
   d. To develop skills to write programs which will be complementary to individual differences.

Except for attendance at learning style workshops conducted by the Dunns, most if not all of the above was accomplished in-house. The monthly in-service meeting has been key to the whole process. Through these meetings our staff not only developed skills and awareness needed to individualize, but a sense of teaming and commitment grew day by day.

Chart 4

GUITRY PHYSICS 2

Dave Smith 101178 CONSISTENCY SCORE 1.00
I.D. NO. 0 GR. 12 E F

| LEARNING STYLE | REFERENCE MANUAL |
|---|---|
| 1. NEEDS QUIET | PAGE 1 |
| 5. NEEDS COOL ENVIRONMENT | PAGE 1 |
| 7. REQUIRES FORMAL DESIGN | PAGE 1 |
| 9. SELF-MOTIVATED | PAGE 1 |
| 10. ADULT-MOTIVATED | PAGE 1 |
| 11. TEACHER-MOTIVATED | PAGE 1 |
| 13. PERSISTENT | PAGE 2 |
| 15. RESPONSIBLE | PAGE 2 |
| 17. NEEDS STRUCTURE | PAGE 2 |
| 25. HAS AUDITORY PREFERENCES | PAGE 3 |
| 27. TACTILE AND KINESTHETIC PREFERENCES | PAGE 4 |
| 31. FUNCTIONS BEST IN MORNING | PAGE 4 |
| 35. NEEDS MOBILITY | PAGE 4 |

PRESCRIPTION:
PROGRAMMED LEARNING
TASK CARDS AND OTHER TACTIAL MATERIALS
LEARNING CIRCLES
SMALL GROUPS-IF PEER ORIENTED

JONES ENGLISH LIT

Jim Smith CONSISTENCY SCORE 1.00
I.D. NO. 0 GR. 12 E M

| LEARNING STYLE | REFERENCE MANUAL |
|---|---|
| 1. NEEDS QUIET | PAGE 1 |
| 3. REQUIRES BRIGHT LIGHT | PAGE 1 |
| 5. NEEDS COOL ENVIRONMENT | PAGE 1 |
| 10. ADULT-MOTIVATED | PAGE 1 |
| 11. TEACHER-MOTIVATED | PAGE 1 |
| 12. UNMOTIVATED | PAGE 2 |
| 13. PERSISTENT | PAGE 2 |
| 15. RESPONSIBLE | PAGE 2 |
| 17. NEEDS STRUCTURE | PAGE 2 |
| 19. PREFERS LEARNING ALONE | PAGE 3 |
| 30. DOES NOT REQUIRE FOOD INTAKE | PAGE 4 |
| 31. FUNCTIONS BEST IN MORNING | PAGE 4 |
| 35. NEEDS MOBILITY | PAGE 4 |

PRESCRIPTION:
INSTRUCTIONAL PACKAGES
TASK CARDS AND OTHER TACTIAL MATERIALS
LEARNING CIRCLES
SMALL GROUPS-IF PEER ORIENTED

Dr. David P. Cavanaugh
Worthington High School
300 West Granville Road
Worthington, Ohio 43085

Chart 5

| CAVANAUGH | WORKSHOP | 092878 |
|---|---|---|
| SUBSCALE | RESPONSE | PERCENTAGE |
| 1 | 14 | .50 |
| 2 | 8 | .29 |
| 3 | 20 | .71 |
| 4 | 6 | .21 |
| 5 | 13 | .46 |
| 6 | 9 | .32 |
| 7 | 17 | .61 |
| 8 | 6 | .21 |
| 9 | 12 | .43 |
| 10 | 25 | .89 |
| 11 | 26 | .93 |
| 12 | 7 | .25 |
| 13 | 25 | .89 |
| 14 | 1 | .04 |
| 15 | 18 | .64 |
| 16 | 2 | .07 |
| 17 | 12 | .43 |
| 18 | 14 | .50 |
| 19 | 26 | .93 |
| 20 | 2 | .07 |
| 21 | 0 | .00 |
| 22 | 0 | .00 |
| 23 | 10 | .36 |
| 24 | 4 | .14 |
| 25 | 7 | .25 |
| 26 | 16 | .57 |
| 27 | 5 | .18 |
| 28 | 0 | .00 |
| 29 | 10 | .36 |

TOTAL STUDENTS = 28

Chart 6

| STUDENT NAME | LEARNING STYLE |
|---|---|
| | 111111111122222222223333333<br>123456789012345678901234567890123456 |
| ALICE ALLSOP | 011000100110100000110001000010100010 |
| BILL ANDREWS | 010110100000100101100010010000100001 |
| JOAN BALLINGER | 100100011010101001100000010010001010 |
| BETH BAXTER | 010001001111101001100000010001100001 |
| ANNE BRIGHTMAN | 101010101110101010100000010001100001 |
| ROBERT DAMSEL | 101001100110100001100000010010000010 |
| MARY FRANK | 001000101111100010100010110000100010 |
| SAM FULLER | 101010100110100010100000100000000001 |
| ELAINE GALIPAULT | 101001011110101010100000010000000000 |
| KAREN GARDNER | 011010100110101001100001101010100000 |
| JOHN HARVEY | 011010000111101001100000010010100000 |
| BILL HYATT | 100110100111001001100000011001100001 |
| KATHY KER | 100101011110101010100010010010100001 |
| DAVE KUYPER | 100101001110010110100000011001100010 |
| JOAN LAWRENCE | 00k0k0k0kkk0k0k00kk000000000001100001 |
| LUCY MACER | 011010100100101001100000010000100010 |
| BILL MANSFIELD | 100010101110100001100010000001100001 |
| AMY MARTIN | 001001100110100010100011010000100010 |
| GLADYS PETROS | 001000100111101001100010100101000010 |
| RUTH SEIZERT | 101000100110101010100010100001100001 |
| LINDA SIMCOX | 001001011111101010001000001010000010 |

A principal must be prepared to offer the staff his/her encouragement through commitment to the importance of diagnosing learning styles of students. Once the staff has become familiar with the terminology and the mechanics of the LSI process, much time must be given to developing skills at making diagnoses based upon learning style factors. Such diagnosing must carry with it the prescribing of methods, e.g., Small Group Techniques, Contract Activity Packages, Programmed Learning Sequences, or Instructional Packages. In-service must then follow to develop materials for those methods.

In working with the LSI, several interesting experiences have given us further encouragement in the expansion of our ability to work with individual learning styles.

For example, an interesting thing happened when we administered the LSI to the pupils. Each teacher had been asked to provide each student with a copy of the questions for an answer sheet. Then each teacher read each question aloud to the class, pausing after each question in order to provide time for the students to mark an answer. We found, over and over, that three things happened:

(1) Some students listened to the teacher, ignored their own question sheets and then answered the question;
(2) Some students listened to the teacher while reading their question sheet before answering;
(3) And some students ignored the teacher entirely, read their question sheets, marked their answer sheets, and generally finished early.

This experience indicates to us that students not only can identify their learning styles, but can also select those learning styles which are most compatible to them. We have continued to observe this process as we administer the LSI.

Another area which we plan to pursue even further in the future is the refinement of a Methods-Factor Coordination Sheet, which we have developed to match learning styles to instructional methods. (See M.F.C.S. #1) Each staff member uses this guide in determining which program best fits his/her students. We recently have developed a revision of the M.F.C.S. which we have programmed into our computer. (See M.F.C.S. #2) This allows the computer to print for us not only learning style factors but also a suggested prescription. (See Chart 4) More work in refining this instrument remains to be done, but we have completed the initial phase of experimentation in this area.

By way of summary, I believe Worthington High School is engaged in an exciting endeavor. We are creating an awareness that different people learn differently. It is such a simple statement that it almost sounds trite. Most people accept the concept. However, the ability to take that awareness and provide the skills to put it into practical application is exceptional.

Perhaps a quotation from the book by the Dunns will help the reader see the significance and necessity of movement toward a diagnostic/prescriptive approach.

> The systematic identification of individual learning styles, although new, is not a fad and is not a process that will be embraced for a time and then discarded. Legal challenges to

METHODS-FACTOR COORDINATION SHEET #1

| METHODS | COMPATIBLE LEARNING STYLE FACTORS (IN PRIORITY ORDER) |
|---|---|
| CONTRACT ACTIVITY PACKAGES OR PROGRAMMED LEARNING | 1. Need for Structure<br>2. Visual/Tactual and Kinesthetic Appeals/Stimuli<br>3. Need to Work Alone |
| INSTRUCTIONAL PACKAGES | 1. Tactual/Kinesthetic Appeals<br>2. Need for Structure<br>Highly motivational resource, thus sociological stimuli may not matter<br>3. Need to Work Alone or Teacher-oriented |
| TASK CARDS AND LEARNING CIRCLES | 1. Tactual and/or Kinesthetic Appeals<br>2. Visual Appeals |
| LECTURE | 1. Auditory Appeals<br>2. Teacher-motivation (adult)<br>3. Self-mutivation<br>4. Need for Structure (tendency) |

You can see in the above chart that we were attempting to develop some sort of priority in viewing learning factors as they relate to differing methods. See Methods-Factor Coordination Sheet #2 for our more recent, improved approach.

METHODS-FACTOR COORDINATION SHEET #2

| METHODS | FACTORS |
|---|---|
| CONTRACT ACTIVITY PACKAGE<br>*LECTURE (Alternately)*<br>*LIMITED USE OF TASK CARDS and TACTUAL MATERIALS*<br>*TAPES; AUDIO CASSETTES* | Needs Structure or Not<br>Auditory<br>Visual<br>Motivated or Not<br>or<br>Needs Structure or Not<br>Auditory<br>Self or Teacher-Motivated<br>Persistent<br>Responsible<br>or<br>Needs Structure or Not<br>Visual<br>Self or Teacher-Motivated<br>Persistent<br>Responsible |
| PROGRAMMED LEARNING<br>*TASK CARDS AND OTHER TACTILE MATERIALS*<br>*LEARNING CIRCLES*<br>*SMALL GROUPS - if peer oriented* | Needs Structure<br>Tactile-Kinesthetic<br>Visual<br>or<br>Needs Structure<br>Tactile or Kinesthetic<br>Auditory |
| INSTRUCTIONAL PACKAGES<br>*TASK CARDS AND OTHER TACTILE MATERIALS*<br>*LEARNING CIRCLES*<br>*SMALL GROUPS - if peer oriented* | Needs Structure<br>Tactile or Kinesthetic<br>Not Auditory<br>Not Visual<br>or<br>Needs Structure<br>Not Tactile or Kinesthetic<br>Not Auditory<br>Not Visual |
| LECTURE<br>*TAPES; AUDIO CASSETTES* | Needs Structure<br>Auditory<br>Motivated<br>Does <u>Not</u> Need Mobility |

This represents our most recent approach. As we experience further developments, we will be happy to share them with interested individuals.

the quality of programs that have produced disparate academic progress among students have been brought into our judiciary system across the nation, and some of the decisions that have been rendered to date imply that the courts are willing (or would be) to overthrow school conventions if those practices are deemed to be unreasonable. The famous case of Tinker v. Des Moines Community School District (1969), which concerns itself with student rights, will undoubtedly be extended to encompass the right of a student to learn in ways that complement his ability to achieve. The case of Griggs v. Duke Power Company (U.S. Supreme Court, March, 1971) manifested the inability of broad and general testing devices, as well as the infirmity of using diplomas or degrees as fixed measures of capability. In re Held, Dkt. No (H-2-71) (H-10-71) failure to teach a "teachable" child resulted in an award of private school tuition. And finally, Public Law 94-142, which requires the identification of learning style and individualization for all handicapped children, is only one step away from mandating individualization for all.

The natural outgrowth of these decisions suggests that, eventually, the courts will rule that (1) if a student does not learn the way we teach him, we must teach him the way he learns, and (2) if professionals with recognized credentials cannot teach selected students, persons with different kinds of credentials will be permitted to teach students with whom they can evidence success.

As expressed in the introduction to this paper, the goals of Worthington High School commit us to provide an environment in which each student can learn and grow toward his/her greatest potential. We realize this will be a never-ending process. It is our belief that developing a diagnostic/prescriptive approach which will provide for individual learning styles should be a minimum expectancy for professional educators. We believe that the future will demand nothing less.

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# APPENDIX A

## Your Educational Cognitive Style Map

Your educational cognitive style map indicates the ways in which you obtain meaning from the world around you; that is, how you process information which you receive from your environment. Your map indicates the qualities or abilities you tend to use most readily and consider most important. The map is a picture of the elements included in your individual cognitive style at the point at which you were tested. As you change through experience, your map will also change. Your cognitive style is a dynamic, changing picture.

How often you use an element and the importance you attach to it determine whether it appears on your map as a major, minor, or a negligible strength. Each person will have a unique combination of major, minor and negligible elements in their individual cognitive style.

A major orientation is accorded a given element if it occurs in the 50th-99th percentile range of a distribution of that element at a given "developmental" level.

A minor orientation is accorded an individual element if it occurs in the 26th-49th percentile range, inclusively, of a distribution of scores for that element at a given level of educational development.

If an individual realized a score that occurred in the 25th percentile or below of a distribution of scores for a given element, at the given level of educational development, he is said to have a negligible orientation.

The major elements will appear on your map in green. The minor elements will be designated by yellow. The negligible elements will be illustrated in red.

The following is a presentation of the appropriate map symbols, the formal name of the element, and the definition of the element.

### Definitions of Elements

1. Symbols and their meanings

   Individuals create and use two kinds of symbols to acquire knowledge and derive meaning from their environments and personal experiences. The first kind of symbols is referred to as the theoretical symbols. These relate to words and numbers, specifically.

   T(AL) Theoretical Auditory Linguistic-tendency to acquire meaning through hearing spoken words.

   T(AQ) Theoretical Auditory Quantitative-tendency to find meaning in terms of numberical symbols, relationships, and measurements that are spoken.

   T(VL) Theoretical Visual Linguistic-tendency to find meaning from words you see. Reading, writing, verbal reading and grammar usage.

T(VQ) Theoretical Visual Quantitative-tendency to acquire meaning in terms of numerical symbols, relationships, and measurements.

The qualitative symbols are derived from three sources: 1) sensory stimuli 2) cultural codes (games) 3) programmatic effects of objects which convey an almost automatic impression of a definite series of images, scenes, events or operations. At the present time, there are 20 qualitative symbols included in the "symbolic" set; five of them associated with sensory stimuli, five * that are programmatic in nature, and ten associated with cultural codes.

The five qualitative symbols associated with sensory stimuli are:

Q(A) Qualitative Auditory-tendency to perceive meaning through hearing sound other than spoken words.

Q(O) Qualitative Olfactory-tendency to perceive meaning through smell.

Q(S) Qualitative Savory-tendency to perceive meaning through taste.

Q(T) Qualitative Tactile-tendency to perceive meaning through touch and temperature.

Q(V) Qualitative Visual-tendency to perceive meaning through sight of things other than the written word. (pictures, graphs, etc.)

The qualitative symbol that is programmatic in nature is:

Q(P) Qualitative Proprioceptive-ability to synthesize a number of symbolic mediations into a performance demanding monitoring of a complex task involving controlled musculature (small, large and fine).

The ten qualitative symbols associated with the cultural codes are:

Q(CEM) Qualitative Code Empathetic-sensitivity to the feelings of others; ability to put oneself in another person's place and see things from his point of view.

Q(CES) Qualitative Code Esthetic-tendency to derive meaning through the enjoyment of the beauty of an object or an idea.

Q(CET) Qualitative Code Ethic-commitment to a set of values, a group of principles, obligations and/or duties. This commitment need not imply morality.

Q(CH) Qualitative Code Histrionic-ability to exhibit a deliberate behavior, or play a role to produce some particular effect on other persons.

* Four of the programmatic codes are used primarily at the elementary level and not included here.

Q(CK) Qualitative Code Kinesics-ability to understand and to communicate by non-linguistic functions such as facial expressions and motions of the body; i.e., smiles and gestures.

Q(CKH) Qualitative Code Kinesthetic-ability to perform motor skills, or effect muscular coordination according to a recommended, or acceptable form. Willingness to practice-follow a form.

Q(CP) Qualitative Code Proxemics-ability to judge the physical and social distance acceptable between oneself and another person.

Q(CS) Qualitative Code Synnoetics-personal knowledge of oneself.

Q(CT) Qualitative Code Transactional-ability to maintain a positive communicative interaction which significantly influences the goals of the persons involved in that interaction. Note: Both sides profit from this interaction.

Q(CTM) Qualitative Code Temporal-ability to respond or behave according to time expectations imposed on an activity by those associated with that activity.

2. Cultural Determinants

A. Associates-shows the influence on the meaning of symbols derived from the peer group or those with whom the student associates. It is frequently evidenced by an individual who understands that which is under consideration, but explains or discusses these manners mainly in the words of his/her associates who may be involved with him/her in the situation.

F. Family-stems from the influence of the group of persons an individual considers to be his/her family. The student possessing a strong sense of family relies heavily upon authority figures.

I Individuality-is manifest in a student's ability to move freely in a variety of roles and normative situations with particular emphasis of self-directed or self-confident independent behavior.

3. Modalities of Inference

Individual meanings of symbols are arrived at through reasoning processes which are:

D Difference-this pattern suggests a tendency to reason in terms of one contrasts or comparisons of selected characteristics or measurements. Artists often possess this modality, as do creative writers and musicians.

M Magnitude-a form of categorical reasoning. Persons who need to define things in order to understand them reflect this modality.

R Relationships-this modality indicates the tendency to synthesize a number of dimensions or incidents into a unified meaning, or through analysis of a situation to discover its component parts.

K Deductive-indicates deductive reasoning of the form of logical proof used in geometry or that employed in syllogistic reasoning.

L Appraisal-Reasoning process which includes using rules, finding differences and similarities to draw conclusions - contrasting.

APPENDIX B

David P. Cavanaugh, Ph. D Principal

**WORTHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL**

300 West Granville Road Worthington, Ohio 43085 Phone: 846-0030

MAIN CAMPUS

KILBOURNE CAMPUS

LINWORTH CAMPUS

Dear Parent:

Can you think of a more exciting and worthwhile challenge than learning how your child learns? We certainly cannot! While this has been a question of many educators and parents for years, we are enthusiastic about a new concept with which we have been working for the past couple of years.

Basically, we are attempting to individualize the instruction for your child by diagnosing his/her learning style. We are attempting to learn the manner in which 18 different elements from four basic stimuli groups affect a person's ability to retain and absorb information. The inventory we are using is called the Learning Style Inventory (LSI). It was developed by a husband and wife team, Drs. Rita and Ken Dunn of New York, after years of research. Their inventory has been proven to be statistically valid and reliable.

The instructional staff who have volunteered to become involved in this process have been, and will continue to be, involved with monthly in-service to build skills in diagnosing and prescribing based upon an individual's learning style.

Basically, I see three stages of development in our attempt to individualize.

(1) Staff awareness and commitment to deal with students' individual differences. This stage involves in-service sessions for staff. Explanations of the 18 elements which may affect a student's learning style are given in detail. Commitment is sought to administer the inventory to a class and provide feedback to each student on those factors which are a part of his/her learning style.

(2) Diagnosing and prescribing which instructional approach will be best for the student is the second phase.

(3) Once the diagnosis has been made, we are ready to move into Phase Three - the generation of materials needed to carry out the prescription. This phase is by far the

most demanding on the instructional staff. Materials include such items as Contract Activity Packages, Programmed Learning Sequences, Instructional Packages, Multisensory Materials, Lectures.

Why this letter? We feel that if the information is important to use in the classroom, surely it will be helpful to you as your child progresses through school.

Enclosed with this letter are two documents. One is a list and brief explanation of the eighteen (18) learning style elements. The second is a profile of your child's learning style. Those elements listed are significant factors in your child's learning style.

Again, we are excited with what we have experienced in diagnosing and prescribing for individual learning styles. However, a word of caution is in order. We are only beginning. Any program as ambitious and as important as this will take several years to fully develop and implement. It in itself is not a solution to all our problems. Nor can every teacher accommodate all of the factors of every learning style in every classroom. However, we have taken the first step - many more are to come. After all, what's more important than knowing how your child learns?

Thanks for your continued support.

David P. Cavanaugh

Dr. David P. Cavanaugh

Teacher

Brief definitions of the eighteen (18) elements which affect learning follow. They fall into four (4) stimuli groups.

Environmental Stimuli

| | |
|---|---|
| Sound | Some people require total silence; others can tolerate minor noise; others are impervious to noise. |
| Light | Some students are light sensitive and can tolerate subdued lighting; others require extremely bright lighting; most seem to be relatively unaffected by lighting levels. |
| Temperature | While some students concentrate best in a warm environment, others work best in a cool environment. |
| Design | Formal surroundings (desk, chair) promote concentration for some while informal sittings are desired by others. For some, design is of no significance or its influence varies with the type of motivation felt toward the task. |

Emotional Stimuli

| | |
|---|---|
| Motivation | Motivated students need to be told exactly what all expectations are for successful conclusion of learning tasks. Unmotivated students need to have a reason for what they are doing. They need to be shown how what they are studying is important and/or relevant to their lives. |
| Persistence | Persistent students work at a task until it is completed. If a problem develops, they will seek help in resolving the problem. Other students are not as persistent. Their attention span is limited and when they experience difficulties in completing tasks, they lose interest and become involved in something less frustrating. |
| Responsibility | Responsible students follow through on a given task, complete it to the best of their ability, and often do so without direct or frequent supervision. These students need to know teachers' expectations and have the resources necessary to complete the learning tasks. Other students lack this factor and if not prescribed into environments complementary to their learning style tend not to complete assigned work. |
| Structure | Structure involves the establishment of specific rules for working on and completing an assignment. It implies that certain things should be completed in a specific way within a definite time span. Structure limits the number of options that are available to a student and requires an imposed mode of either learning, responding, or demonstrating achievement. |

**Sociological Stimuli**

| | |
|---|---|
| Peers | Some students prefer to learn with their peers instead of with an authority figure. |
| Self | Some students prefer to learn alone. |
| Pair | Some students prefer to learn with another person. |
| Team | Some students learn best when working with a team. |
| Adult | Other students learn best when in an adult controlled sociological setting. |
| Varied | A varied of sociological patterns works well in some students' learning patterns. |

**Physical Stimuli**

| | |
|---|---|
| Perceptual | Individual learning styles are definitely affected by sensory appeals described individually below: |
| Auditory | Students who learn best through the sense of hearing can differentiate among sounds and can reproduce symbols, letters, or words by hearing them. |
| Visual | Students who learn through this sense can associate shapes and words and conjure up the image of a form by seeing it in their mind's eye. |
| Tactual | Students who learn through this sense cannot begin to associate word formations and meanings without involving a sense of touch. |
| Kinesthetic | Students who learn through this sense need to have real-life experiences in order to learn to recognize words and their meanings. Wholebody activities are essential. |
| Combination | Students who require a combination of sensory appeals should be taught through multisensory resources. |
| Intake | Many learners need to eat, drink, smoke, or nibble in order to concentrate. |
| Time | Different people perform well at different times of the day. |
| Mobility | Some students need a great deal of mobility in the learning environment and need to vary their posture and location often. |

The preceeding 18 elements have been statistically validated by the Dunns as having implications on the student's ability to absorb or retain information. The Dunns make no claims, however, that learning factors are limited to these 18. Further research will undoubtedly enlarge that number.

# YOUR LEARNING STYLE PROFILE

| STIMULI | ELEMENTS | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| ENVIRONMENTAL | SOUND<br>1. quiet<br>2. noise | LIGHT<br>3. bright<br>4. low | TEMPERATURE<br>5. cool<br>6. warm | DESIGN<br>7. formal<br>8. informal |
| EMOTIONAL | MOTIVATION<br>9. self<br>10. adult<br>11. teacher<br>12. un- | PERSISTENCE<br>13. has<br>14. does not have | RESPONSIBILITY<br>15. takes<br>16. does not take | STRUCTURE<br>17. needs<br>18. needs little |
| SOCIOLOGICAL | 19. SELF | 20. PEERS | 21. PAIR | 22. TEAM | 23. ADULT | 24. VARIED |
| PHYSICAL | PERCEPTUAL<br>25. auditory<br>26. visual<br>27. tactile<br>28. kinesthetic | INTAKE<br>29. food<br>30. non food | TIME<br>31. a.m.<br>32. late a.m.<br>33. afternoon<br>34. evening | MOBILITY<br>35. needs<br>36. does not need |

DEVELOPED BY: KAREN H. FRANK, WORTHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL



57-261 O - 80 - 32

PREPARED STATEMENT OF WILLIAM ROSENBLOOM, PARENT, ST. PAUL, MINN.

Let me first of all thank the Committee for giving me the opportunity to be here today.

I come with certain biases which obviously influence my feelings and opinions. They include:

1. A belief we must maintain a strong and viable public education system.

2. A belief that parents and community must have a strong role in the school's decision making and curriculum process.

3. A belief that there must be a monitoring and reporting system to assure parents that whatever form and format the program and curriculum take, their effect on our children will be reported to us.

I speak to you as a graduate of the public school system, a parent with two children in that system, and active school involvement, as a parent, which goes back ten years.

That ten year period has been a decade of discontent with educational performance, a decade which has seen an increasing dropout and absentee rate, and a decade which has seen the coming of age for "individualized learning styles."

These conditions combined to create an educational atmosphere which made it relatively easy to sell parents on the idea of alternatives and experimental programs.

Many rushed pell mell into new programs -- with untried ideas, unproven programs, inadequate preparation, no monitoring, and no reporting to parents. Unfortunately, it was too late when we discovered that even though ideas sound good on paper, they don't necessarily educate students.

My position on education ten years ago was very simple; What was good for me, was good for my children.

The past ten years has changed my perspective. It is apparent to me that during these past ten years society has changed; education naturally reflects society, and therefore our educational needs have also changed.

This, however, does not mean I am a member of the "If it's innovative its got to be good" club.

What it does mean is that we can't have closed minds concerning educational methods. For we, as parents, share the educators belief that education must meet the needs of our children for today, for tomorrow, and the tomorrow of tommorrows.

It means that when we change, experiment, and exchange proven concepts and programs for innovative dreams, we must ask the dreamers, "What benefit will my child derive from this program?" After we receive their answer we must tell them, "prove it."

How might an educator prove to us as parents that a program will be good for our children? The answer is really quite simple: implementation of a monitoring and reporting system which tells us, on an ongoing basis, what progress our children are, or are not, making.

I would like to relate a few personal experiences which gives you an idea of what can happen for, and to students, unless they are protected by some type of evaluation and reporting system.

Let me begin with Modular Flexible scheduling, an innovative idea which divided the school day into twenty minute "mods" rather than the traditional fifty minute period.

It was originally sold to parents on the basis that it would provide individualized instruction through a more flexible scheduling process. More independent study time would challenge the student.

"Great idea," said many.

Parental attention finally focused on the program when an almost total breakdown of discipline occured at the school. Fighting between students, a lunchroom turned into a zoo, and the report of weapons being brought into the building finally provoked parents into action.

We were astonished at what we found:

We had been led to believe that the program enhanced the "basics" -- what we found was a neglect of "basics."

This was especially surprising to us because the Minnesota Department of Education has substantial requirements regarding curriculum.

Apparently, the School District had managed to finesse its way around the requirements by classifying "independent study mods" as part of the structured/teacher contact time requirement.

If a student, for instance, had an independent math study mod (not a structured classroom situation, and without a math teacher present), it was nevertheless, being counted as part of the math requirement, by the School District.

We found that much of the time spent by the student in this"independent time" turned out to be an old fashioned study hall or "bull session."

In addition:

1. The system had been sold originally on its "flexibility" for meeting student needs. In fact, it was found to be totally inflexible when parents asked for more teacher contact time.

2. The larger number of curriculum choices available to students, along with the shorter 20 minute mods, made it virtually impossible for the administration to know where students were.

3. State minimum clock hours for required subjects were not being met; Parents had assumed they were.

4. Achievement test scores at the school -- which had been previously known for academic excellence -- had experienced four years of decline. No one had informed the parents.

5. A study of the program, conducted by school staff the previous year, documented the need for change. It resulted in the principal being transferred, and the report buried.

We parents fought all year to make changes in the system; numerous meetings with school officials, teachers, and other parents were held. At the end of the year we designed, paid for and mailed a questionaire to all parents.

The results of that questionaire constituted a clear mandate from parents for a return to structured classes, and the maintenance of discipline in the classroom.

The district finally relented -- the program changed -- It was a victory for the students.

At what cost?

Administrators spent a year locked in battle with parents; a battle which should never have taken place. It is assumed their time could have been better spent on positive contributions to education.

Parents spent untold hours in frustrating meetings; in letter writing, and attempts to calm an uneasy situation within the school building.

Students, of course, bore the brunt of the cost -- a cost incalculable in terms of dollars or time.

We will never know how many were "turned off" education.

We will never know how many of the "basic life skills" which were missed could have been aquired if the students had been in a standard program.

A final word: The State Department of Education, as a condition of its initial approval for the program, required periodic evaluation and critical analysis.

Neither ever took place.

The next innovation I would like to discuss is the "Learning Center" concept. It was introduced as an alternative program in the early 1970's and designed as a desegregation tool to help reduce minority enrollment in certain St. Paul schools.

The idea, of course, was to attract non-minority students into these schools in an attempt to reduce the minority population.

Students enrolled in the program were bussed from their home school for 2-3 hours per day of instruction in the center, and then returned to their home school. Many of the students spent only one trimester per grade at the center in a basic exploratory program.

The types of programs available at the secondary level include Art, World Languages, Performing Arts, Horticulture, Computers, and a Business Center.

The goals of this program are:

1. To "provide students with an opportunity to benefit from the rich cultural experiences which result in working with students from different racial, socio and economic backgrounds."

2. "To provide learning experiences which could not easily be provided in each school due to the need for costly equipment and facilities, or even specialized staff."

The State Board of Education, however, refused to approve the Learning Centers as a desegreation tool, so the centers were given the role of bringing about "integration."

The pro's and con's of this concept have been many and varied; I will not go into them at this time.

My point is this: St. Paul taxpayers have spent in excess of ten million dollars on these centers; thousands of our children have spent hundreds of hours in them. To date there has been only one objective evaulation conducted. In July of 1976, that evaluation concluded: "Student participation in the Learning Center program neither enhances nor hinders the learning of basic skills in the areas of mathematics and reading."

Officially, parents have not been informed of the results of that evaluation. They would only be aware of them if they had read the newspaper when it reported the results in July, 1976.

Obviously, these results are of vital interest to them as they consider taking their child out of the home school for 2-3 hours per day to go to the Learning Center. Why should they be asked to make a decision unless they have all the information concerning the program available to them?

It is strange, indeed, given the momentum being generated by the "Back to Basics" movement, retrenchment in terms of tax dollars, termination of teachers, and school closings, that the school district chooses not to inform parents of alternative program results when they are available.

What is even stranger is that the program was never evaluated in terms of whether it was meeting its objective, i.e., integration.

The last program I will discuss is the "On the Job Training Program," a program which makes work experience available to high school students.

This program offers career exploration and an opportunity for the student to receive work experience in an area of his/her interest.

Unfortunately, this alternative program sees to have slipped away from the control of administrators. My daughter, who is college bound, received a job as a waitress in a restaurant; a restaurant in which she was already employed evenings. She did not start the job until well into the second week of the trimester. During the time she was unemployed, she was also not expected in school, thus leaving her free to roam as she chose. Next she was working only three days out of five. At no time were her parents notified that she was out of school and not working.

The need for monitoring this program is self-evident!

Let me digress for just a moment and say that there are many innovative programs that are good; programs in which children are learning.

St. Paul has several such programs which have gained wide acceptance by students, parents, and staff.

Among these are the Open School, Central High School's School With-in-a-School, and the Webster Magnet Program.

While many professional educators tend to shy away from, and even scoff at the idea of parental involvement, an experimental program entitled the "Primary Basic Experiences Curriculum," at Homecroft School owes a great deal of its continued life to parental support.

While this program is in the elementary school, it is nevertheless germane to the topic as it has incorporated parental involvement along with a monitoring and reporting system to parents.

It was because of the built in safeguards (monitoring), and parents receiving program results, that a feeling of security was established.

It was parents who lobbied for continued funding of the program after the original grant terminated; it was parents who saved the program.

The Minnesota Legislative recognized that there was benefit from community and parental involvement in the curriculum process. It passed, in 1976, legislation which adopted a rather unique approach to encouraging such participation in the process of curriculum selection, evaluation, and the subsequent reporting of results to the community.

The legislation is flexible enough to allow each school district to structure the process in a way which will involve as many people as possible.

In St. Paul, after selection of rather basic goals set by a district wide committee composed of parents, administrators, and teachers, each school was able to design its own objectives to reach the goals. At the years end they evaluated progress, and reported the results to the community.

Preliminary reports by the Minnesota Department of Education indicate that the law will receive mixed reviews in its first year in the area of citizen involvement.

Of course, not even the Minnesota State Legislature can guarantee citizen participation.

But what it can, and did do, was to provide a vehicle for such participation. It accomplished this by requiring that the public be informed concerning progress being made toward educational goals as selected by the Community.

The law's purpose, i.e., to provide a process for curriculum evaluation and planning was a first step in giving parents and the community a voice in the decision making and curriculum process. After the first year the Department of Education concluded:

> "The interaction of more than 16,000 citizens, public school personnel and students for more than 160,000 hours has contributed to the continued improvement of educational programs in Minnesota schools. In addition, the identification of curriculum goals, the development of instructional plans to meet these goals, the conduction of both professional and consumer evaluations, and the development of specific school improvement plans should provide a long term vehicle for the continued improvement of programs and services at the local level."

The need and necessity for parental involvement has also been recognized on the National level.

On September 12, 1977, U.S. News and World Report reported:

> "...Another article of faith for many professionals held that education was best left to them without intrusion from parents or community leaders except in supporting goals and innovations set by educators.
>
> Now the professionals are making the unsettling discovery that schools and colleges can't produce either educated or well adjusted young people without parental and community co-operation."

Based on my personal experience with local programs, and as co-chairperson of St. Paul's City Wide Committee implimenting the Minnesota Planning, Evaluating, and Reporting Law, I feel an appropriate role for the Federal Government is in finding a way to assure that parents are able to participate in the decision making and curriculum process.

Legislation is needed which will guarantee, not only the right of parents to be part of the process, but an assurance parents will receive all information they require to make informed decisions.

As a first step legislation should require that on all new, alternative, innovative, and experimental programs, including those initiated until Title 4C of the ESEA

Education Act, parents would be provided with.

1. A letter prior to the start of the program (and each year the program is in effect) containing a statement of program goals, objectives, and expectations. It must be written in language parents are able to understand and not in educational jargon. It should answer the following questions:

   1. What is the purpose of the project?
   2. How will it affect children?
   3. How does it differ from the regular program?
   4. How and when will it be evaluated?
   5. How are the results of the evaluation reported to parents?
   6. What alternatives are available to students not participating in the program?
   7. Once the initial funding program is over will the program continue?
   8. What will the effect on children be if the program is discontinued?
   9. How does the plan provide for individual differences in students?
   10. How does the plan provide for the development of skills and concepts?

The results of the program evaluation must be communicated to parents prior to the end of the year so they will be able to make educational decisions for their children for the following year.

It also, of course, gives parents, teachers, and administrators a basis on which to ask for change, modification, or termination of the program.

Personal experiences which can be multiplied thousands of times by other parents make it quite obvious that basic information we need to evaluate innovative programs is too often denied us as parents.

We know that too many times innovative programs are initiated and perpetuated when they are not in the best interests of the students.

If further proof is needed to support that contention, one need only visit the Educational Alternatives Graveyard, and count the number of "good ideas" which have died upon being tried; educational dreams which have disappeared in the daylight of reality.

Let us remember that children are not guinea pigs put into the schools for the benefit of the professional who have a better "idea."

When we toy with children's minds we are playing with the future of our country. And this, I submit, underscores the absolute necessity for parents and the Community to know what is happening to our children.

Parents must become involved in the educational decision making and curriculum process; to become involved they must have access to information.

Survival of public education depends on development of a full partnership between educators and parents.

We can no longer afford the luxury of "us" and "them."

Chairman PERKINS. We will hear from you first, Dr. Goodman. Just identify yourself and start out.

**PANEL PRESENTATION: DR. KENNETH S. GOODMAN, PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA; DENNIS GRAY, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, COUNCIL FOR BASIC EDUCATION; DR. DAVID CAVANAUGH, PRINCIPAL, WORTHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL, WORTHINGTON, OHIO; AND WILLIAM ROSENBLOOM, PARENT, ST. PAUL, MINN.**

**STATEMENT OF DR. KENNETH S. GOODMAN, PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA**

Dr. GOODMAN. I am Kenneth Goodman. I am very grateful to the committee for this opportunity to be invited here.

I am a professor of teacher education, a researcher in the fields of language and literature, a theoretician on the processes of reading and its acquisition, an author of texts for teachers and pupils, and a student of curricular theory and educational philosophy.

I am also an officer of the International Reading Association.

I consider this an opportunity to speak out in defense of America's youth, particularly minority youth, and their right to an education that helps them to accept and expand on who and what they are and become all that they are capable of being.

These are strange times in American education. We have finally eliminated virtually all legal barriers to our goal of educating for all. We have the best educated teachers we have ever had. We are providing education through the 16th year of age for virtually every American young person.

We have turned our attention to those our schools have failed most, blacks, Hispanics, native Americans, and the rural and urban poor in general. Federal programs have sought to provide compensatory aid to help schools serve groups considered disadvantaged.

Yet, morale in many of the schools serving minority youth has never been lower among both faculty and pupils. Many urban junior and senior high schools have the atmosphere of prisons with armed police officers controlling the corridors and increasing use of punishment such as spanking, suspension and expulsion.

The curriculum in many of these schools is equally sterile and depressing. In the name of getting back to basics and establishing minimal competencies, the curriculum has been narrowed to reading, writing and arithmetic. The minimal competencies become the maximum because little else is made available, and the basic skills are often taught as abstractions, carefully separated from meaningful, relevant, productive use.

We have lately opened the doors of our schools to all, but we have done little effectively to make what happens there useful, relevant, interesting, or profitable for many of those who were not succeeding well in poorly supported segregated schools.

The curriculum methods and teachers were not open to differences in language, culture, values, and experiences represented by their new pupils. That is the lesson in the recent Federal court decision in the *Ann Arbor Black English* case. Federal programs,

rather than helping, have intended to intensify through financial support what is already not working.

The programs usually provide little time for planning of preparation of staff before the program must be launched. The guidelines require frequent use of narrowly based and culturally biased tests to evaluate pupils and programs. Curriculums are either hastily contrived to teach to the tests or packaged programs are bought from hard sell hucksters who promise quick and easy quack remedies.

The directors of these programs, who often have little training or experience relevant to the goals of their programs, are defensive and try to hide behind the test scores and the technology of package programs. There is rarely time to think, to come up with innovative programs, to take a compassionate look at the kids to see what is really happening to them.

And yet, ironically, there has been an explosion in the production of the knowledge needed to provide the innovative solutions for the problems of educating all of our youth. We know more about language, language learning, language difference, more about memory, comprehension, reading and writing, more about how we learn and how we use language to learn.

Application of this knowledge has been blocked by a largely negative view of minority youth and their aspiration, which has been pervasive in compensatory education. Modern science tells us we have been confusing difference with deficiency. We have mistaken healthy black kids for sick white ones.

We listened to the Spanish of the Chicanos in the Southwest and called them limited English speakers. We missed the rich culture of the native Americans and labeled them "culturally deprived." We compounded that with an arcane view of the young as miniature defective adults needing to be whipped into shape.

If we can reject a negative view of young people, particularly minority young people, and replace it with a positive healthy respect for their strengths as learners, we can use this new knowledge base to create schools which are effective.

My plea is for a humanstic view of young people and how schools should conduct their education. If our schools treated youth as people with human rights, feelings, talents, strengths, energies, that in itself would make a difference. But don't mistake my position as simply humanistic.

I am arguing that by negating the strengths all young people have as language users and learners, by underestimating their experience, by ignoring the legitimacy of their cultures, we place our schools in conflict with them. Instead, we should be accepting and cherishing the strengths they bring to school. That would put our schools in the position of supportive institutions working with pupils to help them grow and develop.

Several decades of research and theory have supported the wisdom of starting where the learner is to build literacy. We have learned that virtually all children learn easily and well the dialect of their home and community. That is the language best suited to their needs for communication, for thinking and for learning.

Starting where the learner is means accepting the home language as the base and helping young people expand on it, in and

out of school. If pupils come to school with a language other than English, we cannot impose the condition on them that they must first acquire English before we will permit them to learn in school.

If, as is true of most bilinguals in the United States, pupils come to the United States speaking low status dialects of two languages, we cannot negate the strength and render them nonverbal. Similarly, research in recent decades has demonstrated there are no culturally deprived people. All children bring a cultural heritage to school. There is no need to force pupils to choose between what they are and what they want to become.

They can expand their pride in their ethnic, linguistic, and racial heritage as they expand their ability to function in wide cultural circles. Modern cognitive psychologists tell us that learning is interactive, but what learners already know and believe strongly influences how they will interpret new experiences and what they will learn.

Schools, to be successful for all pupils, cannot be places where things are done to young people. They must be places where they grow through relevant extending experience. We come to understand that literacy develops as easily as oral language when it is meaningful and functional from the very beginning.

Research demonstrates the driving need to make sure sense out of things is what motivates and keeps literacy growing. We now understand that you learn to read by reading and to write by writing. The curriculum I am advocating is centered on the learner. It is an optimal curriculum for actualizing equal educational opportunity because it sets neither prerequisites for learning nor limits on what can be learned.

It is not a curriculum to be imposed upon learners but one to be defined in terms of the learners themselves. This is a curriculum that is sensitive and responsive to minority and poor kids because it is sensitive to all learners. Its basic principle and methods are the same in the inner city and in the affluent suburbs because flexibility is their essential quality.

Teachers for this learner-centered curriculum are facilitators, guides, monitors. They are informed professionals able to help learners define problems, see relationships, identify needs and seek solutions. They know young people and they know teaching and learning language and the structure of knowledge.

They can monitor progress, see strengths, and help pupils over hurdles. They can shape the curriculum to take advantage of the strength of the learners. The materials of learning are those of the real world, including the community itself. Textbooks need to evolve from the controlling force that determines the day-to-day curriculum to research books teachers can use to support a flexible program.

The back-to-basics movement has caused school texts to deteriorate badly in quality and utility. These will need to be set aside by teachers who can draw on the rich array of resource materials to serve the varied needs, interests, and abilities and backgrounds of their pupils.

We need hardcover and paperback libraries in every school and classroom. In recent decades, the role of school administrator has tended to narrow to that of the manager of an industrialized,

highly structured system. The principal must once again become the curriculum leader, facilitating and guiding the professional staff in making sure all children are welcome and growing.

Federal programs can be instrumental in revitalizing the entire educational profession to make use of new knowledge in planning the new curriculum. Our colleges of education must have support to develop people who can translate theory and research into practice through re-education of teachers. They need time to produce the professionals capable of carrying to reality an effective curriculum for minority youth.

The current uses of standardized tests must be abandoned. Nothing has been more destructive of teacher morale and curricular relevance than the abuse and misuse of group evaluation. These tests are the chief instrument of institutional discrimination and the major barrier to equalizing educational opportunity.

The alternatives are self-evaluation by students, and kid watching by teachers. In the thirties, before the standardized test had fully taken over, child study, kid watching, was flourishing. We need to restore to teachers the authority and responsibility for knowing their pupils and monitoring their development.

Research has provided powerful new insights and tools for teachers to use in monitoring pupils' growth, but self-evaluation by pupils is even more important. They need to be continuously involved in setting their own aims and judging their own progress.

In my own work I have become convinced that most young people who are considered nonreaders are most in need of revaluing themselves as learners. They become the victims of overskill. They lose the value that reading is supposed to make sense and struggle valiantly to use isolated skills they have been taught.

If they can be helped to revalue literacy and themselves as learners, progress is possible.

This committee, in considering new legislation, can move away from the negative, narrow view of our minority youth and their needs which has characterized past programs. It can move away from funding ill-considered, poorly planned patent medicine programs that promise quick cures but, in fact, provide only reshuffled old programs.

It can encourage programs which are well planned, which draw on modern knowledge and which work with the kids rather than against them. We have made a promise to our young people. That promise is equal educational opportunity. We cannot con them. Many will continue to reject schools in one way or another until they become truly open to them all.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much.

We will go through the witnesses and then we will have questions.

Our next witness is Mr. Dennis Gray, associate director, Council for Basic Education.

Go ahead, Mr. Gray.

## STATEMENT OF DENNIS GRAY, ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR, COUNCIL FOR BASIC EDUCATION

Mr. GRAY. Chairman Perkins and Mr. Miller, I bring you greetings from Dr. Thomas Mendenhall, the president of the Council for

Basic Education and Graham Down, our executive director. Neither was able to be here today and both send regrets.

We thank you for soliciting the council's view of secondary schooling. I will try to add to your storehouse of general information on the high school curriculum, where it stands now and where it should be heading.

In the interest of time, I will only summarize my written testimony which you have.

Our interest in curriculum is the soul of the Council for Basic Education. We believe the primary effort of the school should be to give rigorous instruction in the basic intellectual disciplines. They are English, which includes reading, writing, public speaking, and literature; mathematics; history, by which I mean to include also government and geography; science; foreign languages; and the arts.

What makes these subjects essential is not just that they are traditional. Rather, their importance comes from what can be called their generative power. By this I mean a student who masters these basic subjects has the power to learn whatever lessons life demands.

From its inception nearly 25 years ago, the council has tried to support schools in resisting pressures to divert students to academic subjects of lesser educational importance and pressures to take on miscellaneous responsibilities which properly belong elsewhere, such as the primary responsibility for the social and personal development of students.

These distractions, depending upon their scale, rob time, money, and human energy from the basic subjects. It is true, we recognize, that no adult can escape some measure of responsibility for the upbringing of children, broadly speaking, but only the schools are well-situated to provide every young person with the confidence and self-esteem that come from mastery of educational essentials.

As I say in the written testimony submitted to the committee yesterday, the high school curriculum today reminds me of the condition of some cities: undisciplined sprawl at the edges and creeping decay at the core. The core subjects, the basic subjects, are debilitated. Schools cannot cope successfully with all of the demands placed upon them.

Our 50-state report card, the National Assessment of Educational Progress, is the kind of report card that kids hate to take home. It is almost all bad news, as I spell out more fully in my written statement and as perhaps you have heard in other testimony.

Just what makes up this sprawling curriculum that causes me concern? The first component I will mention is the basic subjects. They are still in the curriculum, to be sure, but under siege. In one recent 5-year period, 35 percent of high schools surveyed increased the number of course requirements, and 64 percent increased their offering of electives.

Assigning more tasks to teachers and students means having less time for each task. Inevitably, students are cheated of needed grounding in the basic subjects, and inevitably, test scores decline.

Congress and State legislators compete for school time, too. Congress has established programs, laudable in purpose, which nevertheless divert attention from the basic subjects. They range from

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law-related education to energy education to marine and aquatic education.

The States also wander rather far afield. I call to your attention page 6 of my written statement. This is a table which is a sampling of the 116 different subjects required by law by the various States. I have divided the sample into two columns, with basic subjects on one side and other subjects on the right.

What the table gives us a glimpse of is the subjects that rival the basic subjects for time in our children's school day. I don't know whether you have a copy of my testimony in front of you, but one illustration that makes the point, I think, is that as far as State legislators are concerned, in terms of the frequency with which they choose to legislate requirements for the schools, mathematics and science are about as important as required instruction in morals, fire prevention and the humane treatment of animals.

The arts are about as important to the minds of State legislators as required instruction in first aid, sanitation, traffic safety, and Bird Day.

The so-called back to basics movement is producing some signs of welcome change, and I say some. The same study of high schools I mentioned a few moments ago showed that in a recent 5-year span, nearly 80 percent of the schools surveyed increased their attention to basic skills: That is, the learning skills, reading, writing and math. Usually only reading and math, and over 80 percent had students from the upper three grades, high school, sophomore, juniors and seniors, receiving remedial instruction in math and reading.

I want to stress that the principal target of the back to basics effort is math and reading, not the full range of basic subjects. The same is true of the minimum competency testing program nationwide.

Schools continue to be beset by contending demands that simply cannot be reconciled. On one side are calls for concentration on the basic skills, the three R's, and for holding down budgets by trimming frills. Do I need to add that the definition of a frill is in the eye of the beholder, and the definition of a frill never, of course, includes interscholastic sports.

On the other side are calls for the schools to do more, more competing education, required subjects, from cardiopulmonary resuscitation to the latest one I heard, hunter education in the State of North Dakota, more career education, more experiential education, the latest trendy idea, which you and I used to call an after-school job.

As a result of the Nation's confusion and disagreement about what we expect of our public schools, the basic subjects have fallen into disrepair. My written testimony details some disheartening facts about science, foreign languages, the arts and mathematics in high school.

Now, in the interest of time, I will not detail any of those at the moment. And there is some good news. But even when you acknowledge that the news is not all bad, none of the good news suggests that we as a nation are yet addressing the root problem, the impossibility of the schools being all things to all students and

all parents and all taxpayers and all legislators, both here and in State capitals.

The schools must concentrate, in the words of Prof. Diane Ravitch, on doing well that which they do best. And she goes on: "Even if nothing else were to change, the reordering of the schools' priorities would itself constitute an important reform."

The first step of this reform would be to learn to say "No" to the endlessly multiplying assignments given to schools. There must be a movement toward consensus in defining "a basic curriculum," a definition broader than the three R's but inhospitable to courses in dairy products or hygiene. The high school curriculum, however defined, can never be more than the means to reach the desired ends of schooling.

I urge the following goal for curriculum reform. It should be the central purpose of the public schools to give instruction in the basic learning skills, reading, writing, and computing and in the fundamental intellectual disciplines, English, math, science, history, foreign language, and the arts, to the end that all students attain the capacity for independent thought.

Schooling thus defined is the cornerstore on which all other forms of education must rest, education for citizenship, for careers in a free enterprise economy, for cultural and personal enrichment and for membership in society.

But even if policymakers were with one voice to shout their agreement to this suggestion, change would still be painful and slow. On page 13 of my written statement, I have listed 10 impediments to reform, all of them serious problems.

The need for change is made more urgent by the fact that teachers, parents, and legislators have already lost the battle for the attention of school aged youngsters. That battle has been won by television. Television captures 30 percent more of the average child's time than schooling does.

Adding time spent with records, radios, and movies, the total for the electronic media is double the time devoted for schooling. To restore some balance, the high school curriculum must concentrate on what is most important, that is the first point, the basic subjects, as I have already argued.

The second point is to restore some balance, the schools must become more effective. Now, as you already know from talking with Ronald Edmonds this morning, new research proves conclusively that schools have a great effect on children and that it matters which schoolchildren attend. Parents have always known this; research has finally caught up with that.

The proof that schools do make a difference contradicts the destructive nonsense that has ruled much educational thinking for 15 years. Successful schools, those where children learn, have an ethos made up of six characteristics. Those are the characteristics that Mr. Edmonds talked to you about and which I spell out in my testimony, and also in much greater detail in an attachment to the testimony with all sorts of questions that will help parents and school board members to identify the characteristics of effective schools.

These are: First, pervasive emphasis on academic achievement. Second, strong academic leadership by principals. Third, clear ex-

pectations that all can learn and all will learn. Fourth, regular academic testing to measure progress. Fifth, a climate of orderliness. Sixth, the least important but nevertheless important, reinforcement from parents and other citizens.

We should have no illusion that the simple sounding, commonsense sounding qualities are easily achieved. But if they can be achieved in one school, why not two? Why not all? If we do not take the steps necessary to strengthen public schooling, we endanger the Nation's children and thus the Nation's future.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much.

Our next witness is Dr. David Cavanaugh, principal of the Worthington High School, Worthington, Ohio.

We will be delighted to hear from you now, Dr. Cavanaugh. Go ahead.

## STATEMENT OF DR. DAVID CAVANAUGH PRINCIPAL, WORTHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL WORTHINGTON, OHIO

Dr. CAVANAUGH. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, Representative Miller. I will not read the testimony because you have my written testimony.

As I listened to the testimony this morning, several times I wanted to jump up and say I think I can answer that question or I think I can help that situation. It is very difficult not to do that sometimes.

Basically the message I would like to bring to you is I don't think schools make the difference; I think people make the difference. And I don't think that to raise expectations for a group of people will allow those people to reach those expectations unless they have the skills with which to reach those expectations.

Basically what we are about in Worthington High School in Worthington, Ohio, is diagnosing students' learning styles. That sounds like a jargonish kind of thing, but what we are trying to do is learn how students learn. Once we learn how they learn, then we put them in an environment that will help them learn.

That sounds very simple. It is not quite that simple at all. Basically, our schools of education are not turning out teachers or administrators who are equipped with skills to go in and diagnose a student's learning style.

We have been able to identify through the research and instrument we have been using developed by Drs. Ken and Rita Dunn in New York called the learning style inventory. We have a two-pronged approach to learning how kids learn. One is cognitive style mapping, developed by the late Dr. Hill in Michigan, and the learning style inventory, developed by the Dunns in New York.

The more exciting of the two approaches is the learning style inventory, and this is the one I would pass on to you this morning in a few words. What we do in the learning style inventory approach is to inventory young people. The back page of the written testimony you have has a chart which shows you the elements that we can identify in our learning style inventory.

To speak directly to the elements, I do not believe that you can talk to a group of students and indicate to them they are to learn a certain item unless you are making the expectations compatible to their ability to deliver.

For instance, just looking at the perceptual elements, how people learn according to vision, auditory strengths, or tactical touching strengths. In any given random selection grouping of people, 20 to 30 percent of the people are auditory learners. But 90 percent of our instruction is given auditorily. Consequently, we have a lot of young people on a collision course with failure.

I think I have an answer, at least for me about one of your earlier questions about what can the Federal Government do about this as you look at it from the Nation's Capital. I think you can do three things.

We do not have educators in the field, administrators or teachers, who are skilled to diagnose learning styles. The literature has the research in it, and those skills can be taught. I would recommend that you would receive dividends on your money if funds were provided to identify schools wherein training could take place to develop skills to diagnose and prescribe.

Second, I think also moneys could go into colleges to help those particular faculties develop training programs for potential teachers and administrators; and third, through the National Principals Association at regional conferences to help principals develop leadership skills to implement this kind of program in their school.

I believe that most all students can learn. They are limited by their own innate ability. But we have proven conclusively that auditory and visual learners have been successful in years past because that is generally how our education systems run.

But tactile learners, 30 to 40 percent of the population, recently have been diagnosed as slow learners. They are not slow learners at all. They can learn if the same material is packaged in a tactile way. In other words, so they can learn with their hands and learn the same material that the audio and visual learners have been learning.

If we were to do that, we would not be wasting the tremendous natural resources we have in the past. Those students could be inventing gasolineless engines today to take us out of the clutches of the Middle East.

So basically, in summary, what we are about is an exciting thing. As a matter of fact, I think it is the most exciting thing I have ever been associated with. We are having success. Students are learning and feeling good about themselves. Moreover, staff members are learning and feeling good about themselves.

We are in the second year of this program, and obviously we have a long way to go. But our statistics are starting to show very, very positive results. Again, I think everyone can learn. Unfortunately, the professional staff and educators are not equipped to deal with those particular learning styles.

If nothing else comes out of the Nation's Capital, that kind of encouragement could take us a long way toward doing all of the things I hear in all of these testimonies. It does not do us any good to say you are going to have to learn 4 years of language, 2 years of math, and 2 years of science unless we equip the young people with the skills and ability to learn those things.

Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much.

The next witness on the panel is Mr. William Rosenbloom, a parent from St. Paul, Minn.

We would be delighted to hear from you at this time, Mr. Rosenbloom.

## STATEMENT OF WILLIAM ROSENBLOOM, PARENT, ST. PAUL, MINN.

Mr. ROSENBLOOM. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, let me first thank you not only for inviting me here today but, more importantly, for making parents a part of these hearings. I think for too long parents have been excluded from all educational and curriculum decisions.

They have been part and parcel of the cookie and cake brigade. I think what we find is that parents do bring a unique viewpoint to education. Their involvement is a necessary ingredient in the decisionmaking and curriculum process, and their involvement does help children.

I hope this committee will continue to involve parents in their future hearings because, as I say, I believe it is very important.

I come here with certain biases which do influence by feelings and opinions. I would just like to summarize what I feel are the highlights of my written testimony.

I come here with the belief that of course we must maintain a strong and viable public education system, a belief that parents and community must have a strong role in the school's decisionmaking and curriculum process. I believe that there must be a monitoring and reporting system to assure parents that whatever form and format the program and curriculum take, their effect on our children will be reported to us. I believe that such involvement will strengthen the public education system.

I speak to you as a graduate of a public school system, a parent with two children in that system, and active involvement as a parent going back 10 years.

That 10 years has been a decade of discontent with educational performance. People have been asking what can we do to change it. These kinds of conditions really combine to create an atmosphere which led to a lot of new innovative and experimental kinds of programs.

Unfortunately, it was too late in a lot of these programs when we discovered that just because something sounds good on paper, it doesn't necessarily educate our children. My position 10 years ago was really very simple. I said what was good for me has to be good for my children. I don't think that is true any more.

Society has changed. Education must change. This also does not mean, though, that I am a member of the "if it's innovative, it's got to be good" club. It means we must change, we must experiment, we must exchange the things we know for the things of tomorrow.

But what we as parents must do is, when the dreamers come to us with their dreams, we have to ask them how our children are going to benefit from the programs and how are they going to prove that benefit to us before they put our children in those programs.

How does an educator prove it to us? I think it is very simple. Implementation of a monitoring and reporting system which tells

us as parents and as a community what is going on with those children on an ongoing basis.

I will give a few very quick personal examples to give you an idea of what can happen without a reporting system to parents, without monitoring. I hve been involved with this system called modular flexible scheduling, which, very simply, breaks the traditional 50-minute periods into 20-minute periods. It proved to be a disaster.

Parents found out after 3 or 4 years of the program that, in fact, children were not learning. This system was sold on the ability, by having more time periods, students would have more choices and would, in fact, enlarge their curriculum. What we found was that in fact, the basics were being totally neglected. Children were opting for all of the kinds of things you would expect them to opt for when given choices.

It took a long time, a whole year of fighting on the part of parents, to change that. It was a wasted year for the students and it was a wasted year for the administrators. Finally, we did change. We went back to a more traditional kind of situation.

But it was the kind of situation which should never have taken place. There should have been reports to parents; that never happened. Parents should have been involved in all those kinds of decisions; they were not.

Another program with which I am familiar is the learning center concept in St. Paul, which basically was used as desegregation. It started out to be a desegregation tool in the early seventies. It transported students from their home school to schools which had a large minority enrollment in which there were special courses, horticulture, art, those kinds of things, within the building.

The belief was that if you brought more majority kids in, you would in some manner desegregate the school. Unfortunately, what happened was the State department of education refused to recognize this as a desegregation tool. The city of St. Paul, the school district of St. Paul, had spent $10 million on these centers, and the only time the centers had been evaluated was in 1976.

The evaluation concluded: "Student participation in the learning center program neither enhances nor hinders the learning of basic skills in the areas of mathematics and reading."

Parents have never been officially told this. When the letter comes home saying do you want your children to participate, they are not told that in fact, if their children participate, their children may be losing something out of those basics. They don't know that such an evaluation took place. They are not being given information that they need to make decisions.

The last program briefly discusses the on-the-job training program which makes work experience available to high school students. It offers career exploration. My daughter recently signed up for this program. It is kind of interesting. She had a job as a waitress in a restaurant. She is making money to go to college. She was working evenings there. Her on-the-job training put her there during the day, so she became a day waitress.

In fact, obviously there is nothing wrong with being a waitress. The problem is I am not quite sure what that was supposed to teach her since she already had the job. What it did is give her 3

hours of school, from 12 to 3. In addition, she didn't start that job until the third week of the trimester. She lost 2 whole weeks, and then she was only working 3 days out of 5.

Parents were not notified in any of these instances. We did not know that she was not going to be in school for 2 weeks. We didn't know that she was out of school 2 days a week. We stumbled on it by accident.

The need for monitoring of these kinds of things, I think, are self-evident. This is not to say there are not good things happening in innovative programs. There are. There are good programs in St. Paul. One which my younger child is in, is in an elementary school. But it is a program which, in fact, incorporated monitoring and reporting to parents as a basic part of that program.

Parents were so impressed with the program and what it was teaching kids because they knew what was going on. They have supported the program. In fact, they went and lobbied for the funds to keep that program going. It was the first time parents had ever gone to the State funding agency to request continuation of a program.

Those people were very impressed that parents had taken the time to do that, but they only did it because they were informed. They knew what was going on.

The Minnesota Legislature has recognized that there is benefit from community and parental participation in the curriculum process. It passed legislation which encourages participation and, in fact, mandates participation in curriculum selection, evaluation, and subsequent reporting of results to the community.

The first report from the State department of education has concluded, in terms of getting the community involved, that such involvement should provide a long-term vehicle for the continued improvement of programs and services at the local level.

Also, a recent article in U.S. News & World Report in 1977 reported, in terms of community and parental participation in the decisionmaking process, that now the professionals are making the unsettling discovery that schools and colleges cannot produce either educated or well-adjusted young people without parental and community cooperation.

Based on the personal experience I have had with local programs as cochairperson of St. Paul Citywide Committee, which did implement the Minnesota planning, evaluating, and reporting law, I feel an appropriate role for the Federal Government is in finding a way to assure that parents are able to participate in the decisionmaking and curriculum process.

Legislation is needed which will guarantee not only the right of parents to be a part of the process but an assurance that parents will receive all information they need to make informed educational decisions to their children.

I do have, as a part of my testimony, some of the kinds of questions which I feel ought to be answered for parents, the purpose of the program and so on. I will not go through those, but I think my personal experience, which can certainly be multiplied thousands of times by other parents, makes it quite obvious that basic information we need to evaluate innovative, new experimental alternative programs is too often denied us as parents.

We know that too many times, those programs are initiated and perpetuated when they are not in the best interest of the students. If further proof is needed to support that contention, one need only visit the educational alternatives graveyard and count the number of good ideas which have died on being tried, educational dreams which have disappeared in the daylight of reality.

When we toy with children's minds, we are playing with the future of the country. And this, I submit, underscores the absolute necessity for parents and the community to know and understand what is happening to our children. Parents must become involved in the educational decisionmaking and curriculum process.

To become involved, they must have access to information. For this, we need your help. Minnesota's PER experience has shown that when the professionals and the community get together, there are positive results for education and for children. Survival of public education depends upon the development of this partnership between educators and parents. We can no longer afford the luxury of us and them.

Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you.

Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

It would seem to me that what the other panel has said and what you gentlemen are saying is the fact that there appears to be a consensus that perhaps a far greater number or a far larger percentage of our children who are attending schools, in fact, can learn and successfully complete that experience than perhaps we had thought over the last 10 years or maybe the last 20 years.

My impression would be that maybe in the most callous sense, and I am not sure I can substantiate it, but maybe in the most callous sense, we created failures for the sake of Federal funds. When you talk about a child being culturally deprived because they come from a native American background or a Hispanic background, in fact it is a misnomer: deprived of what?

But that would lead you to Federal funds. Downstairs earlier this morning we were talking about prolonging people in a bilingual program because if they were English deficient, you have a Federal teacher, or partially paid, or however it is determined. But yet, I hear now something different, that if we really sort of get back on some sort of even keel—and I am not sure how you define that, which is much more difficult than to say it—that a substantial number of these children who before were relegated to broken up periods of time, who were yanked out of their class, someone testified in our first hearings that it was not uncommon for a junior high school student or a high school student to be interrupted between 8 and 13 times between the normal scheduling interruptions of their day to be pulled here and be pulled there.

The question was how could anyone learn. As that bell goes off now, every Member of Congress resents the interruption it is about to present to whatever they are doing. And if, in fact, maybe that is so, I would question, Mr. Goodman and Mr. Gray, whether there is really a difference in your testimony.

It appears, Mr. Gray, that your concept of the basics, what is the basic core education, in fact is not such a restrictive program as

you have outlined, Mr. Goodman; that in fact, the subjects enumerated or the disciplines enumerated in your testimony, Mr. Gray, allow for humanistic development, for the development of the arts and other subjects rather than reading, writing, and arithmetic, which some people have suggested the basics are, but also the fact that if these are offered in a proper way, as is suggested by your testimony and how do children learn, that we can have success and children will have some freedom to go on and study whatever they would like to study.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Miller, there is absolutely nothing in my testimony which is inconsistent with Dr. Goodman's call for a humanistic approach to all students and respect for all students and what they bring to the classroom, nor is there anything inconsistent with Dr. Cavanaugh's approach, which has to do with training teachers and principals how to diagnose learning styles and then to offer instruction which is consistent with those styles.

I am concerned that these approaches be used to achieve mastery of basic subjects much more broadly defined than the narrowly construed 3-R's back to basics problem.

Mr. MILLER. My question is, in fact, whether or not we can engage a process which perhaps reverses what I believe to be the trend—and correct me if I am wrong—that that learning can take place in a mainstream operation with a greater cross section of students than have been allowed to participate in the past; that in fact, more students can meet the entrance requirements and more students can finish the race than we have given credit to in the past; that we have decided because of the labeling—and we know the result of that was to lead to Public Law 94-142 because we were so concerned with overlabeling of children, and we find out now it is being done all over again despite the law.

But we were concerned about the number of people who were being taken out of the chance to run the race because of labeling. And if I hear the previous panel, what you are saying is a suggestion that if you straighten up the school system, if you provide leadership, if you provide some sense of self-worth in these students, then a larger number can play in the game than we had thought before.

Dr. Cavanaugh is suggesting that a much broader spectrum of students can be, in fact, taught the core subjects that you are concerned about.

Dr. CAVANAUGH. Yes. But I am also saying that the testimony you heard earlier this morning about more years in bilingual education, more years won't do it unless you are doing the right things during those years.

Some people are phonics, some people are look-see learners, visual versus auditory.

Mr. MILLER. I am in agreement. I am trying to find out again the core question of what does the Federal Government do. In Dr. Gray's testimony, when he says he outlines a couple of impediments to change, I dare say not many of them are within our realm of jurisdiction or authority. I am not very good in collective bargaining, I am not very good in tenure, I am not very good on general resistance to change. Those things the Congress doesn't work very well with.

Mr. GRAY. I didn't think I would have to point that out to you, Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. But my concern is in trying to lend a hand to opening this opportunity to the broadest number of children.

Mr. GRAY. I would be glad to identify some hands you can lend if you want to.

Mr. MILLER. I am very interested in that.

Mr. GRAY. I don't think you are going to find there are some sweeping national prescriptions that are going to work very well. The remedies are going to turn out to be local because, as Dr. Cavanaugh says, they depend on people. For change to take place, there has to be someone on the site who cares a lot and who passionately follows a proposed change through and sticks with it for years and years.

So what the Federal Government can do is, as Ron Edmonds said, something about research on learning, supporting good research on learning, the dissemination broadly of this. You know, there is no national test item bank. There is no place that people can go to develop good tests with test items that have been proven valid.

On the case of the minimum competency testing, which has now touched four-fifths of the States, Secretary Califano 2 years ago proudly kept that business at arm's length. He said the Federal Government should not have anything to do with that, not even enabling people from the different States to talk to each other and coordinate these developments and to keep 40 of the 50 States which have decided to go into minimum competency testing from charging off in all the crazy directions they in fact have gone.

So there is a coordination job that can be added to the dissemination work.

Teacher education is possibly something that the Federal Government could find a way to support, too, both in the ways Dr. Cavanaugh has indicated, and I think in terms of in-service training programs, in particular funding that will enable teachers to get better grounding in the subjects they teach and will enable them to use their summers more profitably, to improve both the breadth and depth of their general education.

Dr. GOODMAN. I want to respond to the comment that you have made about all of us agreeing on the fact that a much larger number of kids can make it than are making it, and that schools can be much more successful and the relationship of that to categorizing kids.

I can take you to particularly BIA schools in northern Arizona where you have schools that do not have a very large enrollment side-by-side State learning disabilities programs, BIA bilingual programs, title VII bilingual programs. And every time a kid gets labeled, that means he doesn't get the attention of somebody else. He gets siphoned off.

All of that is done through requirements that are often written into guidelines for pretesting and posttesting, and it becomes then the vested interest of the school district to find the test that will produce as many kids as possible who qualify for a particular kind of aid so that you can then get more kids.

I know one school district that did some research to discover which tests make their kids look worst and which tests make their kids look best, so they can use the first kind at the beginning and the second kind at the end to get neat little gain scores and still qualify.

I think the solutions that we are advocating are very different, though, and I think that if you have not noticed the difference between myself and Mr. Sang in terms of what we have advocating, I think they are considerable.

I would have to ask not only what about the 45 percent of the kids who don't pass the math equivalence in the 11th grade, but what about the kids who aren't in the 11th grade because they got pushed out of school in the 9th and 10th grade because of the school district's policy that you don't get promoted unless you meet some kind of level of criteria?

What about the kids who have been expelled from the schools and are not showing up in the statistics at all because of their hard line in terms of what their standards are for dress, behavior and all the other things that he mentioned. It is very easy to change the statistics by pushing kids out of school. We have been doing that for years, and you get a very quick rise when you do it.

Coming to the issue of how you get kids to feel that a school is a place where they want to be, a school is a place where something useful is happening, where some kind of education is taking place that is for them and not to reshape them in somebody else's image. That, I think, begins to be the essence, and that is not a matter of quick ways of raising test scores or raising the norm in a school district by changing the mix of the people who take the test.

Dr. CAVANAUGH. If I could add to that, Mr. Rosenbloom presented, I thought, some excellent points about educators. We as a profession are very jargonish and faddish. We go from tight scheduling to open classrooms to closed classrooms, and for years it has been either/or.

I guess what I am saying is instead of either/or, we should have some of this and some of that. The program should be molded to fit the individual learning style of the student. Again, as far as the Federal Government is concerned, I don't think that there is a more important item before us today than determining how people learn. Our entire future is staked on that. Our country is. And if we are going to put our efforts in any direction, it is to train, I think, people to diagnose that learning style so that they can teach them.

The frustration we have in our schools, the feeling of being not satisfied, is due in large part, I submit, to people who are not learning because they are not being taught properly. We have found two very, very glaring results of our program.

One, of course, is grades are going up. I can tell you "F" students who have gone to "B's," and I can tell you "A" students who think that their grades have more substance to them now. Grades are one thing. But the other part of that is satisfaction. People feel good knowing that someone really knows them and that they can achieve.

Mr. MILLER. I just get a very strong impression that we are dealing with a tailor-made system and that as much as I support

the need for even greater Federal support for education, I am very concerned about how we leave our imprint and the various directions we will send school districts and State systems off on.

Mr. GRAY. Mr. Miller, I am far from an expert on school finance, but I do recognize no one has the power to raise revenue like the Federal Government. And it may be that some of the fruits of that power might be more effectively brought to bear locally on all of these tailor-made solutions to these problems by revenue-sharing formulas which have not yet been tried.

Dr. CAVANAUGH. Please don't misunderstand my comments. I am very much for local control of education. But your question is what can the Federal Government do to help us accomplish our goal. I submit for your consideration that for all the things the Federal Government is doing, the most important thing, to me, they should be doing is helping us diagnose and prescribe and helping us build skills in people who are educators to do that.

Mr. MILLER. I don't disagree with you. I have spent a substantial amount of money on my youngest son and continue to for that purpose, and I dare say his whole learning experience has dramatically changed in the last 5 or 6 months. So I don't disagree with it.

It really is a question of that role. I think the system is described in the series of hearings the chairman has undertaken, which are the most valuable hearings I have had in the 5 years I have been in Congress. We have been talking for the first time not in responding to some categorical need which has arrived on the scene in the last few months, but we are talking in a general sense about a system and the participants in that system and how to rematch it so we can achieve success.

I strongly believe that there is far greater excellence in these children than we have ever given them credit for, and there has got to be some way to bring that out in the sense of their self-worth, self-dignity, and their pride.

But I just honestly do not believe that the current system generally has done that. Clearly, there are exceptions. I don't know. I have a lot of questions about Jacksonville. I would like to go down there. But someone senses success out of that system. Someone feels better. Someone feels better in St. Paul than they did before. It is achieving something they didn't achieve.

But I think it is a possibility for hundreds of thousands of students today who are simply going there to eat their lunch and can't wait to get out. I don't view that as their fault.

Mr. GOODMAN. I would like to make a plea for what I have to call flexibility in the guidelines for any future Federal programs. I think we have a constant syndrome of the money coming at a point where it has to be immediately spent with no time to develop the staff necessary or to find the qualified leadership or to free them from other responsibilities, rigid guidelines that push people into extensive use of standardized testing because that is the justification for getting and keeping the money.

It forces people to buy technological packages instead of looking at the kids and trying to come up with constructive solutions that really do innovate, getting a chance to really involve the parents in the act instead of window dressing by putting a few people on an

advisory committee after the fact, after the program is already in place.

I think that the need is great and Federal programs can make a difference, but they have to be ones that permit a variety of solutions and a variety of alternatives, and some of the alternatives with very small numbers, some with larger numbers, so that the Federal Government is not in the position with the objective of solving the problem, of making the problem actually worse than it was before.

Mr. MILLER. You know, if I can just for a moment, Mr. Chairman, the problem is the revenue-sharing approach obviously is attractive for some very bad reasons. I don't have to take any responsibility. All I have to do is provide the money. Well, I am more interested in that because I am very clear that revenue sharing on the municipal, county, and State level provides an awful lot of aid to people who don't need it. It goes to an awful lot of systems which are poorly designed and it keeps them afloat.

So I am concerned. I am not here to design a Federal program in education for the local level, but I am concerned that we know enough about the models, potential models, after 20 years of rapid turnover and experimentation and development and labeling and all the things we have experienced, that we have a chance at success. I can't ask much more than that.

But we have some chance at that success. And just to say give us the money and we will figure it out because we know better than you, I have listened to a lot of witnesses sitting at that table who I don't think know a hell of a lot about anything, and I am not too inclined to give them the money.

But if I thought we had a reasonable chance of giving these kids the opportunity that I think would let them blossom, fine, let's do it. But those answers are somewhat more difficult than I thought when I was running for this job. [Laughter.]

Mr. GOODMAN. I cannot disagree with you, but it seems to me that two things are the biggest danger. One is the urgency that is always built in, that these results have to be immediate and they have to be tangible. The other is that the only evidence of tangibility is in terms of standardized tests.

As soon as you introduce those two things, you eliminate 80 percent of the alternatives because then you are looking at programs for us to teach to the test, for us to use the test as the basis for the curriculum. So in many States that now have minimal competency requirements for high school graduation, large numbers of kids in their last year of school are doing nothing but drill and drill and drill and keep taking the test over and over again.

Mr. MILLER. Don't you think that is somewhat reflective of our sense or the State's sense or the parents' sense of confidence in the teachers? If they really had confidence in the teacher and the teacher gave your son or daughter an "A," you would feel that your son or daughter was prepared to move on to the next step in that discipline.

But there is something lacking in that sense, so it is not enough. And yet, we have a number of law schools that now say they are not going to look at the LSAT. They are looking at this young person in their community and school. What have they done? That

would be a better indicator of what kind of alumni, lawyer, and so forth that student will be.

But they must have some confidence in those various institutions to be prepared to take that chance, and we all know that is true at the college level. An "A" from some place means one thing, and an "A" from others does not mean anything because of the confidence there is in that faculty.

Mr. GOODMAN. The irony is these rigid programs that emphasize high standards and achievements on very narrow lines, what they tend to do is neutralize the effectiveness of the more competent teachers and frustrate them, and they don't do anything to raise the competency of teachers who were not competent in the first place.

That is where the decline in teacher morale is coming from. That is where the rebellion is coming from. And that is also what is leading parents to go into courts and sue, as in Florida and other States, over the net effects of these kinds of programs.

Mr. MILLER. We don't want to get into the legalities of the Jacksonville system here.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Since we are discussing curriculum, the leadership must come from the local school districts. Do you, Dr. Goodman, feel that title I has played its part in strengthening the secondary curriculum?

Dr. GOODMAN. Particularly high school curriculum, you are talking about?

Chairman PERKINS. How do you other gentlemen feel about it?

Dr. GOODMAN. I think that title I in general, and I can't really differentiate the effect on the high school curriculum from the effect on the elementary because——

Chairman PERKINS. Well, just take it together.

Dr. GOODMAN. I see the problems being the same. I can point personally to a number of highly effective title I programs. I have been involved in one in the Honolulu district in Hawaii, for instance. I am involved in one now in Bisbee, Ariz.

I would characterize about 80 percent of the title I programs that I see as essentially using Federal money to do more intensively what has not worked in the past. The pressure for tangible results, the way that the funding is channeled through the States, the kind of criteria that get set up tend to move away from any kind of innovative, constructive, positive alternative, and to emphasize a kind of backing toward a back to basics, of after-school programs, extensive tutorial programs, but with no new content. Simply the same kind of thing over and over again.

The tendency that I see in the effects of those when they are evaluated is that you get an initial spurt that comes from the newness of any program, and then it kind of disappears into the technological woodwork because now you have a group of people who owe their jobs to title I support and must keep justifying the fact that it exists.

Chairman PERKINS. Assuming that you had the authority to strengthen the curriculum at the high school level the way that you feel it should be strengthened, what suggestions would you

offer to the States and local school districts to strengthen their own curriculum, if you could make a general observation?

Of course, we had instances this morning of Jacksonville, Fl., where we had an outstanding school superintendent doing an outstanding job. In those instances they go ahead on their own. But in these instances where we have other situations in the school systems, what suggestions would you have?

Dr. GOODMAN. I don't know anything you can do to overcome the effect of mediocre people on kids, teachers, or administrators, and I don't think you can build policies on the premise that people are mediocre. We had a flash in the pan a few years ago when people were talking about teacher-proof materials.

Chairman PERKINS. Do you think we ought to get those people weeded out and go for quality instruction?

Dr. GOODMAN. Yes, I think so. What happens is, with the increased emphasis on technology, with the emphasis on package programs, with the back to basics and the extensive use of testing, we have lodged a lot of those incompetents in bureaucratic roles where they are the ones who are calling the shots. They are in the defensive position of having to defend themselves by acting like they have control over a kind of technology which gets equated with science.

I think it is not going to be quick and it is not going to be easy to change that. But one of the things that has to happen is that we shift the focus back to the kids, that we begin to look positively to them, but we begin to look at why they are responding the way they are.

Recent research from anthropologists coming into the classroom looking at what happens there is suggesting that failure is learned, too. That is a kind of achievement. You achieve failure in school and that becomes a predictable kind of role, even status role among your peers.

We have to look at the situation of how our kids are responding to what we are teaching, what they are actually experiencing, and then redesign programs and retrain teachers so that they are oriented toward building on the kid's strength, toward expanding him in directions he needs to go and helping him develop to become the kind of person he can be come.

Chairman PERKINS. Simply stated, do you feel that in order to have more equal secondary schools, we must have better qualified teachers?

Dr. GOODMAN. Yes, I do.

Chairman PERKINS. Is that correct?

Dr. GOODMAN. Yes.

Chairman PERKINS. Do all of you gentlemen agree with that?

Mr. GRAY. I have nothing to add to what Dr. Goodman said.

Dr. CAVANAUGH. I would agree with him also, but you asked what we would do at a State and local level. I would weed out the mediocrity at the State and local level, and I would insist that the professionals who remain become experts in diagnosing how students learn.

I keep coming back to that because I think it is the heart of our entire profession. And rather than put old wine in new bottles, I

think we need to embark upon a very ambitious, strict system of teaching those skills to professionals.

If they are not in the field for those particular reasons, to learn how to diagnose and then provide appropriate instruction to students according to how they learn, then they should not be in the form. They should find other forms of employment.

Mr. ROSENBLOOM. Mr. Chairman, I wonder if Dr. Goodman's comments don't underline really the need and necessity for parents to be involved and know what is happening. If it is a given that we have mediocrity in the system, if it is also a given that that is not going to change overnight, then one way to work with that is to have parents who do have knowledge of what is happening, information of what is happening to their children, and they in turn can become pressure points to turn and change that, to, in fact, look out for their children.

I wonder, again, if that does not underscore the need for that participation.

Chairman PERKINS. I think it does, personally.

Mr. Miller, have you any further questions?

Mr. MILLER. One concern is, in the development of this system, it would seem to me that in many ways certainly the school principal has very little control. I have sat in God knows how many conversations with teachers, principals, and administrators and students who are wonderful at it, and they have all named the incompetent teachers, the teachers with severe social problems, with an inability to teach, and yet it goes on.

But it goes on because, as I said earlier, because of collective bargaining arrangements, where the administration wishes to turn their head. They don't want to go through the grievance procedure. So you tolerate these, and hopefully the teacher will choose something else.

This isn't just at the teacher level that I am thinking of, but people, because they cannot get along with students, have been promoted to the administration of students since you don't want to let them near students. Teachers who are also very good with students are also promoted because you want to pay them more to be able to keep them, and then they don't get to work with the students.

The analogy that I use is in this Government, in the Navy, we wouldn't send a tugboat or carrier to sea without somebody in charge. And yet we launch all of these systems in terms of school-based systems or even districts, but really, the person supposed to be in charge is not in charge. He can't hire or fire anyone. He can't reward anyone. He can't punish anyone. He can't leave his imprint.

There is always sort of a new spurt, they say, in terms of idealism and charge and attitude in the school when a new principal arrives. But sure enough, just like new Members of Congress, they get ground down and pretty soon you end up with a lot of empty microphones.

[Laughter.]

I think there is some concern about that because, again, if we were to bring new moneys to the system or redirect existing moneys we have, you want some assurance that something is going

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to change. And yet I see a system like Gulliver tied down on the beach. I am not sure it is ready to sit up yet, but it is tied down by a lot of small interests that have thrown enough threads over it to hamstring it.

In a sense, it is very distressing when I think whether I can go home to the district I represent and say we just voted 8 billion new dollars for the education system, they would say: Why?

Dr. GOODMAN. I want to correct a feeling that I may have created. I don't think that teachers are to blame for everything that is happening. I think there are incompetent teachers and I also would like not to have them be there. But I think there are a large number of teachers who would do a better job if they were helped, who sincerely want to, who are in the position of trying to work with kids but they need leadership.

That is where a good deal of the power of a principal or a supervisor or administrator lies. Many of them may feel powerless in the sense of the immediate ability to fire a teacher out of the classroom. On the other hand, I have seen many principals whose personality pervades, whose educational philosophy pervades the school system, who do tremendous jobs of helping teachers become more effective, who really do wield a lot of power and wield it very positively.

I see some who wield their power very negatively and are very good at neutralizing their most effective staff members. I don't think that administrators can take the excuse that they are powerless any more than teachers can take the excuse that when the door is closed and they are in their classroom, they have no control over what happens.

Most of what happens that is important to kids happens between teachers and kids, and teachers have a good deal of power there, and principals have a lot of power in their schools.

Mr. GRAY. Much less than how those principals decide to exercise the authority they have, too. As Dr. Ronald Edmonds pointed out, one of the characteristics of an effective school's leadership is a principal who spends at least half of his time in classrooms observing what is going on in classrooms and then giving feedback to the teachers on the basis of that.

That assumes, too, that the principal is a master teacher and has the capacity to be helpful and constructive in that role. But the principal who spends that half of his time on all kinds of other things is not going to exercise the leadership inherent in the job even in a job where legal authority is understood to rest not at the school site level but rather with the superintendent or school board.

Dr. CAVANAUGH. Yes. Change is risky business, and as you point out, some principals do not have a lot of power and sometimes they would prefer it that way because they don't have the skills to carry out the change. I keep coming back to that point. We have to start at step one, and that is to equip our educators, principals, and teachers, with the skills to diagnose and work with the material so they can complement the students' learning styles.

If the principal is trained and has an opportunity to build skills, then you will see programs like this last even after that particular

dynamic principal leaves. As I say, it is the basic question of our entire profession: how do students learn.

Mr. MILLER. If we went out to train the teachers, there would be a substantial period of time before you could get those teachers into the system because of just the natural labor.

Dr. CAVANAUGH. I have done it in less than 2 years.

Mr. MILLER. Have you?

Dr. CAVANAUGH. Yes. I started out with 42 teachers a year ago in a staff of a high school of 136 teachers. This year I have 50 more. I also have two elementary schools and two middle schools. Next year the entire schools system will be on it.

Mr. MILLER. Most of that would be inservice training, is that right?

Dr. CAVANAUGH. Yes, monthly inservice training which I lead. I taught a class showing how to involve the students and the teachers in this, and I have a monthly in-service. But last year we were diagnosing for 1,200 students. This year we are diagnosing for over 3,000. Our school system has a little over 6,000 students.

So it can be done. But there has to be some help.

Mr. MILLER. Oh, I don't question that at all. If I didn't believe it could be done, I would be on another committee somewhere, space shuttles or something.

Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me thank all of you gentlemen for your appearance here. You have been most helpful to the committee and we have had a very constructive hearing. I thank all of you.

[Whereupon, at 12:35 p.m., the hearing was concluded.]

[Additional information for the record follows:]

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February 7, 1980

The Honorable Carl D. Perkins, Chairman
House of Representatives
Committee on Education and Labor
Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary,
and Vocational Education
B-346C Rayburn House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Perkins:

I wish to express my gratitude for being invited to testify at the oversight hearing on American Secondary Education held by the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education on February 5, 1980.

Representative George Miller in pursuing the question concerning what role the Federal government should play in education echoed my feelings when he said that he is concerned that federal money may very well be used to support school systems which themselves are less than desirable (or words to that effect). I concur.

It appears to me that much of the current effort, testimony, and planning is focused on perpetuating the current system of public education which is an anachronistic, agrarian model. Millions of dollars are being spent on "things" (machines) in the name of educating the youth of our nation.

My appeal is that we shift our combined focus from what was to what should be and begin implementing strategies to carry us to that goal. One major change in our effort must be to divert our energies and expenditures away from the "things" of education and toward the direct development of people.

It does us little good to mandate that "Johnny must read" if the profession in charge of Johnny's program lacks the ability to determine if Johnny should be taught auditorially, visually, tactually or kinesthetically. Before educators can make that decision, they must be equipped with the skills to determine Johnny's needs and then prescribe him into the proper methodology.

It is my contention that federal, state and local government must consolidate their efforts to sponsor a growth and development program aimed at current and potential educators. There is a growing body of research on diagnosing learning styles, on brain research, and on thought processing. It must be part of the repertoire of every professional who is allowed to practice in the field of education.

An immediate approach to this problem could be through three avenues:

1. Funds made available to the National Association of Secondary School Principals (which heretofore has exerted leadership in this area) to hold regional institutes to help administrators to develop the skills necessary to lead their staffs toward the development of the diagnostic-prescriptive approach.

2. Funds made available directly to secondary schools which are committed to work on learning styles to train teaching staff so that they can develop the skills necessary to individualize for their students. The schools so selected could serve as regional models.

3. Funds made available to the Center for the Study of Learning and Teaching Styles at St. John's University so that they could establish regional conferences and workshops for the faculties or teacher training institutions. These institutions could then prepare potential educators with the skills needed to truly individualize instruction.

Public Law 94-192 demands an individual program for all special education students. I believe all students should receive nothing less.

Thank you for your consideration in this matter.

Sincerely,

David P. Cavanaugh, Ph.D.
Principal

DPC:md

cc: William D. Ford, Mich.
Ike Andrews, N.C.
George Miller, Calif.
Austin J. Murphy, Pa.
Baltasar Corrada, P.R.
Dale E. Kildee, Mich.
Pat Williams, Mont.
Augustus F. Hawkins, Calif.
Michael O. Myers, Pa.
Ray Kogovsek, Colo.
William F. Goodling, Pa.
John H. Buchannan, Jr., Ala.
Arlen Erdahl, Minn.
Daniel B. Crane, Ill.
Jon Hinson, Miss.
John M. Ashbrook, Ohio
Ex officio

# OVERSIGHT HEARINGS ON AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

## Discipline and Teacher Concerns

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WEDNESDAY, FEBRUARY 6, 1980

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY,
AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:40 a.m., in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Perkins, Miller, Murphy, Kildee, Buchanan and Erdahl.

Staff present: John F. Jennings, counsel; Nancy Kober, staff assistant.

Chairman PERKINS. The committee will come to order. A quorum is present.

The Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education is continuing oversight hearings today on secondary education.

The format for this morning will be similar to yesterday, in that we will be focusing on two separate issues in secondary education. These two issues are school discipline and teacher concerns.

We will open with a panel of witnesses who are knowledgeable about secondary school discipline. They will be talking about the extent of school violence, the causes of school disruption, and ways in which junior and senior high schools can create a favorable school climate.

This panel will be followed by two panels, one representing the National Education Association and one representing the American Federation of Teachers. These panels will focus on teacher concerns in secondary education, including teacher stress and teacher "burnout."

Our first panel will include: Dr. Gary D. Gottfredson, Center for Social Organization of Schools, Johns Hopkins University; Eve Block, executive director, Statewide Youth Advocacy, Rochester, N.Y.; Yolande Collins, discipline associate, American Friends Service Committee, Macon, Ga.

All of you come up to the table. Please come around.

Dr. Gottfredson, please identify yourself for the record and we will hear from you first.

[The prepared statement of Gary D. Gottfredson follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF GARY D. GOTTFREDSON, PH. D., DIRECTOR, PROGRAM IN DELINQUENCY AND SCHOOL ENVIRONMENTS, CENTER FOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLS, THE JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Mr. Chairman, members of the Subcommittee, I am Gary Gottfredson, a psychologist and Director of the Program in Delinquency and School Environments at the Johns Hopkins University Center for Social Organization of Schools. I am pleased to have the privilege of being here today. I have been asked to summarize the results of my recent research on disruption in the nation's junior and senior high schools. I am delighted to do so, and I will attempt also to spell out what I believe should be done at the Federal level if we will reduce disruption in secondary schools.

Over the past year, my colleague, Denise Daiger, and I have carefully reexamined some of the information collected by the National Institute of Education (NIE) as part of its Safe School Study. This research was made possible first by the existence of the extensive and high quality data about secondary schools and the kinds and levels of disruption they experience collected by the able staff of the Institute, led by project director David Bossel, and secondly by research support also provided by the Institute. (I should point out, however, that all opinions I express are mine alone, and no endorsement by any agency whatever should be inferred.) The data collected by NIE are a valuable resource for exploring the nature and causes of school disorder, despite the limitations inherent in the one-shot survey approach used in that study. The examination of natural variations among schools--variations in size, community location, the ways they are run, and the composition of their clients--provides one way to scrutinize ideas about the prevention of school disruption. It provides a way to separate

prevention strategies that show promise when subjected to empirical scrutiny from other ideas which may be suggested by theories or common sense but which nevertheless are less promising in light of the evidence.

You may recall that one phase of the NIE study involved the collection of a great deal of information from 642 junior and senior high schools in 1976. Principals, teachers, and students all contributed information about the school and about their experiences in it. In our research we have focused on students' and teachers' experiences of personal victimization. We have made no attempt thus far to carefully examine other kinds of school disruption--vandalism or property loss. In short, then, I will be talking about students' experiences of attacks, robberies, or thefts, and teachers' experiences of these kinds of victimizations plus threats and verbal abuse. These kinds of experiences often include incidents that would be considered crimes, but include also a great many minor irritations, indignities, or disruptive episodes that would usually not be considered crimes.

We have built on and extended the research by the NIE staff that was summarized in the Safe School Study Report to Congress. Specifically, we have conducted a more thorough examination of teacher victimization than did the earlier report, scrutinized the social and economic characteristics of the community in which the schools are located in a way barely begun in the NIE report, and used statistical procedures that provide conservative tests of the contributions of schools to the rates of disruption they experience. I have made a detailed report of this research available to your staff,* and so will not trouble you with an

*Gottfredson, G. D., & Daiger, D. C. Disruption in Six-Hundred Schools: The Social Ecology of Personal Victimization in the Nation's Public Schools. Baltimore, Md.: Johns Hopkins University, Center for Social Organization of Schools, 1979 (227 pages).

account of the technical details of the strengths and weaknesses of our research here. Instead, I will summarize for you some of what we have learned.

First, I will describe the promising leads--the strategies to decrease school disruption which merit attention by administrators, teachers, funding agencies, legislators, and citizens. These strategies, on the basis of the evidence, deserve discussion, and they deserve to be implemented, monitored, and evaluated to learn whether they really do prevent school disorder in practical application and to learn how we can get schools to apply these strategies more often and more consistently. Second, I will discuss ways to achieve better, more trustworthy knowledge about prevention strategies. Gaining this knowledge will involve not only researchers but also committed and courageous school officials, teachers, and funding agencies. Third, I will suggest a policy-maker's guide to learning about the prevention of school disruption. I will try to spell out how legislators, administrators, teachers, and the public can learn to cope with school disruption. A large part of the task is to learn how to encourage the adoption of prevention strategies that show promise of being effective.

## Promising Strategies

### School Operation

Our research leads to the conclusion that schools may be able to reduce the levels of disorder they experience by taking some specific actions to alter their own practices. None of these steps will be particularly easy to implement--some are costly, others require the exercise of leadership and commitment. Furthermore, none of these strategies is a sure-fire remedy or prevention technique, but they are approaches to

the reduction of school disorder which merit careful consideration.

Our results accord closely with those of earlier research which suggest that large schools with limited resources experience more problems. A constellation of related school characteristics--school size, number of different students taught by the typical teacher in a school, and the extent to which teachers are provided with the materials and equipment they need to teach--is implicated in those aspects of school disorder which affect teachers personally. This suggests that consideration be given to changes in schools which would result in schools of smaller size, where teachers have extensive responsibility for and contact with a limited number of students in several aspects of their education, and where steps are taken to ensure adequate resources for instruction.

To the extent that small schools may be more costly to operate than larger schools, and to the extent to which supplying teachers with teaching tools is costly, these strategies will, of course, cost money. Yet, for junior high schools in particular, small schools have fewer problems of teacher victimization. The increase in cost should be considered in relation to the cost of teacher victimization.

In senior high schools, especially, consideration should be given to reorganizing instruction so that each teacher has greater contact with a more limited number of students. By this I do not mean smaller class sizes. Our analyses do not suggest that smaller classes would decrease school disruption, but do suggest that the rotation of students through classes taught by different teachers influences levels of teacher victimization in high schools. We have not determined how or why this happens. Perhaps the mere exposure of teachers to a large number of different students

increases the chance that they will be exposed to a large number of potential perpetrators. Perhaps, as others have suggested (NIE, 1977), when teachers are involved in the education of large numbers of different students, the educational climate is impersonal and leads to disruption.

Reducing the number of different students taught by the typical teacher would necessarily require a reorganization of instructional practices so that teachers teach more than one subject to a group of students, and may call for a greater range of teaching competencies for individual teachers and more instructional preparation. Again, a trade-off of alternatives is involved.

Some other strategies for preventing school disruption implied by our research are more closely tied to social processes within the school—what I have called school governance and social climate. These strategies would require school administrators and teachers to alter their operating procedures, and would depend for their implementation on the leadership, commitment, and social competencies of these personnel. A constellation of school characteristics is involved in these strategies, all related to a central theme. The more clear, explicit, and firm the running of the school, the less the disruption—in terms of both teacher and student victimizations—that the school experiences. When a school is characterized by a high degree of cooperation between teachers and administration, teachers are victimized less. In such a school teachers report that they get along well with the administration, that they are provided with up-to-date information about problem students by the administration, that all students are treated equally in the school, and that they get advice about handling misbehaving students from the counselors. When, however,

teachers are confused about how school policies are set, or when the teachers provide students with ambiguous sanctions by lowering grades as a response to misconduct or by ignoring misbehavior, disruption either in the form of student or teacher victimizations is relatively high.

Additional evidence in our analyses suggests that when schools are run in clear, explicit ways, disruption is lower. When students report that rule enforcement is firm and clear, or that the rules are fair and clear, their schools experience less disruption. Li[illegible]nce suggests that student participation in the generation of these rules is a necessary ingredient. The essential elements appear to be firm, clear, persistent, and even-handed application of rules. The results suggest, in short, that misconduct should not be ignored but should be responded to in ways that students can anticipate, and in a way which separates responses to academic performance from responses to misconduct.

Implementing this strategy would involve the concerted effort of administrators and teachers to formulate explicit rules and disciplinary policies, to make these rules and policies known, and to ensure that these policies are adhered to. The rules must not only be clear, firmly enforced, and equitably administered, but they must also appear to be so to students. Learning how to get this strategy implemented in schools is a major remaining research and practical problem.

Conditions within which Schools Operate

Our research also implies that community and governmental action which alters the conditions within which schools operate may influence levels of school disruption. Teacher victimization rates are high in schools located in areas characterized by much poverty, unemployment, and a high

proportion of female-headed families; or in schools where large proportions of the students are black, rated by teachers and principals as low in ability, and come from families on welfare. This constellation resembles a community organization factor which may be referred to as social problems or social disorganization. Although I go beyond the data in suggesting this strategy, the perpetuation of areas in our cities characterized by social disorganization may perhaps be halted by removing policies or practices which result in the concentration of poor people in certain sections of large urban areas (for example, locating low cost housing projects only in urban slums rather than in more widely dispersed locations). We have used community variables primarily as statistical controls in our attempt to identify school variables related to levels of school disruption. I note, however, that housing segregation, poverty, and unemployment are major problems which are tied to disruption in schools, and remedying these social ills may have major consequences for school disruption, especially in terms of rates of teacher victimization.

Because housing is segregated, schools are segregated, and many communities have implemented school desegregation programs. In junior high schools desegregation programs are statistically associated with slightly higher rates of student victimization. Schools where many students are bused, which are under court order to desegregate, which have a local desegregation plan, or which are characterized by racial imbalance have slightly higher rates of student victimizations. The major variable appears to be the percentage of a school's students which is bused to achieve racial balance. This outcome was not replicated in our study of senior high schools.

If the racial and economic segregation of neighborhoods which characterized American society did not exist, busing students to achieve racial balance would not be an issue. If it is true that busing to desegregate junior high schools slightly increases student victimization, then the strategy suggested earlier of decreasing residential segregation, and avoiding the concentration of poor families only in certain areas of cities, takes on increased importance. At the same time, I reiterate that my suggestion of this strategy is based on reasonable speculation rather than on evidence.

I do not suggest that consideration be given to halting desegregation programs in schools. Even were it true, as the evidence suggests, that junior high schools with high proportions of students bused for racial balance experience slightly more student victimizations than similar schools without such busing, busing is less objectionable than the alternative of providing some groups of citizens with inferior schooling. In addition, the contribution of desegregation to student victimization suggested by our analyses is smaller than the contributions of school administrative and governance styles which could presumably be altered to reduce disruption in junior high schools.

## Learning to Do Better

The strategies for preventing school disruption described in the preceding paragraphs are based on the best evidence and the best analytical skill we have been able to apply to the problem to date. Nevertheless, the evidence and the analytical tools used are far from perfect. The strategies suggested appear particularly worthy of attention and trial, but I cannot confidently state that they will definitely prevent school disruption. I can confidently state that getting schools to adopt these practices will be a difficult task.

The Task of Evaluation

Evaluation researchers have at their disposal a number of powerful designs that allow reasonably strong inferences about program effectiveness, only one of which is the true experiment. One of the most powerful quasi-experimental designs involves the systematic, uniform collection of data about levels of disruption over time. If these levels change after a new school policy or systematic practice is implemented—and when evidence indicates that the change in practices was implemented with fidelity—then a reasonable inference is that the new policy or practice caused the change in levels of disruption. When similar evidence is accumulated for different schools, in different places, and at different times, then strong inferences about the effectiveness of the strategy may be made.

Seldom are experiments of the sort described here attempted, and uniform, high quality information about levels of school disruption is rarely routinely collected over time. Because evaluating school programs is not a popular activity, Congressional and other Federal support and encouragement may be needed. School administrators and teachers sometimes fear that data about school disruption will be misused, or used against them. Also, the evaluation of social programs is often frustrating—often all one learns is that the intended program was never really implemented as planned, or that the program cannot be demonstrated to be effective. Yet because preventing violence and disruption in public schools is an important goal, learning how this goal can be achieved is important. Courage, effort, and skill are required to learn to do better. Even learning that a particular prevention strategy was not implemented as intended is a positive contribution. It points the way for further efforts directed at achieving program implementation.

The Problem of Implementation

In his remarks at the oversight hearing on the Safe School Study in January 1978, Congressman Andrews illustrated a central issue to be faced in learning to do a better job of preventing school disruption.

> I would suggest that the conclusions in your study and your recommendations are probably accurate and wise. I say that because my wife, a seventh-grade teacher, and my mother who taught for some 30-odd years, and my daughter who has now taught for 8 years, could have told you the same things before you started the study. . . . (It) is like the farmer who did not buy the book on agriculture. He said he did not need to learn any more. He was not doing half as well as he already knew how to do.

A large part of the task of learning to prevent school disruption is learning how to bring about the adoption of effective strategies. We will learn how to do this only by trying to implement promising strategies and observing the conditions that lead to successful implementation. Recent and prospective activities of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) are encouraging steps along these lines. A recent project funded by OJJDP and carried out by the Social Action Research Center in California illustrates the difficulties involved in attempting to implement a prevention plan in a school and begins the task of searching for ways to overcome these difficulties. And, the planned attempt by OJJDP to implement and evaluate an "alternative education" project is also encouraging. Provided that evaluation researchers are sufficiently involved in the implementation of this project that implementation can be satisfactorily monitored, the conditions that promote implementation can be assessed, and outcomes can be dependably measured, and provided that this initiative is pursued rather than abandoned in a few years, this approach should prove valuable. Such initiatives could also provide a useful focus for interagency cooperation.



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The path to preventing school disruption laid out here is not an easy path to tread. It will require the active cooperation of policy makers, administrators, teachers, the public, and evaluation researchers. Immediate, large scale reductions in school disruption are not to be expected. Instead, the best that can be hoped for, at least in the short run, is a gradual increase in practical knowledge and a modest improvement in the orderliness of schools. One-shot studies or flashy but short-term and poorly evaluated demonstration projects will be of limited value.

A Policy-Maker's Guide

In attempting to prevent school disruption the wise policy maker will:

1. Recognize that spectacular results are not to be expected immediately.
2. Be skeptical about any particular claim that the solution to school disruption is in hand.
3. Try to implement promising strategies to reduce school disruption. This might include:
   (a) focusing resources and technical assistance on secondary schools with the highest risks of problems, to assist them in reducing school size, increasing the instructional resources, and reorganizing instruction so each teacher deals more closely with a limited number of students;
   (b) developing and instituting model disciplinary procedures with clearly specified rules, enforcement methods, and litigation procedures that separate academic from disciplinary problems, and that provide an appropriate range of consequences for students.

4. Provide mechanisms to monitor the implementation of those programs, to see if they are really implemented as planned.
5. Make explicit plans to evaluate prevention programs using the most powerful designs possible.
6. Put his or her favorite strategy to reduce school violence on the line by subjecting it to rigorous tests.
7. Expect some failures. Honest evaluations of honest efforts do not always produce positive results. Try to learn from the experience, design a new program, and evaluate that.
8. Make the conditions under which implementation is achieved a major topic of study. We may know more about what should be done than we know about how we can do what we should do.
9. Persevere. There is reason to believe not only that broad social interventions, but also rather specific steps taken by schools can succeed in reducing school disruption. Accumulating knowledge about what works, and about ways to encourage the adoption of sound practices in schools, will require programmatic effort.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would be pleased to respond to any questions the Subcommittee may have.

## STATEMENT OF GARY D. GOTTFREDSON, CENTER FOR SOCIAL ORGANIZATION OF SCHOOLS, JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

Dr. GOTTFREDSON. Mr. Chairman, I am Gary Gottfredson, a psychologist and director of the program of delinquency in school environments at the Johns Hopkins University Center for Social Organization of Schools.

I appreciate your recent invitation to summarize my recent research on disruption in the Nation's public schools and to comment more generally on school discipline at the secondary level and how school disruption may be reduced.

I am not sure how familiar members of the subcommittee are with the recent congressional mandated safe school study conducted by the National Institute of Education and I think it might be appropriate, if you want, to ask that a copy of the Executive Summary of that early report be included in some way in the record.

[The material referred to follows:]

# VIOLENT SCHOOLS — SAFE SCHOOLS

## The Safe School Study Report to the Congress

### Executive Summary

December, 1977

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Joseph A. Califano, Jr., Secretary
Mary F. Berry, Assistant Secretary for Education

National Institute of Education
Patricia Albjerg Graham, Director

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In recent years, public attention has been focused increasingly on crime and violence in schools. Parents, teachers, and school administrators have all voiced their concern. Inquiring into the sources of delinquency throughout society, the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency has noted mounting evidence of school violence and vandalism. Yet organized data have not been available to describe the nature and extent of school crime and its cost to the nation.

To provide such information, Congressmen Bingham of New York and Bell of California introduced the Safe School Study Act in the House of Representatives. Following similar initiatives in the Senate by Senator Cranston of California, the Ninety-Third Congress, as part of the Education Amendments of 1974 (Public Law 93-380), required the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (HEW) to conduct a study. The objectives of that study were to determine the frequency and seriousness of crime in elementary and secondary schools in the United States; the number and location of schools affected by crime; the cost of replacement or repair of objects damaged by school crime; and how school crime can be prevented.

### METHODOLOGY

The National Institute of Education (NIE) conducted its study of school crime in three phases. In Phase I, a mail survey asked more than 4,000 elementary and secondary school principals to report in detail on the incidence of illegal or disruptive activities in their schools. Nine 1-month reporting periods between February 1976 and January 1977 (excluding summer months) were assigned to participating schools on a random basis.

In Phase II, field representatives conducted on-site surveys of a nationally representative cluster sample of 642 junior and senior high schools. Again, principals kept a record of incidents during the reporting month, and supplied additional information about their schools. Students and teachers were surveyed and asked to report any experiences they might have had as victims of violence or theft in the reporting month. In addition,

they provided information about themselves, their schools, and their communities, which was later used in statistical analyses to sort out some of the factors that seemed to affect school crime rates.

Phase III involved a more intensive qualitative study of 10 schools. Most of the Phase III schools had had a history of problems with crime and violence, but had improved dramatically in a short time.

This report is based primarily on the NIE study, but it also includes information from a companion survey conducted in 1975 by the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), and from other studies.

## HOW SERIOUS IS THE PROBLEM OF CRIME AND DISRUPTION IN THE SCHOOLS?

There is no objective answer to this question, because no standards of overall seriousness exist to assess the problem. In this report we have used four different measures in an effort to characterize the seriousness of the problem.

### Time Trends

Are crime and violence more prevalent in schools today than in the past? The evidence from a number of studies and official sources indicates that acts of violence and property destruction in schools increased throughout the 1960's to the early 1970's and leveled off after that.

The NIE Safe School Study data are consistent with these findings. Principals' assessments of the seriousness of violence and vandalism in their schools for the years 1971-1976 showed no overall change. In fact, they suggested some improvement in urban areas.

### Risk to Students

Are students more at risk in school than elsewhere? An analysis of data from 26 cities in the Law Enforcement Administration's National Crime Survey indicates that the risk of violence to teenagers is greater in school than elsewhere, when the amount of time spent at school is taken into account. (Data from at least one other study support this finding.)

Although teenage youth may spend at most 25 percent of their waking hours in school, 40 percent of the robberies and 36 percent of the assaults on urban teenagers occurred in schools. The risks are especially high for youths aged 12 to 15: a remarkable 68 percent of the robberies and 50 percent of the assaults on youngsters of this age occurred at school. Only 17 to 19 percent of the violent offenses against urban youths in this age group occurred in the streets.

The Principals' Opinions

In a third approach to gauging the seriousness of school crime, we relied on the assessments of elementary and secondary school principals. Three-quarters of the principals surveyed responded that vandalism, personal attacks, and thefts were either no problem or only a small problem at their schools. Seventeen percent of the principals reported a moderately serious problem, 6 percent a fairly serious one, and 2 percent a very serious one. In all, then, 8 percent of all schools indicated a serious problem. This figure represents approximately 6,700 schools in the Nation.

The proportion of seriously affected schools is related directly to community size: the larger the community, the greater the proportion of schools having a serious problem. The proportions ranged from 6 percent of the schools in small towns and rural areas to 15 percent in large cities.

However, four of five schools are in suburbs or rural areas. Therefore, although cities had the largest proportions of seriously affected schools, suburbs and rural areas had the largest numbers of such schools. In terms of numbers, then, the problem cannot be seen as essentially urban.

Principals of secondary schools reported higher levels of school crime than those in elementary schools.

An Objective Measure of Seriousness

As a fourth measure of the seriousness of school crime, we arbitrarily decided that schools reporting five or more illegal incidents in a month's time could be judged as having a serious problem. The figures obtained in this way agreed substantially with those derived from the principals' reports.

## EXTENT OF THE PROBLEM

The survey data permit an assessment of the risks of offenses against persons and against the school, and also indicate the prevalence of "victimless offenses," particularly drug and alcohol use. Because the figures presented are estimates from a sample, they inevitably contain some degree of error, and estimates of crime in particular are especially difficult to make with confidence. In the case of data from teachers and students, the estimates are probably somewhat high. Nevertheless, they give some idea of the dimensions of the problem.

### Reports of Students

Theft is clearly the most widespread of the offenses measured. In all, 11 percent (2.4 million) of the nation's secondary school students have something worth more than $1 stolen from them in a month. Most of the reported thefts involved items such as small amounts of money, sweaters, books, notebooks, and other property commonly found in lockers. Only one-fifth of the reported thefts involved money or property worth $10 or more. No significant differences were apparent between school levels, and differences among locations were not pronounced. Petty theft appears to be commonplace throughout secondary schools.

An estimated 1.3 percent (282,000) of secondary school students report that they are attacked at school in a typical 1-month period. The proportion of junior high school students reporting attacks was about twice as great as that of senior high students (2.1 percent vs. 1 percent). About two-fifths of the reported attacks resulted in some injury, but only 4 percent involved injures serious enough to require medical attention. While the risk of minor attack is about the same in all locations, the risk of serious attack is greater in urban areas than elsewhere.

An estimated one-half of 1 percent of all secondary school students (112,000) are robbed in a typical month. (We use the term "robbery" as a shorthand reference for any act of taking something by force, weapons, or threats, including extortion and shakedowns.) The risks are again highest in junior high schools and in urban areas. Eighty-nine percent of the robberies involved no injury to the victim; 11 percent involved some injury, but only 2 percent of them were serious enough to require a doctor's attention.

For the typical secondary school student, then, we can estimate the risks as follows: he or she has about 1 chance in 9 of having something stolen in a month; 1 chance in 80 of being attacked; and 1 chance in 200 of being robbed.

Reports of Teachers

In a typical month, an estimated 12 percent of the teachers in secondary schools have something worth more than $1 stolen from them, about the same proportion as students (11 percent).

About one-half of 1 percent of secondary teachers are physically attacked at school in a month's time. Although the proportion is small, it represents some 5,200 of the nation's 1 million secondary school teachers. Nearly one-fifth of the attacks (19 percent) reported by teachers required medical treatment. This percentage is much higher than the students' 4 percent, indicating that attacks on teachers are almost five times as likely to result in serious injury. The proportion of teachers attacked declines as we move from larger cities to rural areas, and junior high schools show higher percentages than senior highs.

A little over one-half of 1 percent (6,000) of all secondary school teachers are robbed at school in a month. Once again, large cities show the highest percentages and rural areas the lowest.

From these data we can provide rough estimates of the risks faced by a typical teacher in the nation's secondary schools: she or he has around 1 chance in 8 of having something stolen at school in a given month, 1 chance in 167 of being robbed, and 1 chance in 200 of being attacked.

Reports of Principals

Estimates of offenses against schools, rather than persons, come from the principals' reports, and are probably conservative. Most widespread are the property offenses—trespassing, breaking and entering, theft of school property, and deliberate property destruction, sometimes called vandalism. Of these, property destruction is the most

prevalent. Typically, a school's risk of experiencing some vandalism in a month is greater than one in four. The average cost of an act of vandalism is $81. In addition, 1 in 10 schools is broken into, at an average cost per burglary of $183. Schools are about five times as likely to be burglarized as commercial establishments such as stores, which have the highest burglary rates reported in the National Crime Survey.

Estimates of the annual cost of school crime run from about $50 million to $600 million, with most estimates clustering in the $100-$200 million range. Our best estimate of the yearly replacement and repair costs due to crime based on NCES data is around $200 million.

LOCATION OF OFFENSES

Considering offenses against the school geographically, the risks tend to be higher in the Northeast and West than in the North Central and Southern States.

For property offenses, the risks to schools do not differ much throughout metropolitan areas—urban and suburban. Indeed, the per capita cost of school crime is higher in the suburbs than in the cities. Moreover, according to secondary school students, beer, wine, and marijuana are widely available in schools throughout metropolitan areas, especially in senior high schools. School crime is not just an urban problem.

On the other hand, the risks of personal violence increase with the size of the community. And, in general, the risks of all types of school offenses are smallest in rural areas.

Both personal violence and vandalism are much more prevalent in secondary than in elementary schools. The incidence of property offenses is about the same in senior highs and junior highs, but personal violence is most pronounced in junior highs.

Reporting Offenses to Police

Only a small portion of violent offenses is reported to the police by schools. Of the attacks with injury recorded for the survey, only one-sixth were reported to police. Even

when serious violence is involved, as with attacks requiring medical treatment, only about one-third of the offenses are reported. On the other hand, the majority of certain offenses against the school—especially burglaries—are reported. Of all offenses taken together, about one-third are reported to police.

Time and Place of Incidents

The risks of personal violence, personal theft, and disruptive/damaging acts against the school are highest during regular school hours and tend to occur more frequently during midweek. Four-fifths of all personal violence takes place during the schoolday. The risks of breaking and entering, on the other hand, are highest on weekends and secondarily during other nonschool hours. The occurrence patterns of personal and school property offenses tend to be complementary over days of the week.

For students, the classrooms are the safest places in school, considering the amount of time spent there. The risks are highest during the between-class rush in the hallways and stairs. Other places that pose substantial risks are the restrooms, cafeterias, locker rooms, and gyms.

VICTIMS AND OFFENDERS

With the exception of trespassing and breaking and entering, the great majority of all reported offenses in schools were committed by current students at the school. In most attacks and robberies at school, the offender is recognized by the victim. In three-fourths of all attacks and robberies of students, the victims and offenders were roughly the same age and the same sex. With minor exceptions, the risks of being a victim of either attack or robbery in secondary schools declines steadily as grade level increases. Seventh graders are most likely to be attacked or robbed and 12th graders are least so.

The risks of violence are greater in schools whose student compositions are less than 40 percent white. However, our analysis shows that there is no relation between a school's racial/ethnic composition and the risks of violence there, once other factors, such as the amount of crime in the neighborhood, are taken into account.

Court-ordered desegregation is associated with some increased violence at first; but the data suggest that, after some initial trouble, things start to quiet down.

The majority of attacks and robberies of students at school involve victims and offenders of the same race. However, a substantial proportion is interracial (42 percent of the attacks and 46 percent of the robberies). For minority students the risks are higher in predominantly white schools (70 percent or more white); for white students, the risks are greater in minority schools.

## OTHER FACTORS ASSOCIATED WITH SCHOOL OFFENSES

Our statistical analysis has shown that several factors are consistently associated with school violence and vandalism, even when each is weighed against the others.

### Neighborhood Factors

The crime rate and the presence or absence of fighting gangs in the school's attendance area affect its violence. It seems that the more crime and violence students are exposed to outside school, the greater the problems in the school.

A school's proximity to students' homes can make it a convenient target for vandalism. Also, the presence of nonstudent youth around the school increases its risk of property loss.

Schools having higher proportions of students from families in which both parents are present, and in which discipline is firm, suffer less property loss through vandalism.

Schools with higher proportions of male students suffer more violence, because boys commit more violent offenses than girls. Schools composed of lower secondary grades have more violence than those composed of higher grades.

### Impersonality and Alienation

Larger schools, and schools with larger classes, tend to experience more violence and vandalism. It seems that when teachers and administrators can establish personal relationships with students, the risks of violence decrease.

In addition, students need to feel that their courses are relevant and that they have some control over what happens to them at school. Otherwise, their feelings of frustration can erupt in violence.

Incentive Structure

Academic competition seems to decrease a school's risk of violence while increasing the amount of vandalism. Competition for leadership positions also seems to increase the amount of vandalism.

These findings are not as contradictory as they seem. The data suggest that the violent students are more likely to be those who have given up on school, do not care about grades, find the courses irrelevant, and feel that nothing they do makes any difference. Such students might take out their aggression in random acts of violence against other students. Caring about grades can be an important step toward commitment to the school and to one's own future, bringing with it a reduction in personal violence.

Vandalism, on the other hand, is more likely to occur in schools where students consider grades and leadership positions important, and where students rebel against the unfair use of grades for disciplinary purposes. Unlike the violent students, those who engage in vandalism are more likely to accept the value of the school's rewards but, we suspect, are losing out or feel cheated in the competition. Feeling denied by the school, they take out their aggressions on it rather than on other students.

School Governance

A firm, fair, and consistent system for running a school seems to be a key factor in reducing violence. Where the rules are known, and where they are firmly and fairly enforced, less violence occurs. Good coordination between the faculty and administration also promotes a better school atmosphere. However, a hostile and authoritarian attitude on the part of the teachers toward the students can result in more vandalism.

Overall, the results of the analysis stress the importance of a rational structure of incentives, both positive and negative, that serve to increase student commitment and to structure perceptions, expectations, and behavior.

## DEVICES, PERSONNEL, AND PROCEDURES TO PREVENT CRIME AND DISRUPTION IN SCHOOLS

Schools have responded to crime and disruption with a wide array of security devices, such as specially designed locks, window and door alarms, and complex electronic systems. Principals who have used such devices consider them generally effective, but they also rate some of the more complicated electronic systems as undependable. Security devices are most heavily concentrated in urban schools, even though the risks of property crimes can be as great in suburban schools as in the cities. In terms of relative risks, suburban schools seem less well protected than urban schools.

Unlike the security devices, which are used primarily at night and on weekends, professional security personnel are employed during both school and nonschool hours. When school is not in session, they serve primarily to guard property; during the schoolday, however, they also help maintain safety and order in school. The skills required for the latter function are greater than those needed for guarding property; hence, school districts should recruit and train security personnel with particular care if they are to be used during the schoolday.

Principals who have employed security personnel, such as school security officers and police, rank them fairly high in reducing school crime; they also tend to rate them as more dependable (or less undependable) than the electronic security systems. Very few schools (1 percent, have regular police stationed in them, but the proportion is much higher in big city secondary schools (15 percent). School security officers are more widely used: they are present during the day in half of the junior highs and two-thirds of the senior highs in large cities. Even though junior high schools have higher rates of violence than senior highs, daytime security professionals are concentrated more in senior high schools. In terms of relative risks, then, junior highs seem to be getting a smaller share of these resources than they require.

Among the disciplinary procedures, suspension and paddling are the most widely used. No less than 36 percent of all secondary schools reported paddling students in a

typical month. The practice is more prevalent in junior than in senior high schools and, unlike any of the other procedures, devices, or personnel, is most prevalent in rural areas: 61 percent of all rural junior high schools reported paddling students in a month's time.

While principals generally feel that they receive adequate support from other school authorities, parents, and police in handling discipline problems, they give the local courts very low ratings in this respect. Moreover, urban principals are much more likely than those in other areas to use security devices, security personnel, and disciplinary measures, but they are much less likely to say that they get adequate support from the school board and central administration.

Principals', Teachers', and Students' Recommendations

Students and teachers in secondary schools and principals at both levels were asked to recommend ways for schools to reduce vandalism, personal attacks, and theft. In addition, principals were asked to describe specific programs or measures they had employed and found successful in reducing these problems.

Of all the various recommendations, discipline was rated as being of prime importance. Indeed, with the exception of the successful practices reported by elementary school principals, discipline was ranked first by all groups of respondents: as a successful strategy by secondary school principals and as a general recommendation by principals at both levels and secondary school students and teachers.

When we consider the practices listed as successful by all principals—elementary as well as secondary—the use of security devices ranked first. However, these devices tended to receive middle-level recommendations from principals, teachers, and students altogether.

The use of security personnel was among the top three (out of eight) categories of successful practices listed by principals, and it received middle-level rankings from the principals, teachers, and students who were asked to make general recommendations. The use of security personnel was highly recommended by all groups of respondents in large city schools, where such personnel are most prevalent.

In all schools, training and organizational change, parental involvement, and improvement of the school climate were strategies also mentioned frequently.

THE CENTRAL ROLE OF SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

A central conclusion of this study is that strong and effective school governance, particularly by the principal, can help greatly in reducing school crime and misbehavior.

Throughout the Safe School Study, and especially in Phase III, the principal's leader- and his or her initiation of a structure of order seemed to differentiate safe schools those having trouble.

The leadership role of the principal appears to be a critical factor in itself. Visibility and availability to students and staff are characteristics of the principals in Phase III schools that have made a dramatic turnaround from periods of violence.

Equal in importance to the principal's personal style of leadership, we found, was her or his ability to initiate a structure of order in the school. In every successful Phase III school, the system of governance could be characterized as "fair, firm, and, most of all, consistent." This finding complements a number of recent research findings that indicate that a consistent structure of order is an important determinant of success in many areas of education, from teaching reading to establishing a school climate conducive to learning.

IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

A number of themes run through the findings of the Safe School Study. As stated here, they represent the distillation of the answers to surveys and interviews with administrators, teachers, and students, and of our own observations in some of the nation's schools.

Although it does not appear that school violence and vandalism is getting worse, there is abundant evidence of a problem requiring policy initiatives. School crime and disruption should be recognized as a significant problem, one that must receive open attention and public concern. If a school district has reason to think that its schools might have serious troubles, it should assess the problem and give it primary consideration.



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Schools themselves can and should do a great deal to reduce crime and disruption, but an adequate program to deal with the problem requires the cooperation and resources that can come only through local planning supplemented by financial and technical assistance.

Schools should give particular attention to establishing effective governance programs, and to assuring a structure of incentives—such as grades and honors—that recognizes students for their efforts and achievements. This might mean rewarding students for diverse kinds of accomplishments, including individual improvement, and broadening the availability of rewards. Consideration should also be given to ways of decreasing the impersonality of secondary schools and increasing the amount of continuing contact between students and teachers.

Schools and their communities should recognize the key role of the principal in troubled schools, and give special attention to recruiting and training principals for schools that are seriously affected by crime and disruption. They should also provide the resources necessary for these principals to exercise a leadership role vis-a-vis students and teachers. One helpful step might be to provide principals with assistance in managing routine administrative matters, leaving them with more time to take leadership roles.

Teachers and other school personnel require pre- and in-service training for making schools safe. For teachers in seriously affected schools, intensive training in classroom management can be an important means of increasing their skills and effectiveness. Also, communities and their school districts can reduce violence by increasing the number of teachers in schools that are having serious problems with crime and disruption.

Security measures can also be helpful in reducing violence and property loss in schools, provided they are not used as a substitute for effective governance. School systems with serious problems of violence and vandalism can benefit from hiring additional security personnel with training in interpersonal skills as well as security functions. Schools with serious problems should give special attention to surveillance and traffic control in areas such as hallways, stairwells, and cafeterias, where violence and disruption are most likely to start. Security devices, if schools elect to use them, should be selected with care and with reference to their special needs. In addition, schools and school systems should coordinate their efforts with those of local courts; most also need to improve their recordkeeping and reporting problems to the police.

Dr. GOTTFREDSON. Just to refresh your memory about some of the major implications of the study, though, I am going to recall some of the testimony of David Boesel at the time of the oversight hearings of the safe school study about some of the major implications of that study.

According to David Boesel, the major implications were as follows: In general, it should be recognized that a major problem exists and that schools can do something about it.

In school districts where there is violence and vandalism, I say your local assessment and priorities setting planning should be stressed and additional financial resources and technical assistance may be required. School districts should recruit and train principals with strong leadership abilities for seriously affected schools.

According to Dr. Boesel's testimony, increasing the number of teachers per pupil and providing training in classroom management can be helpful. There should be, down the line, support from the superintendent to the classroom teacher in the handling of discipline problems. Security personnel can be helpful. Their recruitment and training should stress interpersonal skills as well as security functions.

Emphasis on surveillance and traffic control in the hallways can reduce the potential for violence in the schools, according to the earlier testimony. Schools and school systems should include recordkeeping in reporting of serious offenses to the police. School systems should select security devices with care and with reference to their special needs.

That is a very brief overview of what the NIE staff saw as some of the major implications of the earlier safe school study.

I am going to continue now with what I had planned to say today.

Today youth are, to a large degree, estranged from adults in an age-segregated system of compulsory schooling where they spend much time not directly engaged in the preparation for work. Furthermore, youth are held to different standards of conduct than adults, especially important in view of the period of suspended adulthood during which meanings and roles and clear cut expectations may be lacking. This situation, coupled with the lack, on the part of many youth, of the perception that schooling will pay off for them in terms of economic and social achievement may be expected to result in delinquency and rebellion in schools.

I am pleased, therefore, that this subcommittee has chosen to call attention to secondary education, an area that has been relatively neglected. Little thorough attention has been focused on youth in the secondary school, despite the tremendous historical rise in the proportion of youth, especially low-income youth, pursuing schooling at the secondary level.

The recent report by the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies makes this problem clear and I think that their recent publication comes up with a number of sensible conclusions about what we might do next at the Federal level.

With that as background, then, I will try to summarize for you what we have learned in our own research on disruption in the Nation's public schools and I will say a few words about what the

Federal Government might consider doing about problems of school discipline.

Because you have copies of a prepared statement, I will not reiterate that material in detail here and because you have copies, your staff has copies, of a full technical report of our research, I certainly will not go into any detail about that.

Instead, I will quickly make four points which appear to me to be of central importance if we are to learn to reduce school disruption.

Over the past year, my colleague, Denise Daiger and I, have reexamined in detail some of the information collected as a part of the NIE Safe School Study. In particular, phase II of that study.

You may recall that in that phase, principals, teachers, and students in 642 carefully selected schools were surveyed about their experiences in school, victimization experiences, and surveyed for their knowledge about how the schools are run. We have built on and gone beyond the earlier NIE study by examining teacher victimization more thoroughly and by using statistical procedures that probe carefully the contributions that schools themselves make to the levels of student and teacher victimization they experience.

We have also taken a hard look at the world of community factors and school disruption.

The first major point to be made is that the level of disruption that schools experience, especially in terms of teacher victimization rates, is strongly linked to the social and economic conditions in the area around the school. Put bluntly, it is schools in certain urban areas, characterized by concentrated poverty, unemployment, many female-headed families and the like, where teachers tend to be most victimized.

Student victimization rates are also highest in such areas, but the link does not appear to be nearly as strong.

This has two implications. First, it means that assertions by educators that they inherit much of their problem from the community probably contains some truth.

Second, it means that housing practices which result in residential segregation, the concentration of poor in certain parts of the large, urban areas, may contribute to the problem of disruption of schools located in those areas.

The second major point to be made is that schools do not simply inherit their discipine problems. The evidence is pretty clear that schools help to create part of the problems as a result of the way they are run. Even when we statistically control for such things as social characteristics of the area around the school, the composition of the student body, even then the way the school is governed appears to contribute to the explanation of both student and teacher victimization rates.

Put another way, the evidence suggests to us that there are steps schools themselves can take to reduce their own disruption problems.

Now, these steps are not easy ones. They are often difficult steps to take, and they are not sure-fire remedies. Nothing is guaranteed to work. But these steps should be talked about, tried out and evaluated carefully.

There are several kinds of things that should have reduced disruption in schools. One is smaller schools. Smaller schools have fewer problems, especially junior high schools. Second, schools might reorganize instructional practices. Reorganize so each teacher has more responsibility for fewer students. With the teacher responsible for more than one or two subjects for the same group of students, for example.

That might help, especially in senior high schools.

Some other steps schools could take are more closely tied to social processes within the schools, school government and social climate. These steps depend on the leadership of school administrators and teachers, but we know these steps are within the realm of the possible, because some schools in the sample of over 640 schools that we studied were already doing these things.

All of these practices are related to a central theme. The more clear, explicit and firm the running of the school, the less the disruption. When students see rule enforcement is fair, firm, clear and even-handed, the school experience is less disruption.

Student participation in the generation of these rules does not appear to be a necessary ingredient. When the school is characterized by a high degree of cooperation between teachers and administrators, teachers are victimized less.

Now, learning how to bring these changes about, most of which accord with commonsense, is a major remaining research and practical problem. That is my third major point.

A large part of the task of learning how to prevent school disruption is learning how to get schools to adopt effective strategies, how to get school officials to act like good leaders, how to re-alter school governance practices so the schools are run in clear ways, are run in ways that we think will reduce discipline problems.

How will we learn if our ideas about what will work are really the right ideas? We will do this, I believe, primarily by trying to implement promising strategies and observing the conditions that lead to the successful implementation of those strategies.

Some recent and currently planned activities of the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention—OJJDP—are encouraging steps along these lines. A recent project sponsored by OJJDP and carried out by the social action research center in California illustrates the difficulties involved in attempting to implement prevention plans in schools.

It begins the task of searching for ways to overcome these difficulties by trying to unravel the evidence about what works best in what kind of school.

The evaluators involved, Joan and Doug Grant, have managed to employ pretty sound evaluation methods to study what leads to effectiveness in over 200 schools to take steps to try to reduce problems of disruption. They are producing useful, practical knowledge and the same kind of strategies and approaches may not be appropriate for all schools, depending on the kind of problem and the kind of school.

Their work is just a start. It would be a mistake to stop there.

When you think you have a lead about how to create change in the school, it is very important to carefully test this lead. It seems premature to say that we could now take the kinds of findings

produced by the OJJDP evaluation research or the NIE study or our research and launch a large scale national program. Resources would be better used in more limited, careful evaluations first. Then, when national programs are launched, we can be more confident that they will work and not just waste Federal money. We are not at that point yet.

The plan of the OJJDP to implement and evaluate an alternative education project is also encouraging. The goal there, to reduce delinquency, truancy, and other problems by implementing some model programs. It is not clear as yet, however, how carefully those programs will be monitored or evaluated and it is not clear what role evaluation will have in program design

Provided that the evaluation is done well, and provided that this initiative is pursued, rather than abandoned in 2 or 3 years, then this initiative should prove valuable. Such initiatives also provide a useful focus for interagency cooperation—cooperation between the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention and the National Institute of Education, for example.

This brings me to my fourth and final major point. Learning how we can bring about changes in schools, how we can get sound delinquency prevention strategies adopted by schools and rule enforcement practice and so forth, especially in the troubled schools, will take persistent effort and careful evaluation of this effort. Short-term improvements may be expected to be modest at best, yet there are first signs that any agency is making a programmatic effort here.

NIE, for example, is hardly involved in this area at all. Their total investment for research on school violence and disruption is only about $206,000 for fiscal year 1980, according to my arithmetic.

In summary, research converges with commonsense in telling us that there are ways schools can reduce their discipline problems, despite the way they apparently inherit part of these problems from the kinds of communities in which they are located.

But we do not yet know how to help schools adopt sound and sensible prevention strategies—strategies including governance practices—among others. We do not know how to help them implement these strategies.

A little Federal effort is now being directed as to how to do that. Given the reluctance of schools to evaluate their performance, especially in the area of school disruption, congressional support for that kind of activity is desirable. Support for collecting information on levels of disruption in schools, for example, would be a good start.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman, for listening to me. I would be pleased to try to answer any questions that you may have.

Chairman PERKINS. We will get to the questioning in a few moments. I thank you for a good statement.

We will now hear from Ms. Block.

[The prepared statement of Eve Block follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF EVE E. BLOCK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, STATEWIDE YOUTH ADVOCACY, INC., ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Sub-Committee:

I am Eve Block, Executive Director of Statewide Youth Advocacy, Inc., and I speak for school advocacy groups located throughout New York State -- in the major population centers, in the small cities, and in the rural counties.

We, and agencies like us throughout the nation, are working to secure quality public services for young people. Our efforts in education are predicated on the conviction that all students are entitled to an education appropropriate to their needs and that such an education is a right which may not be arbitrarily abridged. It is in this light that we view the dropout and discipline problems which so plague our schools today. We see these problems as important indicators of the schools' inability to offer students an appropriate education, individualized to meet their needs.

Although I will speak from the detailed examination we have made of New York State, I know from discussions with, and reports from, groups from other states and from the 1974 national report of the Children's Defense Fund, Children Out of School In America, that the picture I will give of New York is typical of our nation's problems.

In 1978, we wrote that:

> (Almost 68,000) New York State youth leave school each year as dropouts, as pushouts, or as transfer-outs. Without graduation and without the basic skills needed to achieve in the world of work, these youths face doubtful futures.
>
> The problem of out-of-school youth is one of major proportions...The implications to our urban communities are disastrous in light of the decreases in unskilled employment opportunities...The true dimension of the problem is denied and hidden.

Failing Students - Failing Schools

In 1979, Chancellor Machiarolla of New York City brought to the public his concerns about the numbers of New York City students

who were leaving school before graduation. His figures confirmed advocates' estimates. And he, too, was worried about the individuals involved and about what would happen to so many untrained young people and about what their presence means to our society.

Unskilled and alienated teenagers are an economic drain upon our communities. But they are more than that -- they are a symbol of our failure to make a place in our world for the children we bring into it. The economic pressures of recent years and the weakening of basic extended family and religious ties have left many young persons, as well as their parents, prey to feelings of isolation and alienation. These pressures are felt throughout our society, but are strongest where economic stability is most threatened. When school experiences compound that isolation with the frustration of academic failure, hostility results -- and students lose their will to learn and to conform. To break through this cycle of alienation, failure, and anger, schools must somehow provide what too few have so far offered: recognition and concern for the individual and an education tailored to help each child develop requisite basic skills.

Unfortunately, our schools seldom mold themselves to the needs of the children they are to serve, but, instead, ask the students to accomodate to the requirements of the institutions. For some children, this is possible and happens with very little pain and in a way which teaches how we must all accomodate ourselves to the world around us. But for too many, this process of accomodation is an overwhelmingly painful one. Furthermore, the deprivations of poverty and the still remaining effects of racial and ethnic prejudice make the battle harder for the poor and the minorities.

Concerned about these issues, in 1977 Statewide Youth Advocacy began a study of school policies and practices as they related to those students most likely to have trouble in school. Our 1978 report, Failing Students - Failing Schools: A Study of Dropouts and Discipline in New York State, was the product of extensive interviews with secondary school principals, superintendents, and high school dropouts in twelve cities and communities. It analyzed data

data collected by the State Bureau of Educational Data Systems, the Office of Civil Rights and individual school districts.

Failing Students - Failing Schools revealed that 65,000 students, or 22% of the 1972 ninth grade (the class of 1976) dropped our prior to graduation: the report projected that 655,000 currently enrolled New York State students would leave high school before graduation. Now, we see that while the total enrolled school population (grades 9 through 12) declined by .7% since 1974-75, the number of recorded dropouts increased by 16.7%. These averages disguise two underlying problems: city dropout rates which range from 28% in small cities to a high of 48% in New York City, and the high proportion of minority youth included in these figures. Our estimates of 1977 black dropouts in New York State show that around 40% of black youth do not graduate from high school. Similarly, 41% to 50% of Spanish-surnamed Americans living in New York State dropped out of the class which graduated in 1977.

These figures are both symptom and result of two related phenomena: 1) the significant failure of large numbers of students to achieve mastery of those reading and math skills essential for success in most of today's occupations, and 2) the rising frustration and despair among both faculty and students - a frustration which leads to continuing hostility between students and teachers.

A New York State Department of Education official estimated that, in 1977, one million of the state's students had need of special academic assistance. State figures for that year showed that compensatory programs reached only 500,000 (or one-half) of those children, through Title I and state aid for Pupils With Special Education Needs, directed primarily at the elementary schools. However, our study also showed that the other 500,000 of the children who needed compensatory or bilingual education or other special services received no supplementary academic help. This unserved group was composed primarily of secondary school students. Policies followed in districts throughout the nation

lead to the practice of concentrating support services in the elementary schools. The policies are based on two convictions (I call them myths!): first, that early development of basic skills is a prerequisite to, and almost assures, successful secondary school years and, second, that by the time a child reaches the secondary schools, it is too late to offer significant help, too late to change school failure patterns. Do we really want to give up on our teenagers? Is thirteen too late? Is fifteen too late?

And yet, in New York and throughout the country, the desperation of secondary students with academic needs has been almost ignored in the effort to save the young. The tacit national policy to emphasize elementary education, in place since the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Schools Act, helped to improve the skills of young children. However, in the failure to continue compensatory assistance on into the secondary school years, early gains are lost and academic progress slows and sometimes stops. Through these practices, we have written off a generation of poor and minority young people. One high school dropout we interviewed reflected the attitudes of so many others when he explained his decision to leave: I would have stayed "if only they had seen that I couldn't read and taught me."

The feeling of being unwanted and unserved, when combined with the helplessness of the trap of no education/no work, leaves students hostile and schools tense. One significant, and even somewhat understandable, reaction of educators is a desire to get rid of the "bad kids," the troublemakers. However, statistics show that the "bad kids" are, by and large, the academically-lagging students. Disruptive activities and failing grades go hand-in-hand, as we see from the attached materials from the Ann Arbor Student Advocacy Center.* In the sample taken at that school district, 92% of all students suspended came from the group categorized as "low achievers." These figures typify those that would be found in other districts - urban or rural, all white or racially mixed.

While it cannot be denied that disruptive students interfere with the educational process, New York State Education Law mandates

compusory education for students between the ages of six and sixteen (while those between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one are entitled to a free high school education). Excluding students, whether through suspension or encouragement to leave or to transfer, cannot be construed as educating them. Not only must districts find programs that work for academically-failing or alienated students, but schools must also develop disciplinary procedures which do not deny students their opportunity for education.

Failing Students - Failing Schools documented the failure of school districts to adhere to existing state and federal regulations which define and protect students' rights to an education. For example, almost 50% of the New York State districts surveyed admitted to illegal delegation of the power to suspend; this single violation may well account for the overuse and discriminatory effect of suspension. Over 20% of the dropouts interviewed claimed that they were told to leave school, but were not afforded the due process protections accorded long-term suspensions. Faculty and administrators we intereviewed admitted to actively encouraging selected students to drop out. In addition, suspensions were found to be inappropriately used for minor offenses. In a few schools, over 50% of the total school population was suspended during one year -- most for insubordination and truancy. Given these violations and misuses of the power to suspend, it is not surprising that in 1978 over 75,000 students were suspended from New York State schools.

Our study recognized the inter-relationship between school failure, disruption, alienation, and dropouts; all causally intertwined. These problems are related to the lack of:

1. Individualized programming for children with special educational needs, and

2. Inter-personal support systems, in either family, community or school, which affirm a child's place in the world and in the school.

In short, our study and experience has shown that the problems of school dropouts and discipline are inextricably related to the

ability of schools to provide individualization, both in educational program and in human services.

In response, New York advocacy groups have developed a multi-faceted strategy for producing change. We have called for, and achieved, an individualized right to appropriate education for students in danger of failing minimum competency tests. We have worked with a variety of state and local agencies and school districts to encourage the schools to open their doors to community youth service programs designed to meet the emotional and social needs of students. We have called upon the state to: 1) tighten due process safeguards to prevent pushouts, 2) prohibit the use of corporal punishment, 3) encourage the development of alternatives to suspension, 4) develop a model code of student discipline which eliminates the vagueness of current policies, and 5) monitor the use of specific disciplinary sanctions so as to detect instances of racial bias and then to enforce the civil rights of students.

In the year-and-a-half since publication of our book, these activities have begun to have an important influence on policies and practices in the state. I believe that some of the approaches we have taken in New York State have profound implications for national policy, and that some of our difficulties, particularly in enforcement of civil rights with respect to discipline, emanate from the lack of clear federal policies calling for strong enforcement of civil rights.

In New York State, as advocates, we have dealt with three issues; each of which I believe has implications for federal policy. The first of these issues is the question of:

Remediation and Skills Development - Recently, the New York State Board of Regents responded to allegations that children were graduating from school without basic skills by implementing a program of minimum competency testing; as of June, 1979, passage of minimum competency tests became a prerequisite to receipt of a high school diploma. The New York State testing program is acknowledged to be the toughest of the 30 such programs now in place in the country. However, we were concerned that students who had not been

receiving appropriate compensatory and remedial assistance would now be penalized for not achieving. Advocates argued that if students were to be held responsible for their failure, school districts should be held responsible for providing special assistance to students identified as likely to fail the compentecy test. In response to these arguments, the Regents adopted regulations requiring the development of remediation plans and programs for all students who fail the competency tests or obtain low scores on specific statewide examinations. (See attached brochure.)

We are very pleased by President Carter's recent announcement of new initiatives and funds to combat youth unemployment. The emphasis on basic skills development should strengthen the ability of the 3,000 selected districts to provide the special assistance their students need. This sub-committee will soon be reviewing these proposals. Because many of the districts in question are experiencing financial problems, they may be tempted to use the new monies to supplant local funds. Therefore, I urge that the bill to implement the President's program have strong language to prevent districts from using new federal funds to replace local monies. I would also like to suggest that you make receipt of these funds conditional upon the districts' establishment and implementation of a right to a program of remediation similar to the one currently being developed in New York.

Since the new program will be designed to help low achievers, a provision to establish maximum class sizes should be included in the legislation. Research suggests that low achievers profit most from decreased class sizes, and common sense indicates that only in small classes can teachers offer the kind of personalized human attention to students who need that kind of reassurance. We would suggest that the special-skills classes provided through these funds have a class-size limit of fifteen and that the resource rooms have a maximum daily student/teacher ratio of fifty-to-one.

Coordinated Programming - Not only small classes, but also a range of human service programs are essential if troubled students are to avail themselves of the academic offerings of their schools.

In past years, school-operated social services have been sharply curtailed because of budget constraints. Public and private youth service agencies are often denied access to students in school buildings during the school day. Unfortunately, there has rarely been any significant integration of school and local agency services. Our work to foster the development of such programs has convinced us of the strong interest in such efforts. Conferences on this subject have been widely attended and we receive frequent requests for information on techniques and programs. Furthermore, as I have participated in the planning for the White House Conference on Families, I have been struck by the frequency with which joint programs and increased school/community interaction are cited as important goals. Federal legislation, such as the new Youth Employment Initiative, can encourage the maximum use of youth service dollars through explicit requirements that school districts and local agencies work together to service high-risk students. Perhaps you might also ask the new Department of Education to begin to think of ways in which federal funds might be channeled into communities wishing to plan intensively for coordinated services.

Discrimination - The third issue on which we have worked is that of combatting discrimination in school discipline and placement. Nationwide, blacks comprise fifteen percent of the school enrollment. However, 29.6% of all students suspended or expelled from our nation's schools and 37.9% of all students enrolled in Educable Mentally Retarded or Emotionally Handicapped programs are black. Thus, blacks are suspended or expelled twice as often, and enrolled in EMR or EMH programs two-and-a-half times as often, as would be expected from their percentage of the population.* While some of the differential between black and white suspensions and placements can be dismissed as social/class-related, often disparaties are so high as to be evidence of continued racial discrimination. For example, OCR figures for Buffalo (figures supplied to OCR by the Buffalo schools themselves) show that corporal punishment is administered to 21 black children for every white child so punished.

These forms of discrimination are major contributory factors to school dropout statistics. Yet, after five years of discussion and advocacy pressure, the Office of Civil Rights has never defined a clear policy for standards of review and enforcement of civil rights of those students affected by disciplinary and placement discrimination. As a result, advocacy groups find little help in redressing these serious problems.

We ask you to request that the Office of Civil Rights establish clear procedures for determining the existence of racial discrimination in discipline and program placement. Such guidelines should rely primarily on statistical differentials, although it would be naive to deny that class and economic-related factors will not produce some degree of differential.

In closing, I want to thank you for your attention and for the opportunity to speak with you today.

Footnotes

P. 4 - From a communication of the Student Advocacy Center to the Ann Arbor Board of Education.

P. 8 - Directory of Elementary and Secondary School Districts and Schools in Selected School Districts. School Year 1976-1977. U.S. Dept. of H.E.W./Office of Civil Rights. Tables II, VI and IX.

## STATEMENT OF EVE BLOCK, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, STATEWIDE YOUTH ADVOCACY, ROCHESTER, N.Y.

Ms. BLOCK. Good morning, I am Eve Block. I am executive director of Statewide Youth Advocacy, Inc., a group that works with school advocacy groups throughout New York State. We, and agencies like us throughout the Nation, are working to secure quality public education for young people. We are particularly concerned about those young who are poor and minority and those that we would characterize so often as both disruptive and dropouts.

What I would like to talk to you about today is the interrelationship between poor education, basic skills, learning and disruption, minority and low-income children, and how those relate and how, if we are going to deal with disruption in the school, we have to recognize that they are interrelated problems and we have to have approaches that deal with each of the causal factors.

When I speak today, I speak not only from the basis of our own research in New York State but also from the reports of groups across the Nation, and from the national report of the Children's Defense Fund, "Children Out of School in America."

The picture I will give you of New York, I believe, is typical of our Nation's problems. In 1978, we wrote that:

> Almost 68,000 New York State youth leave school each year as dropouts, as pushouts, or as transfer-outs. Without graduation and without the basic skills needed to achieve in the world of work, these youths face doubtful futures.
>
> The problem of out-of-school youth is one of major proportions. The implications to our urban communities are disastrous in light of the decreases in unskilled employment opportunities. The true dimension of the problem is denied and hidden.

In 1979, Chancellor Macchiarola of New York City brought to the public his concerns about the numbers of New York City students who were leaving school before graduation. His figures confirmed advocates' estimates. And he, too, was worried about the individuals involved and about what would happen to so many untrained young people and about what their presence means to our society.

In 1977, Statewide Youth Advocacy began a study of school policies and practices as they related to those students most likely to have trouble in school. Our 1978 report, "Failing Students—Failing Schools: A Study of Dropouts and Discipline in New York State," was the product of extensive interviews with secondary school principals, superintendents, and high school dropouts in 12 cities and communities. It analyzed data collected by the State Bureau of Educational Data Systems, the Office of Civil Rights, and individual school districts.

"Failing Students—Failing Schools" revealed that 65,000 students, or 22 percent of the 1972 ninth grade—the class of 1976—dropped out prior to graduation: The report projected that 655,000 currently enrolled New York State students would leave high school before graduation. Now, we see that while the total enrolled school population, grades 9 through 12, declined by 0.7 percent since 1974-75, the number of recorded dropouts increased by 16.7 percent.

These averages disguise two underlying problems: City dropout rates which range from 28 percent in small cities to a high of 48 percent in New York City, and the high proportion of minority youth indicated in these figures. Our estimates of 1977 black drop-

outs in New York State show that around 40 percent of black youth do not graduate from high school. Similarly, 41 percent to 50 percent of Spanish-surnamed Americans living in New York State dropped out of the class which graduated in 1977.

Despite the fact that we are retaining more people longer, certain people we are not retaining as long as we want to. These figures are both symptom and result of two related phenomena: The significant failure of large numbers of students to achieve mastery of those reading and math skills essential for success in most of today's occupations; and two, the rising frustration and despair among both faculty and students, a frustration that leads to continuing hostility between students and teachers.

State figures show that only one-half of the at least 1 million students needing compensatory education receive that help. We have 500,000 children unserved by the special needs. Those children are particularly in the secondary schools.

The policies followed in districts throughout the Nation leads to practices of concentrating support services in elementary schools. The policies are based on two convictions—I call them myths. First, that early development of basic skills is a prerequisite to, and almost assures, successful secondary school years; and second, that by the time a child reaches the secondary schools it is too late to offer significant help, too late to change school failure patterns.

Do we really want to give up on our teenagers? Is 13 too late? Is 15 too late?

And yet, in New York and throughout the country, the desperation of secondary students with academic needs has been almost ignored in the effort to save the young. The tacit national policy to emphasize elementary education, in place since the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, helped to improve the skills of young children.

However, in the failure to continue compensatory assistance on into the secondary school years, early gains are lost and academic progress slows and sometimes stops. Through these practices, we have written off a generation of poor and minority young people.

One high school dropout we interviewed reflected the attitudes of so many when he explained his decision to leave. "I would have stayed if they had only seen I couldn't read and taught me," and the frustration and hostility that we see in our schools is generated from the fact that so many students do not feel that they are seen or heard and their needs addressed.

That is really the crux of the frustration that we see so often. They are not, they feel, recognized as individuals within the large school settings that we have. We have built schools of 3,000. Our society and our structure does not support and generate children without the personal needs that allow people to function in complex institutions.

And yet, we are saddled across the country with these high schools of 3,000 kids. How do you support the individual, both academically and as a person and that is what our schools need to do, I think, if they are to deal with disruption.

The feeling of being unwanted and unserved, when combined with the helplessness of the trap of no education/no work, leaves students hostile and schools tense. One significant, and even some-

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what understandable, reaction of educators is the desire to get rid of the "bad kids," the troublemakers. However, statistics show that the "bad kids" are, by and large, the academically lagging students.

Disruptive activities and failing grades go hand-in-hand, as we see from the attached materials from the Ann Arbor Student Advocacy Center. [Placed in subcommittee files.] In the sample taken at that school district, 92 percent of all students suspended came from the group categorized as "low achievers." These figures typify those that would be found in other districts—urban or rural, white or racially mixed.

While it cannot be denied that disruptive students interfere with the educational process, New York State education law mandates compulsory education for students between the ages of 6 and 16 while those between the ages of 16 and 21 are entitled to a free high school education. Excluding students, whether through suspension or encouragement to leave or to transfer, cannot be construed as educating them. Not only must districts find programs that work for academically failing or alienated students, but schools must also develop disciplinary procedures which do not deny students their opportunity for education.

We found in New York State that 22 percent of the children who dropped out told us that they had been pushed out of school and that they were denied their due process rights under New York State law. The denial of due process rights—a suspension of up to 50 percent in some schools in a school student body during the course of a year—is fairly characteristic. We see those things in every city that we have looked at.

New York advocacy groups have developed a multifaceted strategy for producing change. We have called for, and achieved, an individualized right to appropriate education for students in danger of failing minimum competency tests. We have worked with a variety of State and local agencies and school districts to encourage the schools to open their doors to community youth service programs designed to meet the emotional and social needs of the students.

Here again, if we are going to support students, we have to begin to treat them as individuals and we do not have the resources in our school to work through their social and counseling needs which need to be supportive. I will talk about that in a minute.

We also have to tighten our due process safeguards to prevent pushouts. We have to prohibit the use of corporal punishment; we have child beating in our schools in New York State. We have to encourage the development of alternatives to suspension, development of a model school code of discipline which eliminates the vagueness of current policies.

School districts today do not know how to write a good code of discipline. They often have no code of discipline. They vary from school to school. They vary from teacher to teacher. And that creates an atmosphere of uncertainty in the schools which students tend to test out where they would not if there were some clarity.

We also would like New York State, and also the Federal Government, to continue to monitor the disciplinary sanctions, so as to detect instances of racial bias and to enforce the civil rights of

students. We begin to see major changes in the year-and-a-half since our publication of "Failing Students, Failing Schools." This has come particularly in the area of development of a right to remedial education for all students who are failing.

The passing of a regulation in New York State to provide for remediation for all children who might fail the minimal competency test, and they are picking them up as early as third grade, provides an individualized right to each child. In a sense, what we are doing is picking up from the handicapped law a continuum and saying, there are a lot of children we certainly do not want to label as handicapped, but they have special needs for concentrated programs. We have to focus on them early and continue that focus, as long as we believe that they will fail the minimum competency exams.

In New York State, like 37 other States, we have a very stringent set of minimum competency exams. It has been the belief of the advocates—and the regents confirmed and agreed with us—that we were correct in saying, if you are going to penalize a youngster for not graduating and not achieving skills, then at the same time, the school has the same responsibility, a responsibility to provide early on an appropriate education to that youngster's needs.

These regulations, which are attached to my testimony, I think are very important. [Placed in subcommittee files.] It is a very large first step to achieving that, and I tell you this in the light of President Carter's recent announcement of new initiatives and funds to combat youth unemployment.

The emphasis on basic skills development should strengthen the ability of the 3,000 selected districts to provide the special assistance their students need. This subcommittee will soon be reviewing these proposals. Because many of the districts in question are experiencing financial problems, they may be tempted to use the new moneys to supplant local funds. Therefore, I urge that the bill to implement the President's program have strong language to prevent districts from using new Federal funds to replace local money. I would also like to suggest that you make receipt of these funds conditional upon the districts' establishment and implementation of a right to a program of remediation similar to the one currently being developed in New York.

Since the new program will be designed to help low achievers, a provision to establish maximum class sizes should be included in the legislation.

We would suggest that special skill classes provided through those funds have a class size limit of 15 and resource rooms have a maximum daily student/teacher ratio of 50 to 1.

Not only small classes, but also a range of human service programs are essential if troubled students are to avail themselves of the academic offerings of their schools.

In past years, school-operated social services have been sharply curtailed because of budget constraints. Public and private youth service agencies are often denied access to students in school buildings during the school day. Unfortunately, there has rarely been any significant integration of school and local agency services.

Our work to foster the development of such programs has convinced us of the strong interest in such efforts. Conferences on this subject have been widely attended and we receive frequent requests for information on techniques and programs. Furthermore, as I have participated in the planning for the White House Conference on Families, I have been struck by the frequency with which joint programs and increased school/community interaction are cited as important goals.

Federal legislation, such as the new youth employment initiative, can encourage the maximum use of youth service dollars through explicit requirements that school districts and local agencies work together to service high-risk students. Perhaps you might also ask the new Department of Education to begin to think of ways in which Federal funds might be channeled into communities wishing to plan intensively for coordinated services.

We have got a lot of money in the communities, but we are really not using our resources well yet. We have two systems that operate side by side and do not integrate and they are trying to reach and work with the same students, but they are not doing a good job.

The third issue that we have worked on is that of combatting discrimination in school discipline and placement. Nationwide, blacks comprise 15 percent of the school enrollment. However, 29.6 percent of all students suspended or expelled from our Nation's schools and 37.9 percent of all students enrolled in educable mentally retarded or emotionally handicapped programs are black.

Thus, blacks are suspended or expelled twice as often, and enrolled in EMR or EMH programs 2½ times as often, as would be expected from their percentage of the population. While some of the differential between black and white suspensions and placements can be dismissed as social/class-related, often disparaties are so high as to be evidence of continued racial discrimination. For example, OCR figures for Buffalo—figures supplied to OCR by the Buffalo Schools themselves—show that corporal punishment is administered to 21 black children for every white child so punished. It is sometimes so blatant, you just cannot deny it.

These forms of discrimination are major contributory factors to school dropout statistics. Yet, after 5 years of discussion and advocacy pressures, the Office of Civil Rights has never defined a clear policy for standards of review and enforcement of civil rights of those students affected by disciplinary and placement discriminations. As a result, advocacy groups find little help in redressing these serious problems.

We ask you to request that the Office of Civil Rights establish clear procedures for determining the existence of racial discrimination in discipline and program placement. Such guidelines should rely primarily on statistical differentials, although it would be naive to deny that class and economic-related factors will not produce some degree of differential.

In closing, I want to thank you for your attention and for the opportunity to speak with you today.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me thank you for a good statement. We will withhold our questions until we hear from the other witness

on the panel. We will now hear from you, Ms. Collins. Go ahead and identify yourself.

STATEMENT OF YOLANDE COLLINS, DISCIPLINE ASSOCIATE, AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, MACON, GA.

Ms. COLLINS. For the record, I would like to make one correction in the written testimony before I start. On page 5, the acronym for the Emergency School Aid Act was mistyped. It should be ESAA. This is on page 5.

Mr. Chairman, I am Yolande Brunson Collins and I am the discipline program associate for the southeastern public education program (SEPEP) of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). I speak for the organization and many like-minded Friends; however, no one person can speak for the Religious Society of Friends.

Today, I am here to speak to you in reference to the problems of discipline in secondary schools and to make recommendations to you as you prepare policies affecting school discipline. My interest in these problems grows out of my experience as the discipline program associate and my work with the southeastern public education program's Macon, Ga., community/school discipline project.

The southeastern public education program is one program of the community relations division of the American Friends Service Committee which is an independent Quaker organization chartered to carry on religious, charitable, philanthropic, and relief work on behalf of the Religious Society of Friends in America. The purpose of the southeastern public education program is to assure equality of educational opportunity, particularly—but not exclusively—among low-income and minority groups. To achieve this goal, the SEPEP employs a small staff and provides information, technical assistance, and counsel to community groups and individuals. An important component of the SEPEP's work is that it relates to educational issues from the perspective of the informed citizen.

The Macon, Ga., community/school discipline project was created in the fall of 1977 under a grant from a philanthropic foundation with emphasis on monitoring out of school suspension of students and student advocacy. At present, the project is working cooperatively with the Bibb County, Ga.—Macon—Board of Education and is housed in a junior high school in Macon, Ga.

The community/school discipline project's objective is to, through its work in one school: One, demonstrate that alternatives to suspending and expelling students for nonviolent offenses can be developed; two, determine and work with root causes of unacceptable school behavior; three, incorporate preventive measures by assessing those root causes and providing methods of support to students in behavioral difficulty; and four, provide students with solutions to their problems while encouraging them to respond without violating the rights of other students, teachers, and administrators.

The discipline project in Bibb County represents a unique opportunity to address the problems of discipline in public schools. The project is unique in that for the first time a private advocacy agency is intimately and cooperatively involved with a public school system to develop creative solutions to the problems of discipline by examining root causes. The discipline project is also uni-

versally beneficial because it gives an advocacy agency such as SEPEP/AFSC an opportunity to gain knowledge of the day-by-day realities of the problems a school has to cope with in addressing the question of discipline.

I feel that knowledge of this process is valuable to the efforts to influence public policy currently being developed at the Office for Civil Rights and this Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education.

The experience of the community/school discipline project in Bibb County, Ga., and our other experiences with discipline reveal some interesting observations on students who find themselves in disciplinary difficulty. When a student of this category is involved in an incident where preventive or therapeutic counseling needs to take place, his needs are rarely administered to because of several reasons.

The student is referred from one school agency to another until he ends up back in class having received no real help, or he is "out the door" for 3 days, the usual suspension sentence in Bibb County. It is my opinion that additional educational policy should call for more preventive and therapeutic measures in schools which can be instituted with the aid of Federal grants to support the implementation of programs geared toward alternatives to out of school suspensions.

The problem which I have just briefly mentioned is only one problem which students face as a result of the paucity of innovative projects and the absence of adequate funding and policy initiatives to support those in existence. Now, I would like to cite some other examples and make some recommendations which I feel are necessary to bring to this committee's attention as you deliberate on national policies governing secondary education: teacher training programs.

Because there is little or no actual experience in handling extreme disciplinary problems during the student-teaching phase of teacher training, most new teachers are surprised to learn that there are extreme disciplinary problems in schools and, as a result, are not able to handle the problems effectively when they arise. Therefore, it should be recommended that colleges and universities which offer teacher training instruction should include courses which help teacher trainees to experience simulated or actual contact with students in disciplinary difficulty.

This effort should be prompted by offering competitive grants to colleges and universities with undergraduate and graduate departments of education with innovative programs designed to aid the development of discipline-coping skills by teacher trainees.

School/community agency cooperativeness. In my experiences working with students in disciplinary difficulty, I have found that it is true that a student who has problems at school may have problems at home. I have also found that the school agencies are not always equipped to effectively respond to all problems that a student may have.

Therefore, demonstration projects should be funded by the department of education in which school systems would contract with community based agencies to work with students having disciplinary difficulty before suspension. It would be imperative to include

agencies which would incorporate all aspects of school/community/family and the problems they may face.

From "Children Out of School in America," the seminal work on the question of needless suspension to the most recent studies, all the major research indicates that there is great disparity in the proportion of black and other minority young people affected by discipline policies and practices. This reality has some clear implications for Federal policies and practices. It is imperative that we have a strong and defensible recordkeeping policy at the Office for Civil Rights. Standards must be established and enforced with full force of law.

Emergency School Aid Act—ESAA—funds must be used creatively to stymie the flow of black students and other minorities out of public schools and into the streets. With these facts in mind I make the following recommendations for possible funding through ESSA: discipline program director.

Since many teachers are not trained to successfully work with students in disciplinary difficulty, school districts with disproportionate black student exclusions should have a person who serves in a capacity to implement a special discipline program. This program would include guidelines which would call for a person, ideally a trained classroom teacher, who has proven to be successful in working with all kinds of students, to serve as discipline program director.

Implementation of programs such as preventive, therapeutic, alternative, and out of reach to students in disciplinary difficulty would be the program purpose. Referral to a discipline center would precede a student's referral to the principal's office. This discipline center idea, however, is not to be confused with the idea of the in-school suspension center, but it would be a preventive measure in relation to suspensions of any kind.

Parental education and involvement. Many parents are not informed as to their rights as parents when their children are in disciplinary difficulty. As a result, when some students are suspended, they remain out of school unnecessarily while they could be back in school with their parents' help. There should be a Federal policy which calls for school districts to educate parents, students, teachers, and administrators, advising them of their rights under Federal regulations. The title I parent advisory councils can be used as a model for this kind of parental involvement.

The recommendations that I have made serve as suggestions to how I feel you can help solve the problems of discipline in secondary schools. Hopefully they will serve, as the cliche puts it, as "food for thought" as you create policies which will positively affect the young people across the United States. It must be realized, however, that the problem of school discipline affects not only the school, but the community, the home, and the family as well. Policies to govern the implementation of programs as I have described will not solve all problems of discipline overnight, but at least they can be a start.

Thank you for allowing me to come before you to address the problem of discipline as I see it and make recommendations which I feel can be helpful to all persons concerned with education and its effectiveness.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much. We will now proceed to the questioning and let me on the first round try to hold it to 10 minutes.

Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The question of the size of the school which has been touched on here this morning, how much weight would you give to that as a factor? Maybe not so much in the incidence of violence or disruption, but also in the ability to deal with it in a prospective manner, in the sense of how you would be able to arrange a smaller school over a larger one in the future.

Dr. GOTTFREDSON. First, the question of how much weight. I think, given the kind of evidence that we have now about school size disruption, it is very difficult to be explicit about that. All we have is natural variation to go on. The size of the school is seriously confounded with other kinds of characteristics of schools, such as their location, for example, and all I could really say about that is on the basis of the evidence, probably it should be given about equal weight with other considerations such as the kinds of governance practices that the school employs roughly equally with that kind of thing.

I cannot really be any more explicit than that.

Mr. MILLER. Let me ask you, are you talking about equal in the sense of one-tenth of the pie or a quarter of the pie, or a third of the pie in terms—you started to outline, you know, several factors which were most important.

Dr. GOTTFREDSON. I guess I would say the pie analogy does not work here. You cannot divide the pie up that way. Things go hand in hand. School size goes hand in hand with the quality of leadership you get goes hand in hand with the governance structure of the school. I cannot cut that pie up.

I could tell you how you might go about doing that. You might try breaking schools up into smaller size and then observing what happens.

The second part of your question is how one might bring that about. I think systematic planning for secondary education in the United States should take into consideration the high probability that larger schools will experience more difficulty and plan for smaller schools.

There are obviously big fiscal problems involved in making decisions about school size. I do not doubt that there may be some arguments that larger schools are more economical. I suppose, however, that arguments like that should be taken in consideration together with concerns about the quality of school life, level of disruption that is likely to ensue, quality of staff that is likely to be recruited, and so forth.

Is that helpful at all?

Mr. MILLER. Yes.

My concern is, in California where I am from, you obviously are seeing school closure at the high school level, not just at the elementary level, but in the district which I represent, a substantial number of high schools are under consideration for closing and consolidation.

If you do not have the money, you do not have the money. I guess the next move would be to see how you would organize that school once you have made the determination that you are going to close one and shuffle students around.

The next best investment would be to determine the guidelines under which this school would be run and administered and so forth. Is that what you are saying, to some extent?

Dr. GOTTFREDSON. Yes. I think there is a tradeoff there. There are a number of things that we can do. If we expect that goverance practices are going to go less well in a large school we might see things go better despite the size of the school.

Mr. MILLER. What credence do you give to suggestions that have been made—and anybody feel free to respond to this—you know that a lot of the vandalism and actions against physical school property are in fact acting out of really frustration and your temperament against the school. It just does not happen that the schools are the first building you came across to vandalize, but in fact it is a selected process because of the frustrations of that individual with that institution. Is that credible?

Dr. GOTTFREDSON. Yes, it is credible, I think. One of the things that would be useful to pick up in this regard from Ms. Block's testimony was the notion that it is not just everybody who is disruptive in schools. It tends to be the people who are having difficulty managing, coping, with educational performance. People who get poor grades, the people who are most likely to drop out are the most disruptive in schools. They are the people who are most frustrated, undoubtedly, with the kinds of expectations put upon them in school.

One of the points that Ms. Block reminded me that I did not make very clear, when I talked about the increasing proportions of the population engaged in secondary education, is that the mix is different. We know that we have people in secondary education who would not have been there at the turn of the century, yet we do tend to have the same kinds of educational structures, traditional education, and those structures may not be appropriate for all kinds of people, and the recent recommendations of the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education has suggested a number of ways to reorganize instruction, reorganize curriculum and the way schools are run, that may be particularly appropriate for people who have difficulty with the academic aspects of school and be most frustrated and therefore vandalize the school.

Mr. MILLER. This NIE study shows some interesting conclusions but it goes through a process of identifying, you know, incidents which you can have a 1 in 7 chance of having something over $10 stolen, a 1 in 6 chance of being hit on the head, and so forth.

Let me ask you. Does anybody know about who, in fact, gets attacked in the school? Is it really random; that is, against a teacher who happens to be in the hall at that moment, or is there a relationship between that teacher and that student?

Do we know that? Have people looked at this?

Ms. BLOCK. We know from incidents of, say, corporal punishment, that the real problems tend to be with certain teachers who do not know how to handle classes. The problems of student-teacher relationships.

So that you see particular teachers getting into trouble more frequently than other teachers.

Mr. MILLER. Does that suggest that you might want to rethink?

Ms. BLOCK. I think the question of teacher training that Yolande brought up are important, but particularly now we have to recognize that our schools are not hiring new teachers and we have to deal with an increasingly older teacher population and retrain them.

The other question of how do you personalize a school, how do you make students who do not feel important at home, who do not feel important in their communities, feel a part of a school community is very important and it has something to do with school size.

But there are, for example, buildings where you can minischool, even if you are stuck with an old structure that handles 3,000. You can make, in essence, three schools of that building. You can functionally create a situation where students do not have to—and this is what has been so successful in junior high schools—do not have to move between seven teachers a day, that they can be known to a certain corps group of teachers who have responsibility for them, and the creation of that individualized understanding of this student which is now not possible in many of our schools. They do not get together in conference about what is this student's problem and how do we, together as a team of teachers, work to help that student.

We can do that if we can develop more creative minischooling.

We do not necessarily have to go toward 100 different small, alternative schools which financially is really not a good—it is not really what we are going to be able to finance, I think, in this country. But we are going to be able, I believe, to encourage reorganization of the moneys and staffing that we have today.

Mr. MILLER. Just to follow that up a little bit, in terms of the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim, if the victim is a repeat offender, so to speak, every year, gets assaulted by the members of the class, the question of retaining and other options have to be considered, do they not?

Ms. BLOCK. Yes, of course. We have problems in terms of assessing teacher capability of handling class. There are major issues in places like New York State in terms of teacher competency and review of teacher competency in light of tenure laws, and those things are becoming more and more problems as we have an older teacher population and less mobility in and out of our teachers.

Mr. MILLER. How do we generally deal with a person who causes disruption?

Ms. BLOCK. A student?

Mr. MILLER. A student.

Ms. BLOCK. Suspend them. That is the overall, the basic technique that we have found used universally in New York State. There was no other technique used universally in New York State. Suspension was a way of handling students.

We found very little real counseling. We found very little supportive services, and we found schools really lacking the personnel to do it, and that is why I talk about how do we integrate the community agency resources we have in the communities to support those very real needs, both of teachers and of students.

I think that teachers also feel alienated in these large institutions.

Mr. MILLER. In children out of school, the study, we found a significant number of students were suspended for not coming to school.

Ms. BLOCK. That is right, and that continues; 20 percent of our suspensions are on truancy today in New York State.

Mr. MILLER. I used to do that. You have to work out the days right, but you could work it out so you could be out on the days when good things were happening. If you cut school one day, you could insure that you could be out of school the next day.

I do not feel that that is the right tool, and yet that seems to be the one that is used more often, if I read all of your testimony correctly. You end up getting a 3-day suspension, which really just puts the problem out of sight for 3 days.

Ms. BLOCK. And alienates the student further.

Mr. MILLER. That seems to be the limit, the nationwide approach, if you will, of suspension.

Ms. BLOCK. There are rays of hope, rays of hope that schools are now beginning to understand that there are better ways of handling student discipline. We are seeing now in school suspension as a more appropriate means, and we have whole school districts in New York State, as a result of our study, who are impementing in-school suspension.

Unfortunately, as we study what they are doing in in-school suspension, we find that that, too, is detention and that, too, does not individualize the student and it is even more punitive.

Mr. MILLER. We have schools in California where in in-school suspension you sit in a room like this with a couple of police officers all day long.

Ms. BLOCK. That is right.

If we are really going to make in-school alternative disciplinary procedures work, we have to begin to bring in the resources that will work in those settings to individualize the students so something creative is done during that period.

Mr. MILLER. Ms. Collins, do you have something to say about this in-school suspension?

Ms. COLLINS. I work with a group of kids who are always in disciplinary difficulty.

Mr. MILLER. You will have to bring the mike closer to you.

Ms. COLLINS. What I found in my particular project was that I would say 3 or 4 out of 18 kids do plan to be suspended. They plan on it. They say, well, I want to be out the rest of the week, so I am going to throw a pencil, or whatever.

I think that if we could develop programs which would just do away with out-of-school suspension totally, this would help. What we need to do is to use the community resources, the agencies, to help the kids understand that being out of school is really not OK. A lot of kids have grown up being suspended two or three times a year and they are used to it.

By the time they reach the eighth or ninth grade, they have already been suspended 12 times. Big deal. Three more days is nothing. Fantastic.

We are finding that the students who are suspended are the ones who keep getting suspended. They are offenders over and over, and it is going to be very important to develop a program that would more or less keep the kids in school and provide counseling projects, things that they might want to do.

What I have done, for instance, if I have a young man who is interested in industrial arts, if he is getting in trouble, I will go to his industrial arts teacher and say, do you think you could get John on a special project to boost his interest?

What we are finding, instead of going to the in-school suspension, he is going to want to come to school to do his special project, to build his lamp, or whatever he wants to do. I think implementing programs which would incorporate things that the kids want to do, or would enjoy doing would be beneficial to the kids and to the system.

We are finding if a teacher survives the first 2 years without getting hit or spit on or knocked around, they usually will survive. I think what is going to be incorporated is to incorporate a teacher training program which will help the young teachers deal with it.

When I went through student teaching, I did not have any problems. You know, everything was nice and I was a student teacher and they loved me and we did not have any problems. But I did not go into the classroom, and I think if I had gone into the classroom and then 2 weeks after school opens, you know, some guy who was 6 feet tall threw a book at me, you know, I would probably pack up and leave.

Having the teacher trainees experience this before they go into the classroom, I think, would be very helpful.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Dr. Gottfredson, did you wish to make a comment?

Dr. GOTTFREDSON. I think Congressman Miller put his finger on a very important problem. The range of responsiveness within schools is clearly limited. What can schools do when a kid is disruptive? You put him on detention, suspension, or lower his grades.

Interestingly, lowering grades turns out to be a very bad disciplinary practice, but one of the practical kinds of issues that I was talking about, what we need to learn how to do better, is to employ certain kinds of technologies which do show promise to make it possible for all students to get rewards some of the time.

There are some kids in schools who, for one reason or another, never get an A or a B or a C and there are instructional practices that make that possible some of the time. Tying the kind into the school, decreasing the sense of frustration that you mentioned earlier.

And there are procedures that involve tying contingencies to behavior in school, to responsiveness in the home, that turns out to be a fairly difficult thing for teachers to pull off and what we need to learn to do now is to learn how to help teachers help schools organize, so that they can restructure those rewards, so that they can use the home-based kinds of responses to misconduct better.

We really do not know how to do that very well yet. In theory we know how to do it; in practice, that is a big practical problem. That was all I wanted to say about that.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you, sir.

I feel very strongly that we are dealing here with the Nation's most precious resources and that there are many signs of trouble in the teenage population of the United States, like youth unemployment, the school scores and others. The Federal Government is, at this moment, investing billions of dollars in education, elementary and secondary as well as postsecondary.

We will, with the President's new proposal, I assume and I hope, be putting substantial additional sums into education.

Ms. Block, you have already made one suggestion on a subject that we ought to address in dealing with the President's youth employment bill to protect against the subplanting, and you suggested a wise provision. My State has a genius for that; my legislature would supplant every dollar, if you let it, that it is spending and let the Federal Government do it.

Do you have any other suggestions, you or any of the rest of the other members of the panel, as to ways that we might make better use of our Federal investment, either in existing programs or in the new programs that we are considering, like the President's new initiative?

Ms. BLOCK. This was the thing I was thinking about most before I came here. I think that we are onto something in New York State by saying to districts we want you to receive this extra money, but we want you to identify those children who are failing and to develop some individualized plans to meet their educational needs.

We call that a right to remediation in New York State and you will see, in my testimony, the brochure of how we have put that together. It is still in an experimental phase, but we think that this group of children is not so unlike handicapped children in that they need to be individualized to some degree.

What we have found, unfortunately, in New York State, because we sent no new moneys in to implement the right to remediation, schools are holding kids back a year or tracking them in large, large groups, and that is probably not going to do the job, and that is why the third recommendation that I made was the small classes.

If you are going to get these Federal funds, not only do you identify the kids you are going to work with but you say, we will work with them in small segments, and I think those are very important even if you do not have them in small segments all day. You do not have to necessarily create alternative schools, but they do need some small classes during the day to work on special skills.

And I think that those three things combined at least provide some safeguards.

The fourth is, I know that just from the brief description that the President's Office sent out that there is some encouragement of interagency involvement and parental involvement in the planning. What we have found, however, is that schools are reluctant to open their doors and plan carefully for the involvement of community agency provisions and services.

There is tremendous slippage between social agencies even in a community like Rochester that have a tremendous number of social agencies. If the school social worker makes a referral, the kid may never get there. So you really need to open the doors of the schools to provision the small counseling groups during the day.

I think that the new legislation may give us an opportunity to say more than we want in joint planning, but we want some plans for some open door policies in the schools.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Do any of the other panelists wish to comment on ways that we might improve the present Federal investment and get more mileage from it, or any other approach on the legislation?

Dr. GOTTFREDSON. I could suggest some ways to get some more mileage out of it. It is very common when you have a social problem to spend some money on it. What is less common is to learn from the experience of that investment, because it could be an investment, and I think—although I am not familiar with all of the details of what the President is planning to propose there, some of it sounds very wise.

Parts of some of the closely related suggestions made by the Carnegie Council on policy studies also is not very wise. Suggestions, for example, that there be apprenticeship kinds of programs for high school kids and maybe they will do that 2 days a week, 3 days a week. They may be engaged in learning basic kinds of educational processes.

Those also sound very wise. I think to get the biggest bang for the buck in the long run is to very carefully monitor what happens, perhaps, in a range of slightly different programs to determine which ones turn out to be the best investments.

Of course, that is a plug for careful monitoring and evaluation to see what you get for your money.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Ms. Collins you mentioned in connection with the problem of teacher burnout, the need for schools of education to deal with this problem.

I wonder if you and other panelists, if you wish, would comment on teachers' centers, the role of teachers 'centers. Have you had experience with them?

Ms. COLLINS. Teachers' centers?

Mr. BUCHANAN. The teachers' center program. I do not know if any of the panelists have any experience with it, but it does provide another avenue of dealing with this kind of problem.

Ms. COLLINS. No, I am not familiar with that.

Mr. BUCHANAN. One more thing. In yesterday's hearings, witnesses indicated that the school principal was the key factor in the success of the environment for student achievement. I wonder if you would comment on his or her role in terms of discipline?

Ms. COLLINS. I think that the principal's attitude is very important. I also feel that a lot of students will either respect a disciplinarian principal or will be afraid of a principal who has a good handle on disciplinary problems.

At the particular school that I am associated with, we did have an assistant principal in charge of discipline who was not very strict at all. He just sort of brought them in, gave them a few days, and sent them out. He was transferred out and we got another

assistant principal in who the kids were just terrified of. And the suspensions dropped within a matter of a couple of days.

Before the first guy left, the kids were being shipped out every day. Within a week after the new guy came in, there was a significant decrease in suspensions and I think that it is a matter of attitude. I think that the principal and the person, the disciplinarian's attitude in handling problems, is very important.

As far as academically, I think that as long as the principal has a good grip on his or her teachers, the teachers will produce. In some cases, the teachers will produce anyway, whether the principal, you know, is influential. But I think that a good attitude toward discipine, and also a principal who is not just gung ho with suspending, the students will respect that person more.

We found in the school as long as the principal stays out of it, the kids act a whole lot better. The assistant principal in charge of discipline is the one who really keeps the kids' morale up. He tries to implement projects and he tries to encourage the kids, just from day to day in the hallways, you know, be sure you are on your good behavior. And he is very good in assessing the problems and he is also very sensitive to the fact that a lot of kids' problems do come from home. They bring their problems to school.

He may or may not suspend the student. To send them home for 3 days if he feels that the home is not a good environment, he will try to keep the student at school.

So to answer your question yes. I think the principal's attitude is important.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Kildee?

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

To the entire panel, what type of due process would you suggest in the suspension or expulsion of students?

Ms. BLOCK. Our Supreme Court has limited or established a certain amount of due process in suspensions. However, the reasons for suspension remains vague.

Our law in New York State, for example, sees insubordination as grounds for suspension and suspension of an almost unlimited time period. In other words, we have short term suspensions of 5 days in New York State and long-term suspensions with a full hearing of over 5 days, but those long-term suspensions can be permanent exclusion and there are no limits and no differential in our laws between whether one suspends long-term for truancy, for example, or for insubordination, whatever that means.

And that is always so vague as to be the observers. So that is where you get the racial disparity.

And the figures that are in those vague categories we see tremendous racial disparity. An action of a big, black kid, which may be less threatening, in fact, may be viewed as more threatening because it is a big, frighteningly black, kid.

So what we would like to see, and this goes back to the children's defense fund report of years ago, is a list of acts, suspendable acts, and a list of nonsuspendable acts and we would like to take these vague categories and the truancies and the insubordination kinds of questions and limit them.

We have seen some schools develop some good school codes which, in effect, put point systems on the types of behavior so that students understand that such and such sassing back is, in fact, a No. 1 but when you take a gun into school, that is a No. 3 offense and boy oh boy, you are not going to be there. There are certain things you do not do in the schools.

Our Federal law says nothing, of course, about the causes for suspension and we have established at the Federal level no standards. We have no model student codes and we find that again in the States.

There are no good model codes that schools can look to that the government has put together.

Some of our associations have begun to do that, but I think it is important that we at least develop exemplary codes of conduct in schools, we test them out and look where to find good ones, and we circulate them out of the Department of Education to school districts, that we give people training and how you put together a good code of behavior. That does not mean simply this act gets this kind of punishment, but it also means what are the redressing forces? How do we use counseling? What kinds of counseling?

How do we take a disciplinary problem and look at the underlying academic failures as well and address some of those, so that a disciplinary code should be broader than simply punishment, act and punishment. It should be, here are some variations for handling these types of problems.

Mr. KILDEE. I taught in a large city high school for 8 years and I just know what the attitude of many members of the faculty toward students was.

There were three feeder junior high schools to that my school. The assumption was if you came from a certain junior high, that you were guilty. If you came from another one it was doubtful, and if you came from the third junior high that you were not guilty.

Ms. BLOCK. The students do not have, generally, student rights types of handbooks to talk about responsibilities and rights in a clear way. They are not really told what due process to expect.

We have the due process built in. We also found in New York State that our own laws are not followed. For example, only the principal may suspend in New York State and that should limit the numbers of suspensions in the schools.

However, he has delegated—illegally, in virtually every city that we have looked at—that power to a number of assistant principals and that, in itself, exponentially adds to the number of suspensions.

Due process is one part-of protection. I think the other is a clear procedure, and both are important. We see that same type of discrimination against poor kids in rural areas. That family produces an "animal" and therefore, whatever that child does from the minute he comes into school is viewed in that light.

Due process provides on the short-term suspension very little protection because the student is suspended and then there is an involvement on a short-term suspension of the parents.

There is really no trial beforehand, and as you say, a very arbitrary situation. But I would rather cut the arbitrariness now

by cutting out the grounds for suspension and reducing those substantially.

Mr. KILDEE. It seems as though the schools in our country have wrestled with two principles: One that the schools feel that, that they are somewhat in loco parentis, and two, this problem of due process, fairness.

Ms. BLOCK. As advocates on these kinds of problems, our only recourse today is the Office of Civil Rights and I have to tell you that we have gotten very little assistance with them. Even when we bring to them figures of gigantic racial disparity, for example, Rochester, N.Y. is No. 2 in our region in terms of racial disparity and suspensions and we brought an OCR complaint a couple of years ago.

The officer who came in had no idea how to judge whether we were correct, although the figures spoke for themselves, and had no desire really to do a strong job in developing alternatives so that we came down to a few policies that we almost had been able to generate through the press as a response to our OCR complaint.

We found that OCR did not have firm guidelines in judging discrimination, in suspension, had not trained their officers to the seriousness of this problem because it is totally interwoven with school dropout and push-out problems and was totally naive about why discrimination and discipline was serious.

They have not developed to this day and we have been talking to them for 5 years, as advocates of a firm set of guidelines on disciplinary sanctions, how they should review discipline. They have not told districts what they expect of them in that area, what they will consider discriminatory actions. They have not again developed a model code which would get some of the vagueness out of some of the local policies and practices on suspensions, particularly those which we find affect minority youth and, again, a hurdle for the poverty youth who are not minority because once you have good policies, you have them across the school.

So I would recommend that you take a good look at what the Office of Compliance is not doing as well as doing in the area of discipline. It is about time we had some help from the Federal Government in that respect.

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me compliment all of you witnesses. You have been very helpful to the committee.

I have some questions, but the other members have questioned you thoroughly, so I will withhold my questions at the present time, inasmuch as we have two panels yet to hear from. But I do want to compliment all of you, and thank you very much.

Come around.

The next panel represents the National Educational Association. We have three witnesses and we will hear from you first, Mr. Bernie Freitag.

Go ahead, Mr. Freitag. Identify yourself and proceed, please.

[The prepared statement of Bernie Freitag follows:]

## Prepared Statement of the National Education Association, Presented by Bernard J. Freitag, NEA Vice President

My name is Bernie Freitag, Vice-President of the National Education Association. Until I assumed office last September, I was a teacher of English and German at the Council Rock High School in Newton, Pennsylvania. I have been a teacher for 21 years. I am here to testify as a teacher and an officer of the NEA.

NEA believes that these oversight hearings are very important. We commend you for taking time to look at secondary education in America.

I'm going to confine my remarks today to rather broad statements about the proper function and role of the institution of public secondary education. To discuss in depth such problems as discipline, class size, and teacher stress, I will present to you three practicing secondary teachers who accompany me.

I believe it is clear that secondary education is alive and well, and doing a remarkably good job overall despite such incomplete, artificial measures as SAT scores. Education carries out its mission very well in the face of enormous obstacles.

Our educational system has traditionally done an outstanding job, giving more education to a greater percentage of our citizens than in any other country. The success of our system of government and our way of life is dependent upon the effectiveness of our public education system. Education is called upon to prepare children to face life and to provide skills to make people productive citizens. Education is more than books, paper, and pencils. It is learning to take orders and not get mad. It is learning to seek knowledge.

Let me give you an example of the kind of maturation that the schools should be and are imparting to students. One of our staffers told me recently how the students, teachers, and parents at Ft. Hunt High School in Fairfax County, Virginia reacted when an arsonist burned the school. The

community gathered at large mass meetings. Parents and students told the school board they wanted the students to stay together. They were willing to do anything to preserve the institution of Ft. Hunt. Students and teachers put up with split shifts and classes running into the evening. They attended two different "enemy" schools. Students shared the basketball courts with rival schools so that they could practice. The band had extra practice at local churches. You can't tell me that these people were disenchanted with their school. They fought to keep it alive.

Total community support is also illustrated by the Ft. Hunt experience. When the school reopened this fall the entire community turned out for "back to school night." Over half of the crowd were adults who didn't have children in Ft. Hunt.

Most people like their local public school and the teachers in it. Parents clearly have a great deal of confidence in the schools their children attend. As you heard in previous testimony, the latest Gallop poll on education showed that the vast majority of parents like both the teachers and the high standards in their children's schools. About four-fifths said they would not send their children to a different school if they had the choice.

Yet many people have reservations about "education in general." Public education does a very acceptable job in the local school and parents seem to be pleased. But somehow we have not done a very good job helping people to understand that public education is education in their home school, the teachers who teach their children. People tend to be suspicious of institutions which are remote or undefined. Somehow, education has been undefined. At least some of the disenchantment with education must be attributed to the ill defined nature of education. We, as well as Gallop, have found a generalized distrust of government and broad institutions,

more marked as the distance from the person being interviewed is increased.

Many sociologists and psychologists suspect that we are seeing many changes in traditional institutions like marriage, the family, and the role of men and women. Much of this perceived change is hard to document since some of these changes have occurred rather rapidly in a short period of time. Much more study is needed, but many teachers agree with these suspicions. There seem to be changes in traditional institutions.

I have provided the Committee with several copies of a recent NEA study on the American family. The study is well worth careful consideration by the Committee. I have attached to this testimony (Attachment A) the summary of the section dealing with family change and stability. It is typical of the literature about the family: it finds that change and stability are both present. There is definite need for further study on many of the issues.

Many assert that some of the problem with changing relationships in the family is the "working wife." This is merely a sexist attempt to describe a problem that has been around for years. I really doubt that the traditional role model of the woman staying home doing the knitting and caring exclusively for her children ever really existed. In early America women worked side by side with men in the fields. During the World Wars women did "men's work" and were away from families for extended periods each day. Now the economy dictates that both partners in a marriage work in order to survive.

Laws, court rulings, and school and public policy have increasingly removed from schools and teachers their <u>in loco parentis</u> roles and authority. Yet in many cases the school provides the only real continuity in a child's life. This quasi-parental role often occurs by default because of widespread abrogation of parental responsibility.

Many teachers do an effective job teaching but are swamped by the emotional strain of being surrogate parents. Many teachers are not educationally or psychologically prepared to cope with being substitute parents for children over whom they have limited authority. I do not fault teacher education for this, but I do question if it is the role of the school to provide this "service".

The Committee heard testimony from the National Center for Education Statistics that the average pupil/teacher ratio -- commonly referred to as "class size" -- was 17.2 pupils to one teacher. I find that figure very hard to believe. I taught in a school, and I taught German which usually has smaller classes. I rarely had a class of 17 students. When I did, it was in third or fourth year German. When I taught ninth grade English, my classes were always above thirty (Attachment B). I invite you to ask my colleagues with me today what their class load is.

NEA figures on actual classroom size show quite a different story. An NEA research study (Attachment C) shows that the mean class size is 25 for junior high schools and 24 for senior high schools. These figures are based upon classroom teachers only. The figure excludes special education teachers, counselors, librarians, nurses, principals, assistant principals, resource teachers, superintendents, assistant superintendents, instructional specialists, etc. I have attached the table showing our data on class size (Attachment D).

The class size issue is important because a recent study by Gene Glass and others on class size (Attachment E) says that there are slight improvements in achievement when class size declines slightly. But there is a marked improvement when there is a drastic reduction in class size. If indeed classes were about 17 pupils, students would receive much more individual

attention, more depth in evaluation, and a better education.

I want to read to you two very important segments of the class size study.

> "Our conclusion is that average pupil achievement increases as class size decreases. The typical achievement of pupils in instructional groups of 15 and fewer is several percentile ranks above that of pupils in classes of 25 and 30."

> "We've found, too, that for every pupil by which class size is reduced below 20, the class's average achievement improves substantially more than for each pupil by which class size is reduced between 30 and 20."

The diversity of the figures is very important. If indeed classes consist of 17 pupils per teacher, we can expect more from education. If, on the other hand, classes are around 24 as our data show, expectations must be different. The nub of the issue is pupil achievement.

Teachers have worked for years to reduce class size. Now that there is a slight decline in the number of children in school and class size has been reduced somewhat, many districts are reducing the percentage of support to local schools. This is a time to alleviate one of the most basic problems with public education, excessive class size. It is not a time to be penny wise and pound foolish. There are slightly fewer students enrolled in school now than 4 years ago, so now is a time to improve education by reducing size of classes.

Today's teacher is the product of a traditional system of education;

she or he most likely teaches within a school system that fits itself into a traditional mode. The system served us well in the past. But the traditional system does not always work today. It breaks down when the societal conditions within which it was designed to function no longer exist, or exist in radically altered form. When society changes, our systems must change in the way they deliver services to our fellow citizens. The changes that are needed must be worked out largely by local people, within their own communities and their own schools, dealing with the real conditions they face right there, where education really takes place, in their own classrooms between their teachers and their children.

We are most pleased and grateful that you are holding these hearings to increase your understanding of the conditions that affect secondary education today. As experts in legislation, in finding answers to problems, we believe you -- and these hearings -- can provide a major opportunity for improvement of public education in our country.

It is now my pleasure to introduce to you Mary Hatwood Futrell, a teacher at George Washington Junior High School in Alexandria, Virginia; Lyn Hendry, a teacher at Walt Whitman Senior High School in Bethesda, Maryland; and Phyllis Titlebaum, a teacher at George Westinghouse Junior High School in New York City.

These teachers are prepared to bring to the Committee their perceptions of what really is happening in our secondary schools and to share with you their insights on possible solutions to very real problems.

ATTACHMENT A

*THE STATUS OF THE AMERICAN FAMILY: POLICIES, FACTS, OPINIONS, AND ISSUES*

## SECTION II. ANALYZING DEMOGRAPHICS AND TRENDS: MYTHS AND REALITIES ABOUT FAMILY CHANGE AND STABILITY

### Summary and Conclusion

In some respects, the American family has changed. Long-term trend data suggest that marriage, divorce, and remarriage rates have increased; the median age of first marriage has shown a slight rise, especially for women; more adults live alone; more mothers work outside the home; family size is decreasing; and marital events are compressed into a shorter period of time.

Other changes appear to be occurring but are difficult to document. For example, almost all of today's children live with at least one parent; and the majority of children live with both natural parents. Whether or not this represents a significant departure from the past is difficult to determine from available data.

The changes which have been identified and documented suggest that both change and stability are evident in the American family system. As institutions, both marriage and the family continue to persist and, in fact, appear to be preferred living arrangements for adults and children. As processes, marriage and the family appear to be undergoing change.

The changes selected for review, however, cannot possibly address all the changes thought to have occurred or to be occurring in the American family. For example, although family size and structure are changing, it is difficult to assert the cause or causes of these changes or the way in which certain factors—such as urbanization and industrialization—have influenced the changes. Although the role of women is changing, it is too soon to determine whether motherhood is being accepted as an episode in a woman's life rather than as her life's work. Further, it is difficult to predict whether motherhood as episodic will permanently change family structure or in what ways. The economic and child-socializing functions of the family may be changing, but the effect of this possible change on the intimate relationships within the family context is unclear.

Much more study is required toward the end of better understanding the family system, how well it performs its traditional responsibilities, and to what extent it may or may not be undergoing change. Great attention has been focused on family income, for example, as if the amount of income and the principal wage earner were determinants of certain family processes or problems. Very little is known about the way in which income exerts influence on individual families and family members, the real deprivations families experience, and the relative deprivations they feel. Much less attention has been paid to the manner in which families spend the income they have, to the kinds of opportunities they seize, and to the types of services they purchase.

A second set of questions for study involves family roles. The specific activities of adults and children inside the family and in other institutions, the amount of time family members spend together and in separate activities, the satisfaction family members derive from the activities, and the degree to which family mem-

bers nurture or hinder personal freedom are all areas that need further examination.

Although cultural diversity is widely acknowledged, family diversity is less well understood. Educators need to become more aware of the similarities and the differences among families and within and across class, ethnic, and racial groups.

Human sexual development and sexual behavior are important to the study of the family. Sexual behavior in and out of marriage, patterns of romantic encounters, sexual differentiation, and patterns of prolonged or transient love relationships need to be studied if a complete understanding of sex in family and social living is to be achieved.

Patterns of child-care arrangements have only recently been seriously examined. Much more attention could be directed to the kinds of child care available; variations in child care across time and within families; external influences, such as the school, upon children; and the compatibility or conflict between the socialization practices of the family and of other institutions.

Great attention should also be given to the linkage between family behavior and social behavior in other areas of society. For instance, while some institutions may attempt to help resolve family problems, in so doing they may actually contribute to family difficulties. Some family behaviors may be considered beneficial to preserving individual families, but such behaviors may be at great cost to the individual and to society.

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ATTACHMENT B

The following average pupil teacher ratios (class-size) are found at Council Rock High School, Newton, Pennsylvania.

| | |
|---|---|
| English | 28.1 |
| Mathematics | 28.9 |
| Science | 24.8 |
| Foreign Language | 25.6 |
| Industrial Arts | 20.4 |
| Fine Arts | 21.9 |
| Special Education | 6.9 |

Most classes are larger than the average because there is a program to provide students with special problems a more intense education. There are no more than 20 students in any of these classes. Normal class load for each teacher is 30 to 35 pupils per class.

ATTACHMENT C

## CLASS SIZE

- The mean class size is 24, with mean class sizes of 22 for kindergarten (two classes per day), 24 for self-contained classes, 28 for team-teaching classes (three teachers with 84 students), and 24 for departmentalized classes (five classes with a total of 120 students).

**Responses from the Demographic Subgroups**

| | | Region | | | | Student enrollment | | | Teaching levels | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total | Northeast | Southeast | Midwest | West | 20,000 & over | 1,000–20,999 | 1,999 & less | Elementary | Junior high | Senior high |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | 11 | 12 |
| KINDERGARTEN OR PREKINDERGARTEN CLASSES (Percent responding) | 5 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 7 | 5 | 6 | 2 | 10 | – | – |
| Mean number of classes | 2 | 2 | 1 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 2 | 2 | 2 | – | – |
| Mean number of students per class | 22 | 21 | 23 | 22 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 20 | 22 | – | – |
| SELF-CONTAINED CLASS—teach the same students all or a significant part of the day (Percent responding) | 31 | 29 | 30 | 33 | 30 | 32 | 28 | 35 | 80 | 8 | 3 |
| Mean number of students | 24 | 23 | 24 | 24 | 24 | 25 | 23 | 23 | 20 | 26 | 17 |
| TEAM TEACHING SITUATION—one or more other teachers teach a group of students for a significant part of the day (Percent responding) | 7 | 8 | 8 | 7 | 9 | 7 | 9 | 5 | 8 | 6 | 4 |
| Mean number of teachers | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| Mean number of students per teacher | 28 | 30 | 29 | 28 | 27 | 28 | 27 | 31 | 28 | 28 | 36 |
| DEPARTMENTALIZED SITUATION—teach several classes of different students (Percent responding) | 53 | 57 | 57 | 53 | 48 | 51 | 53 | 56 | 12 | 91 | 90 |
| Mean number of classes | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 5 | 5 |
| Mean number of students per class | 24 | 23 | 24 | 23 | 30 | 26 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 24 |
| OTHER (Percent responding) | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 | 8 | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| MEAN NUMBER OF PUPILS PER CLASS | 24 | 24 | 23 | 24 | 25 | 23 | 23 | 23 | 24 | 23 | 24 |

# CLASS SIZE AND LEARNING

## —new interpretation of the research literature

Class size continues to be an important, sometimes an emotional, issue for educators. In the November 1978 issue of the *Phi Delta Kappan*, NEA President John Ryor was quoted as saying that wages and class size were primary strike issues this year.

For decades, teachers, administrators, and educational researchers have been at odds about whether pupils in fact learn more in smaller classes. Teachers have generally believed with deep conviction that smaller classes are better for learning. A few researchers have argued that small classes are not better, or at least that empirical studies do not show that they are better.

An atmosphere of distrust has hung over the controversy. Researchers have suspected privately that the teachers' position on the question has been self-serving. Teachers have thought that researchers do not pay attention to the variables in teaching that are important.

Researchers have produced dozens of studies on the relationship between class size and achievement. Scholars have compiled and reviewed the literature repeatedly. Some reviews, such as one done in Australia in 1974,[1] fell with a thud: "There does not appear to be one optimum class size. The size depends on the particular teacher, the particular aims, the particular set of students, and the particular time." The lengthy report of Ryan and Greenfield[2] supports this conclusion and goes on to state that class size research has suffered because it has failed to adequately control the most important variable in the studies—the quality of teaching.

A recent study by the Educational Research Service[3] (which received front page coverage in the July 30, 1978, edition of the *New York Times*), ended with bad news for teachers:

> Existing research findings do not support the contention that smaller classes will of themselves result in greater academic achievement gains for pupils.
>
> Few if any pupil benefits can be expected from reducing class size if teachers continue to use the same instructional methods and procedures in the smaller classes that they used in the larger classes.

In the past year, we have gone back to the literature on class size and achievement with improved methods of integrating the results of many different studies. This investigation has produced new and exciting findings from old data.

A four months' literature search turned up nearly 80 studies of the relationship between class size and pupil achievement; these studies dated back as far as 1900 and involved more than 900,000 pupils. The studies had been published in well-known academic journals, out-of-the-way magazines, or, in a few cases, not at all; many had been conducted for doctoral dissertations.

We collected about half again as many studies as any previous reviewers had. We also included studies (less than a dozen) of the effects of tutoring in very small groups of one, two, or a few pupils. For our purpose, class size was defined as the number of pupils being taught by a single teacher.

Embedded in these studies were nearly 1,000 comparisons of the achievement of pupils in larger and smaller classes. A study would be reporting 12 comparisons in our terms, for example, if it compared the scores of classes of 15, 20, and 25 pupils on four subtests of the Stanford Achievement Test.

The studies presented us with an "apples-oranges" problem: They expressed their results on a variety of scales—grade equivalents, percentile rankings, etc.—that were not comparable. Consequently, we had to reduce the nearly 1,000 comparisons to points we call *achievement advantages* on a common statistical scale, the *z* score scale.[4]

Once we had converted all the comparisons to achievement advantage statistics, we could convert them once again to a scale that would have more meaning to readers of our study. For example, in this article, all comparisons have been expressed in terms of percentile rankings and grade equivalents.

In developing this method of comparing results of studies that had been conducted in different circumstances, we were trying to capitalize on the full power of modern statistical methods to arrange information and discern its meaning. In spite of the shortcomings of the method, it seems immeasurably superior to the narrative style that

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LEONARD S. COHEN
*Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, San Francisco, California, and*
MARY LEE SMITH
*Laboratory of Educational Research, and*
NIKOLA N. FILBY
*Far West Laboratory*

| Class Size | Average Percentile Ranks in Achievement | Average Growth in One School Year (Grade Equivalent Units) |
|---|---|---|
| 40 | [illegible]th | 1.00 yr. |
| 30 | 62nd | 1.07 yr. |
| 25 | 53rd | 1.10 yr. |
| 20 | 55th | 1.15 yr. |
| 15 | 58th | 1.24 yr. |
| 10 | 65th | 1.45 yr. |
| 5 | 74th | 1.72 yr. |

Table 1. Relationship between selected class sizes and achievement, expressed in percentile ranks and grade equivalent units.

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characterized previous reviews of research on class size and achievement.

When we tallied and analyzed the results of the hundreds of comparisons in the 80 studies, we found that 60 percent of them favored small classes. But many of the comparisons were between classes of about 25 pupils and classes of about 35. We had to take proper account of the relationship of the size of the smaller class's achievement advantage to the actual numbers of pupils in the smaller and larger classes. When we did so and also brought to bear on the problem sophisticated methods of data analysis not available to previous reviewers, a more complete picture (shown in Figure 1) emerged of the relationship between class size and achievement.

The aggregated findings shown in Figure 1 can be expressed in words in several ways. Imagine that a typical pupil in a typical class of 40 scores at the 50th percentile (i.e., the median) of an achievement test. The same pupil, taught in a group of 20, would have scored at the 55th percentile; in a group of 15, at the 58th percentile; in a group of 10, at the 65th percentile; and in a group of 5, at the 74th percentile. A pupil in a group of 40, then, would score 24 percentile ranks higher if taught in a group of 5 pupils.

Let's take an additional example. A fifth-grade pupil in a class of 40 might be expected, on the average, to gain 10 grade-equivalent months in a school year on a standardized achievement test. The average pupil in a class of 10 would be expected to gain 14.5 months, and the average pupil in a class of 5 would be expected to gain more than 17 grade-equivalent months. These and other relationships are summarized in Table 1.

After we had drawn the comparisons in percentile ranks and grade equivalents, we sorted these data into various subcategories, such as subject matter tested, pupil level, and date of study. We found that a relationship between class size and achievement was slightly stronger in secondary school than in elementary school. The relationships seemed nearly the same for reading, mathematics, and language.

Through this process, we discovered why earlier reviewers had reached the conclusion that no relationship between class size and achievement existed. The strength of the relationship varied greatly depending on when the research was conducted and how well it was designed.

Research done before 1940 shows virtually no correlation between class size and achievement. These studies were less well designed than those done later, and relatively few of them dealt with classes of fewer than 15. Furthermore, researchers who met our standards for experimental control by equating the pupils in the larger and smaller classes before instruction found a strong relationship between class size and achievement; those who did not meet our standards failed to find the relationship. In fact, Figure 1 is based on the nearly 100 controlled comparisons (from the studies with the best research designs) of achievement in larger and smaller classes.

Our conclusion is that average pupil achievement increases as class size decreases. The typical achievement of pupils in instructional groups of 15 and fewer is several percentile ranks above that of pupils in classes of 25 and 30. This newly documented relationship between class size and achievement contradicts previously published reviews of research, whose authors maintained that reducing class size would not result in greater achievement.

We found, too, that for every pupil by which class size is reduced below 20, the class's average achievement improves substantially more than for each pupil by which class size is reduced between 30 and 20.

Although we can expect that on the average, reducing class size, will increase pupil achievement, this improvement will not necessarily result in every case. Instances of substantially larger classes' outperforming smaller classes have been recorded, although they are, of course, less common than the converse finding. Researchers must take account of what actually occurs in smaller classes: the instructional procedures used, the beliefs and capabilities of teachers, the demonstrated abilities and backgrounds of pupils, the subject matter, and the like. These ultimately determine whether the potential for increased learning that smaller classes create will be realized.

The conclusions reported here have many important implications for education. They support the widely held belief that students in smaller classes achieve more. Previously published reviews have not supported this commonsense relationship. The statistical

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**The research reported in this landmark study is of great significance to teachers. Many policymakers and other researchers, using less sophisticated methodologies, are claiming that class size is relatively unimportant to pupil growth. That argument can now be put to rest. This research demonstrates that smaller classes do have a positive relationship to student achievement.**

**The authors' intention to do further research on smaller classes is encouraging. Questions about the process of learning, teacher morale, student activities, and new instructional techniques in smaller classes are very important. In this study, the authors do deal with those factors but limit themselves to analyzing scores from achievement tests. That narrow measure is, of course, only one of several possible indications of students' growth.**

**The authors find only small differences in achievement between classes of 20 and 40 pupils, while classes that contain fewer than 20 students differ greatly from larger classes. It would be exceedingly unfortunate, however, if school boards were to use these data to argue, "Since we cannot afford to get classes below 20, they might as well be at 40." This would be a simplistic answer to a complex question that affects, through the schools, the whole society. Such public leaders, to act responsibly, should help their communities understand that quality of schooling is measured in many ways. Small classes produce superior results on all dimensions. Furthermore, as all teachers know, the small differences in achievement may be very important to the pupils involved.**

**It is important that policy makers, such as legislators and school board members, and school administrators be made aware of the findings reported in this article. Association members can get single reprints free by writing to the NEA-IPD Information Center, 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, DC 20036. We encourage teachers to share this information with those who make the final decisions about class size.**

**—Robert McClure, *NEA Instruction and Professional Development.***

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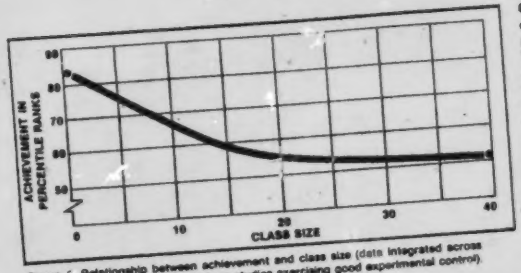


Figure 2. Relationship between achievement and class size (data integrated across approximately 100 comparisons from studies exercising good experimental control).

confirmation presented here requires school people to find answers to many questions of teaching practice and educational policy.

It is impossible to consider class size without considering finances. One major implication of our findings is that increasing class size just to save money can cause pupils to learn less. On the other hand, achievement appears to increase dramatically only when class size drops below 20. Giving all teachers classes of 15 for the full school day would be very expensive.

School districts should consider several alternatives. Some have attempted to reduce the number of pupils per teaching adult for at least part of the day by employing reading specialists, for example, or additional teachers for the periods when reading and mathematics are taught. Many schools use paraprofessionals to help the professional teacher. By assigning noninstructional duties to aides, they can free teachers to provide professional attention to individual pupils.

Scheduling and grouping within the classroom are other ways to reduce instructional group size. Some schools use a staggered reading schedule: part of the class comes early for a reading period and other students stay late. Thus students spend at least part of their time in small-class conditions.

School people might also learn to use small-class instruction, if not consistently, then at least where there may be the greatest need or greatest benefit. Small classes have often been used for remedial instruction programs, whose students need more individual attention. Small classes may also be most justifiable in the primary grades, to get more students off to a good start.

In the end, however, any weighing of outcomes against costs becomes a question of values. The data presented here show a clear relationship between reduced class size and increased achievement. What value does the school place on a particular magnitude of improved achievement?

School people should also consider other possible outcomes of reducing class size and the value they place on these. Class size may be related to such factors as teacher satisfaction, opportunity for individualized instruction, opportunity for peer teaching and discussion among students, opportunity for enriching the curriculum, a lower rate of student failure, and the like. We are now doing a statistical review of studies of class size in relation to such outcomes. Many people value such outcomes in their own right, regardless of any relationship to achievement in basic skills.

Reducing class size promises to increase learning by enabling school people to improve or intensify the instructional program. We need to study how instruction can be changed when class size is reduced. We need to consider what help teachers will need to take advantage of the opportunity that smaller classes afford.

This article summarizes some of the findings of the first phase of the Class Size and Instruction Project as reported in *Meta-Analysis of Research on the Relationship of Class Size and Achievement* by Gene V. Glass and Mary Lee Smith. (The references at the end of the article provide more information about the report.) The Project is funded by the National Institute of Education and is based at the Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development. Researchers on the project plan to study the teaching-learning process in elementary school through a collaborative team of teachers and teacher educators. During the coming years, the project will undertake the following activities:

- Further analyses, this time of studies of the relationship between class size and teacher morale, pupil attitudes, and classroom process.
- An investigation of how schools presently reduce pupil-teacher ratios by employing aides, grouping, and other means.
- A study of what happens when class size is reduced experimentally and teachers are given support to take advantage of this opportunity. Teachers and researchers, using quantitative and descriptive techniques, will describe changes in the process of instruction that occur when class size is reduced.

We hope that the report of findings presented here will encourage future research on how the quality of schooling can be improved. □


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[1]LaFleur, C. D., Sumner, R. J., and Whitton, E. *Class Size Survey, October 1974*. Canberra, Australia: Australian Government Publishing Service for the Department of Education, 1975.

[2]Ryan, D. W., and Greenfield, T. B. *The Class Size Question: Development of Research Studies Related to the Effects of Class Size, Pupil/Adult, and Pupil/Teacher Ratios*. Toronto: Ontario Ministry of Education, 1975.

[3]Porwoll, P. J. *Class Size: A Summary of Research*. Arlington, Va.: Educational Research Service, 1978.

[4]Readers wishing to know more about our statistical methods should consult the following:

Glass, G. V. "Integrating Findings: The Meta-Analysis of Research." *Review of Research in Education* 3. (Edited by Lee S. Shulman.) Itasca, Ill.: Peacock, 1978. Chapter 9.

Glass, G. V., and Smith, M. L. *Meta-Analysis of Research on the Relationship of Class Size and Achievement*. San Francisco: Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1979. Individual copies of this study may be obtained for $5.50 (with delivery by fourth class mail) or $7 (with delivery by first class mail) from—Order Dept., Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1855 Folsom St., San Francisco, CA 94103.

## STATEMENT OF BERNIE FREITAG, VICE PRESIDENT, NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

Mr. FREITAG. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Bernie Freitag. I am vice president of the National Education Association and until I assumed office last September, I taught English and German at the Council Rock High School in Newton, Pa., which has 3,200 students in grades 9 through 12.

I have been a teacher for 21 years. I am here to testify as a teacher and as an officer of the NEA.

In the interests of time, I am not going to read the entire prepared statement.

Chairman PERKINS. Without objection, all your prepared statements will be inserted in the record.

Mr. FREITAG. Thank you, sir.

I would like to at least point out one of the areas of concern. The committee heard testimony from the National Center for Educational Statistics that the average pupil-teacher ratio, which is commonly referred to as class size, but is certainly not the same thing in the eyes of teachers, was 17.2 pupils to one teacher. I find that figure very hard to believe.

As a teacher of German, which usually has smaller classes, I rarely had a class of 17 students and when I did, it was in third or fourth year German. When I taught ninth grade English, my classes were always above 30. I invite you to ask my colleagues here today what their classload is now.

NEA figures on actual classroom teachers show quite a different story. An NEA research study shows that the mean class size is 25 for junior high schools and 24 for senior high schools. These figures are based upon classroom teachers only. The figure excludes special education teachers, counselors, librarians, nurses, principals, assistant principals, resource teachers superintendents, assistant superintendents, instructional specialists, et cetera. I have attached the table showing our data on class size.

Even these figures are misleading because they are an average. I have attached a statement of the actual average class size for academic areas in my school, Council Rock High School in Bucks County, Pa. I might mention, too, that those figures come down a little low because it has been an agreement of the staff in my school for years that in order to give the best help to students who need it most, certain sections would be limited to 20 and the other teachers on the staff would agree to take, then, a larger than normal number of students within their classes.

The class size issue is important because a recent study by Gene Glass and others on class size says that there are slight improvements in achievement when class size declines slightly. But there is a marked improvement when there is a drastic reduction in class size. If indeed classes were about 17 pupils, students would receive much more individual attention, more depth in evaluation and a better education.

I want to read to you two very important segments of the class size study:

> Our conclusion is that average pupil achievement increases as class size decreases. The typical achievement of pupils in instructional groups of 15 and fewer is several percentile ranks above that of pupils in classes of 25 and 30.

We've found, too, that for every pupil by which class size is reduced below 20, the class' average achievement improves substantially more than for each pupil by which class size is reduced between 30 and 20.

The diversity of the figures is very important. If indeed classes consist of 17 pupils per teacher, we can expect more from education. If, on the other hand, classes are around 24 as our data show, expectations must be different. The nub of the issue is pupil achievement.

Teachers have worked for years to reduce class size. Now that there is a slight decline in the number of children in school and class size has been reduced somewhat, many districts are reducing the percentage of support to local schools. This is a time to alleviate one of the most basic problems with public education, excessive class size. It is not a time to be pennywise and pound foolish. There are slightly fewer students enrolled in school now than 4 years ago, so now is a time to improve education by reducing size of classes.

Today's teacher is the product of a traditional system of education; she or he most likely teaches within a school system that fits itself into the traditional mode. The system has served us well in the past. But the traditional system does not always work today.

It breaks down when the societal conditions within which it was designed to function no longer exist, or exist in a radically altered form. When society changes, our systems must change in the way they deliver services to our fellow citizens. The changes that are needed must be worked out largely by local people, within their own communities and their own schools, dealing with the real conditions they face right there, where education really takes place, in their own classrooms between their teachers and their children.

We are most pleased and grateful that you are holding these hearings to increase your understanding of the conditions that affect secondary education today. As experts in legislation, in finding answers to problems, we believe you—and these hearings—can provide a major opportunity for improvement of public education in our country.

I am happy to introduce to you: Ms. Grace Hendry, a teacher at Walt Whitman Senior High School, Bethesda, Md.; Ms. Mary Hatwood Futtrell, teacher, George Washington Junior High School, Alexandria, Va.; Ms. Phyllis Titlebaum, teacher at George Westinghouse Junior High School in New York City is ill and could not be here as planned.

These teachers are prepared to bring to the committee their perceptions of what is really happening in our secondary schools and to share with you their insights to possible solutions to very real problems.

Chairman PERKINS. Go ahead and identify yourself.

[The prepared statement of Mary Hatwood Futtrell follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARY HATWOOD FUTTRELL, TEACHER, GEORGE WASHINGTON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

CONGRESSIONAL "OVERSIGHT HEARINGS" ON THE STATUS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION
WEDNESDAY, February 6, 1980
9:30 a.m. -- Rayburn Building

CONGRESSMAN PERKINS AND DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE. THANK YOU FOR THE OPPORTUNITY TO TESTIFY ON THE STATUS OF SECONDARY EDUCATION.

I AM A BUSINESS EDUCATION TEACHER WITH SIXTEEN YEARS OF CLASSROOM EXPERIENCE IN THE ALEXANDRIA CITY PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM. MY TEACHING EXPERIENCE INCLUDES GRADES 7 - 12.

DURING THE LAST 16 YEARS, I'VE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO WATCH OUR PUBLIC SCHOOLS GO THROUGH A MYRIAD OF ORGANIZATIONAL AND CURRICULA CHANGES. IN 1963, MY FIRST YEAR AS A TEACHER, I STARTED OUT IN A COMPLETELY SEGREGATED SCHOOL. 1965 SAW ME TRANSFERRED TO A DESEGREGATED SCHOOL, GEORGE WASHINGTON HIGH SCHOOL. DURING THE NEXT 14 YEARS, GW CHANGED FROM A HIGH SCHOOL TO A SECONDARY SCHOOL AND FINALLY TO ITS CURRENT STATUS AS A JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL. SIXTEEN YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE HAVE SEEN ME GO FROM A COMPLETELY SEGREGATED SCHOOL TO A DESEGREGATED ONE TO A DESEGREGATED SCHOOL WITH SEGREGATED CLASSES.

MY EXPERIENCES AS A CLASSROOM TEACHER HAVE FOR THE MOST PART BEEN VERY REWARDING. I'VE BEEN LUCKY TO HAVE GOOD CLASSES, AN ADEQUATE SUPPLY OF MATERIALS AND EQUIPMENT (EVEN THOUGH WE ARE RATHER CRAMPED NOW THAT WE HAVE PUT 1500 SEVENTH AND EIGHTH GRADERS INTO A SCHOOL WHERE WE HAVE PREVIOUSLY ONLY HAD 1100-1200). BUT AS A CLASSROOM TEACHER, A TEACHER WHO IS A PART OF THE TOTAL ENVIRONMENT AND NOT JUST A CLASSROOM, MY VIEWS/OPINIONS ARE COLORED BY WHAT GOES ON AROUND ME AND BY WHAT IS HAPPENING IN THE ENTIRE SYSTEM. IN PREPARATION FOR THIS OCCASION TODAY, I TALKED WITH TEACHERS IN MY SCHOOL AND MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE VIRGINIA EDUCATION ASSOCIATION (ALL OF WHOM ARE CLASSROOM TEACHERS) REPRESENTING TEACHERS THROUGHOUT THE OLD DOMINION.



57-261 O - 80 - 39

ALLOW ME TO HIGHLIGHT SOME OF THE THINGS WHICH ARE PART OF A TYPICAL SCHOOL DAY AS SEEN THROUGH THE EYES OF MANY TEACHERS--NOT JUST IN ALEXANDRIA, BUT IN MANY SCHOOL DISTRICTS.

**ATTENDANCE: SEVERAL STUDENTS ARRIVE LATE TO CLASS; EXPRESS RESENTMENT WHEN ASKED WHY THEY ARE LATE AND/OR HAVE NO PASS. STUDENTS WALKING THE HALLS OR JUST HANGING OUT (THEY RUN WHEN ADMINISTRATORS, TEACHERS OR MONITORS ARE SPOTTED HEADED FOR THE AREA). TOO MUCH NOISE AND CONFUSION IN THE HALLS BETWEEN CLASSES

**DISCIPLINE: STUDENTS ARE DISRUPTIVE; SHOW RESENTMENT WHEN DISCIPLINED; TALK WITH PARENTS WHO INDICATE THAT THEY CAN'T OR WON'T DO ANYTHING;-- SOMETIMES WILL TELL TEACHER NOT TO CALL AGAIN. STUDENTS WILL SAY, "CALL MY PARENTS, THEY AREN'T GOING TO OR CAN'T DO ANYTHING."

**PAPER WORK: FORMS TO FILL OUT--CLASS COUNTS--MORE FORMS--CLASS COUNTS, PAPERS; ALL DUE YESTERDAY EVEN THOUGH WE GOT THEM TODAY.

**LACK OF RESPECT FOR TEACHERS AS WELL AS FOR EACH OTHER; NO FEAR OF ADMONISHMENT FROM ADMINISTRATORS/PARENTS. TYPICAL ATTITUDE: NO ONE TELLS ME WHAT TO DO OR I'LL TELL MY PARENTS, AND THEY WILL DEAL WITH YOU.

**FIGHTS: BREAK UP FIGHTS--TEACHERS SEEM TO GET AS MANY LICKS AS THE FIGHTERS.

**CLASS WORK: ATTITUDE IS TOO OFTEN TO WORK WHEN THEY "FEEL LIKE IT"; DESERVE A GOOD GRADE REGARDLESS OF EFFORT OR LACK THEREOF. LACK MOTIVATION, LOW ESTEEM FOR COMPLETING ASSIGNMENT ACCURATELY, DOES NOT WANT TO MAKE UP MISSED WORK, DOES NOT TRY TO DO THE WORK AND RESENTS TEACHER ENCOURAGING TO AT LEAST ATTEMPT TO DO IT. . . .THEN BLAMES THE TEACHER WHEN REPORT CARD REFLECTS A FAILING GRADE.

**APATHY/LACK OF APPRECIATION: TOO LARGE A NUMBER OF STUDENTS DO NOT SEEM TO HAVE AN APPRECIATION FOR EDUCATION AS A DOOR OPENER, AS A MEANS TO REALLY FIND OUT WHAT LIFE IS OR CAN BE, SEEM TO VIEW A GOOD EDUCATION AS A WASTE OF TIME OR WILL DO ONLY ENOUGH TO GET BY ALTHOUGH HUNDREDS

OF COURSES DESIGNED TO MEET THE INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS AND NEEDS OF STUDENTS ARE AVAILABLE. TOO MANY ARE TURNED OFF TO SCHOOL AND TURNED ON BY WHAT--ONLY THEY KNOW.

**TESTS AND MORE TESTS: TEACHER MADE TESTS, COMPANY TESTS, SAT TESTS, DAT TESTS, COMPETENCY TESTS--NO MONEY TO HIRE TEACHERS TO HELP THOSE NEEDING REMEDIAL ASSISTANCE.

**LEGISLATION: OFTEN TOO NARROW IN PERSPECTIVE (BASIC SKILLS) AND ALMOST ALWAYS UNDERFUNDED; DOES NOT REFLECT THE INPUT OF THE PRACTIONERS WHO ARE WORKING WITH STUDENTS ON A DAY-TO-DAY BASIS. . . CLASSROOM TEACHERS.

**THE NEGATIVE BLITZ: NEWSPAPERS, MAGAZINES, TELEVISION, RADIO, POLITICIANS, TAX PAYERS GROUPS ALL DENOUNCING PUBLIC EDUCATION, "PUTTING DOWN TEACHERS" . . . . IF THERE IS NOT RESPECT SHOWN FOR SCHOOL AND EDUCATORS; IF WHAT IS CONSTANTLY HEARD AND SEEN ABOUT EDUCATION IS NEGATIVE. . . WHY SHOULD THE STUDENTS THINK ANY DIFFERENTLY ABOUT THEIR EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT OR THOSE RESPONSIBLE FOR EDUCATING THEM. . . . WHY SHOULD THEY VALUE HAVING EXCELLENCE IN THEIR EDUCATIONAL ENDEAVORS?

**CLASS SIZE--IT IS OCTOBER/NOVEMBER AND I AM STILL GETTING STUDENTS IN MY CLASS WHO ARE NEW TO THE SUBJECT.

LASTLY, TEACHERS--GOOD, HARD WORKING, DEDICATED, CARING TEACHERS-- ARE LEAVING THE PROFESSION BECAUSE THEY ARE FRUSTRATED. I AM TALKING ABOUT TEACHERS WHO LOVE TEACHING BUT NO LONGER WANT TO DO SO BECAUSE THEY TOO ARE BEING TURNED OFF--TURNED OFF BY ALL THAT I HAVE OUTLINED BEFORE BUT MOSTLY OUT OF PURE FRUSTRATION. LOW SALARIES, INCREASING INFRINGEMENTS ON THEIR TIME TO TEACH (ADDITIONAL DUTIES), CONSTANT CRITICISM, LACK OF RESPECT FOR US NOT ONLY AS PROFESSIONALS BUT MEMBERS OF THE HUMAN RACE, LACK OF LEADERSHIP BY SCHOOL OFFICIALS, . . . .

STATEMENT OF MARY HATWOOD FUTTRELL, TEACHER, GEORGE WASHINGTON JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL, ALEXANDRIA, VA.

Ms. FUTTRELL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My name is Mary Hatwood Futtrell. As Mr. Freitag indicated, I am a classroom teacher in Alexandria, Va. I come before you with 16 years experience in the classroom. I am a business education teacher.

Chairman PERKINS. Secondary?

Ms. FUTTRELL. Yes.

I started out, in 1963, teaching in a segregated school; in 1965 I was transferred to a desegregated school. In 1980, I am in a desegregated school with segregated classes.

I have come to you today after having talked with teachers in my school about the concerns that they have as to what is happening on the secondary level. I was also fortunate this past weekend to meet with the members of the board of education, the board of directors of the Virginia Education Association and ask them what they perceive as the problems we are encountering at the secondary level.

If you could look at page No. 2 of my statement—and I will try to highlight what I have said here—I am trying to give you the problems or the concerns as seen by teachers.

Let me say from the outset that these are not just problems perceived by teachers in the urban schools, by teachers in the suburban and rural schools as well. One of the concerns is in the area of attendance. We have students arriving to class as much as 5, 10, 15, 30 minutes late. There seems to be a lot of resentment when we request that passes, or reasons for being tardy. Many of them feel they can just walk into class when they get ready, no questions asked.

We find a large number of students walking the halls. Sometimes I indicate to them that we could give a degree in walkahalogy because we have so many in the halls and, of course, when they see teachers or administrators or monitors running, they run.

These students are not only out of class but they create a great deal of disturbance for other classes because they constantly walk around, knock on doors, or try to distract the students who are in class. The area of discipline, we have, to a large degree, many students who create discipline problems and let me say we do not have to have 80, 90, 95 percent of the students creating discipline problems in order to have disruption.

For the most part, I think you will find that maybe 10 or 15 percent of the students are creating the problems. But the problems are of a magnitude where they disrupt the school.

So when we talk about discipline problems, many of the students resent being disciplined, even though they will admit, when confronted, that they are wrong. When you talk to parents—and I have heard teachers say repeatedly, we try to get help from home; we try to work with the family. Yet we are often told, "We can't do anything, and don't call me back again." So what are we supposed to do when we try to discipline the student who is creating the problem?

PAPERWORK

We have paperwork until it is coming out of our ears. We are filling out so many forms, doing so many class counts, until sometimes we wonder when we are supposed to have the time to teach and when we questioned the administration about this, we are simply told we have to send in the forms.

It is really taking away from the time that we have to teach.

LACK OF RESPECT FOR TEACHERS

I have been fortunate. In my 16 years of experience, I have not encountered very many students who would have, let me say, the nerve to be disrespectful. For the most part, I have enjoyed the 16 years and I have had very few discipline problems. But I cannot say that that is true for all of my colleagues, many of whom express to me on a regular basis the fact that they are faced with disrespect.

It is not just a matter of being impotent. Profanity is used. In some instances, teachers are actually threatened; in other instances, they are not just threatened, they are physically assaulted. When we talk to parents, again we are told the same thing: There is nothing they can do and a teacher was telling me the other day when she tried to deal with a parent, the response was, "I know the teachers in that school are teaming up on my child." There never was any attempt to really deal with the problem.

I put down fights as a separate item because oftentimes when we try to break up the fights, we get more licks than the kids who are fighting. But yet we are required by law to stop the fights and we do do that.

CLASSWORK

An unwillingness in some cases—in too many cases—to learn. It doesn't matter how oftentimes I am prepared to go into the classroom to teach my subject area. It does not matter how much I want to help or how cooperative I want to be. Too many times we are running into instances where children are unwilling to learn, resent the teacher trying to encourage them, or help them to learn, and yet when a bad grade is received, "You gave me a bad grade." Or, when that child leaves school without an adequate education, the schools have failed the child.

APATHY AND LACK OF APPRECIATION FOR EDUCATION

In trying to talk to students— and I am the kind of teacher who sits down with her students and I try to counsel them about the importance of an education. I came from a poor background so I appreciate the value of an education, but I am surprised at the number of students who do not seem to, in this day and age, with all of the educational facilities, the quality of teachers that we have available for them, they are just turned off. They are apathetic about education and what it can do for them.

I wrote down the area of tests, and I said more tests. That is not to say I am opposed to tests, because I recognize that they are an important tool in the educational process, but I look at the number

of tests we are giving and the results we are getting. It is easier to report that a certain percentage passed, or a certain percentage failed, but then I look at what do we really do with the test results.

Do we take that information and try to adjust the curriculum so that we are meeting the needs of the students who are not faring well? Do we really put in enough money for remediation—and I must say to you, to both of those questions, if you ask my personal opinion, the answer is, No.

LEGISLATION

I feel oftentimes it is too narrow and, for the most part, underfunded and do not reflect the input of practitioners, those of us in the classrooms every day working with the students. If we were consulted, we perhaps could help make the legislation more meaningful to what is actually happening in the classroom.

Lastly, under this particular area, the negative blitz. The newspapers, magazine, television, radio, the politicians, the taxpayers groups, all denouncing public education, putting down teachers and then we wonder why the kids come to the schools with a negative attitude, with resentment or lack of respect for what they are supposed to do in the schools.

If they are taught to be negative, then they bring the negative attitude to the school. If they are taught that education is negative, why should they have any value, or place any value, on excellence in their educational endeavors?

I am very concerned—my last comment—about the number of teachers, good teachers, hardworking teachers, dedicated teachers, caring teachers, leaving the profession. I have talked to several of them about it weeks ago asking them why were they leaving and they indicated to me that they were just tired of all the frustration. They were tired of not being treated as professionals.

Some of it has to do with low salaries. Much of it has to do with infringement on their time to teach, and when they are not given sufficient time because of all the other impositions, then they are told they are not doing their job.

They are tired of the constant criticism—not to say we do not want criticism, because we welcome criticism when it is constructed and we are tired, or they are tired, of the lack of respect not only for them as professionals but as members of the human race, and they are tired of the lack of leadership on the part of school officials.

Thank you very much.

Chairman PERKINS. The next witness, please identify yourself and go ahead.

[The prepared statement of Lyn Hendry follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF LYN HENDRY, TEACHER, WALT WHITMAN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL, BETHESDA, MD.

My name is Lyn Hendry. I am a teacher at Walt Whitman Senior High School in Bethesda, Maryland.

Educator stress is an occupational hazard that is relatively new, dangerous, and growing. The 1970's have witnessed the development of this phenomenon. Perhaps it was the turbulence of the 1960's that led communities to attack the public schools. Whatever the cause, the increasing community censure, lawsuits questioning of educators, demands for accountability and competency testing, insistence on student rights but not responsibilities, all contribute to the harrassment of the educator. The profession is under serious attack today.

Educator stress is dangerous. Education is no longer thought of as a respectable, if poorly paid, profession. It is being seen increasingly as a less-than-honorable means of making a living. Our bright and creative no longer choose public school education as an occupation. There are still some idealists who enter the profession, but their numbers are decreasing and some of those who enter quickly leave. As a society, we must ask ourselves some questions. What kind of people do we want to encourage to work in our public schools? How do we persuade the educated young that education is a valued, necessary, workable occupation? Who will teach our children?

Educator stress is growing. I do not know whether it has reached epidemic proportions as yet, but there is mounting evidence that the problem is pervasive. The evidence is all around us. TV programs have used the school situation for material. Letters to the editor, columns in newspapers, and magazine articles bemoaning the pressures on educators appear with increasing frequency. We are even seeing the problems of education being used for comic strip material. Just read "Mary Worth" for some of the factors involved in educator stress.

Educators have an impossible job today. They are expected to educate the young and also solve society's problems. The child is undernourished,

provide breakfast. The child is emotionally disturbed, provide phychiatrists. The child is unhappy, provide counselors. The child is neglected, provide extracurricular activities. The child is brilliant, provide rapid learner courses. The child is retarded, provide slow learner courses. Society is racist, desegregate the schools. Driving is hazardous, provide driver education. The list could go on. It is no wonder that educators feel burned out.

If, indeed, stress of this magnitude is relatively recent, dangerous, and growing, how do we handle it? The obvious answer must be to eliminate some of the causes of the stress. Public schools have made several adjustments in attempts to deal with the causes. Safety coordinators, pupil referral counselors, and in some cases, police, have been hired to help provide peace, security, help, or hope for some of our more disturbed young people. Additional volunteers, part-time help, and other resources have been used to try to provide the program mandated by state legislatures or local school boards. Some teachers in the profession have tried to deal with the problem of stress by teaching half-time. There has been a dramatic increase of half-time teachers in our community in Maryland, and it is my understanding that this has happened in communities across the nation. This solution, however, is only an option for those who can afford to take half a salary. Administrators have tried to communicate more fully with the community they serve in the hope that understanding will bring cooperation.

These activities, commendable as they may be, may alleviate some of the pressures, but they do not solve the problem. Public school teaching must reassert its professional status. We must have educated professionals staffing our schools, setting the standards, and making the decisions for which they have been trained.

## STATEMENT OF LYN HENDRY, TEACHER, WALT WHITMAN SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL, BETHESDA, MD.

Ms. HENDRY. My colleague here has very well stated what I would have said. Amen. It is a good example of teacher stress and how teachers are responding to it, so you have my statement. There is no point in going over it.

For Mr. Kildee, I would like to suggest in Montgomery County we do have student rights and responsibilities all made up in a booklet. Every child gets it—pardon me. Every person. They are hardly children at that age—gets it when they are in the classroom.

We have a student advocate. We have a grievance procedure. Our due process, student rights—the last half of the title called responsibilities, but our students are very, very well aware of due process and their rights. And if you would like to see a copy of it I can see that it gets down here, but it is out in Montgomery County for all Montgomery County students.

Mr. KILDEE. I would appreciate it if a copy would be made available to the committee.

Ms. HENDRY. We also have a student on the board of education which gives you some idea.

I would like to say one other thing. This business of class size. I have discovered, from one of my own colleagues, I was sort of amazed, who teaches in elementary school talking about class size and she said, if you really have 162 students a day, what do you mean? And I realized that she had a class size of 35, which is too much at her level. Third grade, you cannot do it very well. But she could not comprehend that in secondary school where you teach five classes a day that you can meet 154 to 170 students every day and then be asked to give loving, individual attention to 154 students a day, which is my present class load.

So class size is a very difficult kind of concept. For the elementary school, yes, it applies; for the senior high school, it really is much more relevant to talk in terms of numbers of students for whom you are responsible for their attendance, their papers, their lessons, their plans, and everything else.

And I do not know how we would differentiate that, but I think it is important you understand there is a terrific difference here which adds to the teacher's frustration. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me thank all of you.

Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. As I sit here listening, I do not find in your testimony anything that you describe that, under our current system of Federal help to education, we can remedy. And throughout these hearings I have constantly asked witnesses, you know, how do we deal with these various situations that have been described to us in the junior high, or at the senior high level and what could we do. And yet, you describe many situations which, in fact, are the subject of local board decisions, State decisions, principal decisions, onsite decisions, and politics that are far beyond anything that we can remedy here.

And, at the same time, you also describe a job that I would not be terribly interested in having. I suffer from many of the same abuses that I am sure teachers feel they suffer from in terms of

negativism and the public's view of my job and their willingness to support our efforts, but you choose your job and I choose mine.

One of the things that concerns me, however, as I read the national press, is that the press describes a system that is completely out of control in regard to the schools. Not the Congress; Congress, we all know, is out of control. In the schools, whether they focus on test scores which are some kind of measurement of something, whether they focus on incidence of violence, which is another measurement, whether they go to civil rights, which is another measurement or the ability to make the transition from school to work, which is now apparently a major focus, they continue to describe a system that is out of control, even if you look at the figures in the best light, as to those students who do, in fact, succeed within a system and do go on, whether to professions or to college or what have you.

And yet you sit here and all three of you mention class size. I do not know any parents in America who would like to take care of 154 students, children, young people, adults, adolescents, for 8 hours, 6 hours, 5 hours. We found out that the American family has a substantial problem with one or two children for the 40 or 50 minutes a day that they actually rub up against one another.

I guess I am a little bit at a loss because, you know, the teachers are given credit for persuading people to vote for Jimmy Carter in Iowa and I just wonder if the teachers could persuade the communities to understand the crisis which we are undertaking.

We do it selectively with strikes, with proposals, but if the thing is as bad as everyone is suggesting, as all of the experts are suggesting, and all the social commentators are suggesting, we are really kidding ourselves. We are really talking now about putting $1 billion or $2 billion now over the next few years into the 3,000 worst schools and we really think we are going to get these kids jobs, you know?

I just really have come to the end of the road, so to speak, with patching the system up and I think in many ways you are right. Your testimony may be the most valuable because you are the ones who have to live with it day to day, just as other people I know who are teachers, and yet it seems to me that we have Gulliver tied to the beach and I am not sure, as you said yesterday, you can get up.

It is clearly inadequate, the funding at whatever level. In California, we are dismantling the system yet we will be very worried about—I am not going to give you a chance to respond because I am taking up the time, but we are very worried about all of the attendant problems.

You know it almost gets to the point where you ask the question of what is our obligation to keep fooling with the student who is 17 years old who keeps abusing the system that is trying to help him.

But don't we have more social costs with that person with the other 60 years of their lives if we do not try?

I am just very, very concerned. I think I have said this each day. These are the most important hearings we are holding in the Congress and yet somehow, the kind of really massive action—you know, the Russians take Afghanistan after having a lease on for 35 years and yet we have the kinds of problems we have in our high

schools that dictate all of our future problems and somehow we are hoping to squeeze by with $1 billion if we can phony it up to really get it up into the 1982 budget. That is our response.

I really would not desire to have your job because I do not think that those people who ought to be concerned the most are in fact, concerned. Those are the people in the community where your schools are, whether they are urban, or rural or poor or rich schools.

I do not get any great concern out there except when I talk to the students, who are probably pretty good and accurate critics of what is going on. But we do not pass any tax measures to improve our schools. We do not provide any new moneys here, and I think we are just watching the thing come down around our ears, and that is a very pessimistic statement.

I think we have had very, very good witnesses in this series of hearings but I also think it is very disappointing in terms of what we even think about in terms of the Federal response to an overwhelming problem.

Mr. FREITAG. Mr. Congressman, I would just like to say when I started teaching in the late 1950's one of the beauties of the job was I only had to concern myself with what was going on within the four walls of my classroom. And that was a very pleasant kind of a setting.

As the years have changed—and I am not always sure where I became aware of the nature of the change, but I would describe it as a chassis that was built to carry one type of burden that has swiftly become overloaded, and that is where the problem lies.

But I know I did realize change was occurring damn fast when the bomb scare thing came upon us and we were given a directive that said that once the building was evacuated so-and-so and so-and-so would go in and make a search before the police and the dogs who were trained to do that were on site. You know, I really wondered as a teacher, was I expected to do that and carried that to the State attorney general. We were told yes in fact, that was a requirement that could be given to us.

Mr. MILLER. My argument would be, at some point, just as people do in their personal lives, I think in your professional life you have to say no.

Mr. FREITAG. What I am saying to you, I am still saying yes to being a teacher. I want to be a teacher, even to this day.

The question was asked, what could the Federal Government do to improve education today? I think a massive Federal investment in class size is a remedy that would be a very welcome one, because it would give a chance for those individuals who care to really focus on a number of students.

Mr. MILLER. What about those individuals who do not?

Mr. FREITAG. Listen. I think administrators are paid enormously additional salaries because they are supposed to have the expertise and the responsibility to sort them out and we heard something that I thought was a disparaging remark about tenure earlier. I think tenure can be viewed as nothing but a due process system for sorting out and I think the burden has to be placed on administrators to fulfill it.

Mr. MILLER. Does that sorting in fact happen?

Mr. FREITAG. It should be happening. It is our responsibility for it to happen.

Mr. MILLER. Does it, not should it.

Mr. FREITAG. It happens. I do not have statistics.

Mr. MILLER. I do not know. I meet with teachers in my district all the time, members of the organization, and they constantly tell me of the problems in their schools, elementary, secondary, with 1 or 2 out of a faculty of 100. Not a great percentage, just like the old Congress here, you know, one or two or three you have problems with but, somehow, they are not able to deal with those problems.

When we were considering collective bargaining in California, I gave a speech and asked for the right to bargain to get rid of incompetent teachers and got a standing ovation, with teachers, and it is not a question that the only problem in schools are the bad teachers. I do not believe that at all. I think you have a system that does not allow a good teacher to work. But you are talking about a massive investment in class size.

We are talking also about some assurances of success.

Mr. FREITAG. I think we have to trust our administrators to carry the responsibility that they have accepted. If I would point to anything that distresses me it is the practice of getting rid of a teacher whom they regard as incompetent or inadequate by giving that teacher a good recommendation on the proviso that they will resign and therefore not have to go through the due process that tenure involves. That, I can tell you, happened frequently.

The other thing that was asked, I think we have to stress the Federal investment in the teacher's centers. There is not probably anything that has come across the Federal horizon that has excited our members more than the teacher's center. What it really is is a chance to analyze one's own needs to come together in common with others who share those needs and respond to them immediately.

You do not have to wait around until a college offering happens to give something that sounds like maybe it is going to come close to what you need, and the teacher's center problem for us is continuing the funding of those that are just getting off the ground as well as expanding. We have to protect the funding on those that are getting launched. Three years is a very short period of time for them to be off and running and expand the number of teacher's centers. I think that addresses a very serious need today.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Freitag, I appreciate the answers you have just given because you anticipated the question I also was going to ask this panel. Let me begin by saying two things. First of all, I think there are things really wrong, but I do not think that the teachers have a substantial responsibility in the things that I feel are wrong in elementary and secondary education in the United States. I do not know anybody who would want to be a teacher in this country today, but from my earliest days in the school, I can remember with great respect and affection particular teachers who made an investment in my life and I have had the same experience in my children's lives.

Ms. Hendry, I have a daughter who just graduated from Duke University, and I feel that it is my public duty to point all of this out. She graduated summa cum laude from Duke last spring, since she came up in the Montgomery County school system and was a graduate of Walt Whitman High School, you must have done something right in her case.

I have another one in your school now, but the jury is still out on her. We hope the outcome will be similar.

She came home saying to me that in the new semester her classes were really small. She was not saying it enthusiastically. She said that one of her classes just had 10 people in it. Is that a usual sort of thing?

Ms. HENDRY. Not usual. I do not know what she is taking.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That was one of my concerns. Even in excellent schools like Whitman, there exists the class size problem and the problem of dealing with a number of different individuals, as you mentioned, and it does seem to me that there are many young people who need individual attention, if they are going to accomplish what they must do.

Ms. HENDRY. It must be an advanced language or advanced math of some kind.

Mr. BUCHANAN. That would not at all be typical?

Ms. HENDRY. No.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Your load of 150 or so students would be more typical?

Ms. HENDRY. Far more typical of social studies teachers, English teachers, math teachers, and science where you can put a lot of students into a classroom and it is a basic goal and it is a basic course and, of course, your specialized courses, why you sometimes get your smaller numbers in a classroom.

That is all right. I have handled students that way for a number of years. But it is the additional things that my colleague was talking about that have added to this so that you are not free just to teach, but you have all kinds of forms.

I must confess that I got cold chills with the former panelists here who talked about monitoring and reevaluating and all I could see was piles of forms and things that I had to fill out on top of everything else. Every decision that is made gets eventually down to the classroom. It means some work on our part in addition to the normal load of people and furthermore, we are asked to be much more of a parent to the student than we ever used to be.

We are asked to deal with them on a very personal basis and that, of course, is extremely difficult—not that you did not know who they were, not that you did not pay attention to them. Not at all. But you certainly were not the confidant, the counselor, the shoulder to cry on, this sort of thing; even though we have counselors in school, they can hardly handle 300, so students seek out teachers and this is the additional—this individualizing of instruction concept.

Whitman wanted to legislate a caring adult for every child in school and I said well, you can legislate it, but you cannot make me care. Caring is an emotion and a psychological drain on you and I think these are kind of the things we are talking about, reacting to the additional pressures.

Teaching has all kinds of satisfactions. I am afraid I am inclined to agree with Mr. Miller, however. It is a local problem in many ways and a lot of it stems from the community and when parents lie for their children and parents do not support the teacher and when parents insist upon things that nobody can rightfully ask for, it becomes increasingly difficult to deal with.

I do not know. Millions of dollars are not going to change it. They can change some thing, but to change the whole system—teaching is an art. It is individuals.

I also got distressed with the phrase "technologies for discipline." I wonder what the person has in mind, what kind of a machine? It is, indeed, a 1-to-1 relationship and it has to come from the heart and from the mind and money does not buy that.

Mr. BUCHANAN. I was hoping that through Federal, but primarily through the State and local responsibility in the educational system of this country we can evolve a system that will permit those caring teachers to devote time to individual attention as you recommend.

May I proceed briefly, Mr. Chairman, just to throw out to you one other subject?

I had a friend who was a classroom teacher for many years and then became a principal. He used to say that you do a child a great disservice if you make no distinction in school between mediocrity and excellence or if you reward equally success and failure because the world is not that way. Once the person gets out into the world, a distinction will be made betwen mediocrity and excellence and between success and failure.

Yesterday, we had several witnesses who commented on the subject of social promotions, and one or two of the witnesses contended that people in the school will respond to a system that permits failure as well as making clear distinctions between mediocrity and success.

If young people are aware of what the system is, there can be a positive response based, in part, on the fact that a person can fail. I wonder if anyone would comment on that?

Mr. FREITAG. I think that greater learning frequently follows failure if it is a sincere failure. There is such a thing as a failure that you could not care, and therefore you exert no effort so we really do not know if it is a failure or lack of involvement.

But I make a distinction between success and failure and always have, and I try to lay out what it takes to overcome that hurdle. I think that you have to reward excellence and I think you have to award effort. Effort does not always equal success. Effort may still be in the area that we call failure. But I think that students, you know, if I am saying effort does not bring you up to a 70 and 70 is passing, so you are still under the pall of what many people view as failure, but it can be rewarding and it may lead to ultimate success.

I keep the distinction very clear in mind. I think we should. I do not know if social promotion is the only thing that would undermine that or bring a different point of view to that. I think there are a number of others kinds of things.

I think that is an advance class to achieve an A there is a very significant achievement but that does not mean to me that in an

ordinary distribution of student abilities no one should achieve more than a C because that is not an advanced class. I think that within that curriculum, an outstanding job could be rewarded accordingly.

There are very difficult things that we have to deal with in a daily way because the wrong judgment in relating to a student could so turn off the student that you do not get him back for the rest of the year, or semester.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Are there any other comments?

Ms. FUTTRELL. I would like to make a comment. I hope I do not get into hot water doing it. The last time I tried this topic, I did.

I think social promotion can be a positive and I say it can be a positive when we deal with those students who are very bright and perhaps should not be held back. They should be allowed to accelerate because of their ability to do so.

I am speaking of the exceptional child in the sense of intelligence. I think social promotion has been abused, too often has been used because Johnny has failed three times and he is now so much larger than the other kids in his class and they are going to pass him on and by the time he gets to me he is so behind academically that he cannot compete and he does not want to compete. He feels like he is a misfit.

He is the kind of child, probably, described by one of the speakers on the other panel who is going to drop out of school or who is going to end up being pushed out of school.

I am the kind of teacher when I work with my student—first of all, I think you have to take a student where he or she is and move them forward. Second, I think we have to teach children to aim for the best and I try to tell them you might not make the top but if you aim for the bottom rung, you have nowhere to go when you fall and fail to achieve that, when there is nothing there. But if you aim for the top and you strive to do your best, you can at least maybe reach the top or maybe reach that second or third rung or what have you but at least you put forth that effort.

I find many times in working with students it is a matter of sitting down with them, showing them that they are important, showing them that there is something they can do in life and try to help them find that. So often they are surprised when they find out that they can succeed and they can do a lot more and do a lot better than they have ever been able to believe that they could do. That takes a lot of time.

But I think that you do have teachers out there and other school personnel who are willing to work with these children and help them reach those kinds of aspirations in life, social promotion. I have my problems with it. I have a real problem with promoting a child who has not achieved, because I think you are taking away from that child, you are misleading that child, when that child thinks that I should be in the seventh grade when really they should not.

One thing that really surprised me, I found out we do not come in contact with elementary teachers too much. You might be surprised to hear that. I was really surprised when I found out in a number of school systems that kids are not failed. They are just

promoted right along to us. Then when they get to us they fail, all of a sudden the school becomes a negative.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Kildee?

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

In my State, as I am sure is true in many States, the one area of Government spending that is subject to immediate restriction by the people is education. I have often wondered why historically that is the case. Very often people are mad at Washington and at Federal and State taxes and feel powerless to do anything about them. The one tax that they do get a crack at is school taxes and very often those taxes are turned down, not because the voters are angry with school so much—that may be part of it—but more because they are angry at taxes in general.

The people do not get a chance to restrict the State police budget in my city at all anymore or a chance to restrict the salary of the city council. But they do get that chance to restrict school spending.

I think that one of the things that we have to do in this country—and again, I think Mr. Miller is correct—if we really want to know what is going on through the country, is to settle many of these things at the local level. We could have a good exchange of viewpoints here and at the NIE but I think we really have to think seriously about the restructuring of school finance and about getting a better base for financing our schools.

Coupled with that restructuring of school financing, I think that we have to restructure education in this country and I think that the educators must have a vital role in this restructuring. I have taken 16 years out of my life to serve in Government but in real life I was a schoolteacher and I really do think I still am.

Teaching is one of the few professions that does not control their own profession. Doctors decide who will enter into medicine. Dentists decide who will enter into dentistry. The barbers even decide who will become a barber.

But we are one profession that really does not control our profession that well.

So I think we have to massively restructure the financing of our schools.

The State police in Michigan know quite well that each year we will look at their needs and meet them with a degree of adequacy, but the schools each year have to hope that the people are not that angry at Washington that they take it out on the schools.

Do you have any comment on restructuring?

Ms. HENDRY. I may not be right on this, but being as old as I am and having been in the schools as long as I have and watching them deteriorate in some ways, it is my conception that we have never paid for education in this country—ever. When I went into teaching I was told that, as a woman, I would give up 99 percent of my chances of ever marrying. We have the concept of the old maid, cultivated, middle-class cultured female and I came in when World War II started in education.

When, at the end of World War II, we still had some idealists, some women who decided they would stay in. And then we had the

baby boom and we began enlarging and that is the first time teachers' salaries ever got to be slightly livable. And now, once again, we are faced with a surplus of teachers and the lack of babies and we suddenly are saying, wait a minute. We are paying for education because the teachers' salaries have been trying to move up into a livable amount.

They never had been before. It was regarded as pin money. We were supposed to live in a boardinghouse—which I did. You were supposed not to have any fun or games—which I did not. You were not supposed to own a car or to do things. You were to be respectable.

And I think, in many ways, that this vision is gone and suddenly it is dawning on a community that this is not where teaching is anymore and I have had parents say to me well, are you not dedicated, do you not love the children?

I say wait a minute. They have 6 days of my life. I get 1 day, do I not? Oh, your life.

But there is a lot of this in our literature and in our background and education has changed, the teaching profession. So if the Federal Government could do anything about helping us standardized—I was appalled when another lady said she had not had any student teaching. How did she get credentialed?

We have 50 ways of credentialling. We have different kinds of requirements. We have different kinds of academic requirements. You can have a C average and go into education in one State. When I went in, you had to have a B-plus average, then you took education as a fifth year and you did student teaching. Not even that is standardized.

So it is no wonder that we have the variety that we have and, again, we do not control our profession.

Mr. KILDEE. That is an interesting point. We teachers are one of the few professions who cannot send out a bill for our professional services. We had to bargain, plead for our salaries before Public Act 379 passed in Michigan. I was in a bargaining session for teachers that was a farce. One day they voted to walk out. We did not have to bargain.

We are one of the professions—maybe the only one—that cannot send a bill. Congress, for example, gave an ignominious death to the hospital costs containment bill. Let hospital costs soar, but, we have got a built-in school costs containment attitude. Hospital costs have soared because people want a better level of service and because health practitioners want to get a little more for themselves.

But we have had this attitude of educational cost containment for a long time and people accept this. If we restructure our schools to make them better serve the student, it is going to cost us more.

I get sick when I see hospital representatives from my district—they were down here yesterday—telling me they have a lot of votes in my district and they do not like the way I voted on hospital cost containment.

I know of some honest people who honestly disagree with me on that vote. The point is, we have had them for years in our profession and the delivery of our services.

Mr. FRIETAG. On your comment on the restructuring of school financing, the NEA has a State affiliate in each of our States. The major agenda item in each of those—virtually in each of those—is the restructuring of school financing, the whole approach. It is a tedious and time-consuming process. But I do think it does demonstrate that teachers have recognized that it is not inside those four walls, that it is reaching out to the communities. It is in political action, it is an involvement in the community at every level.

And in some of our States, we have made a great amount of success already. What is interesting to me, in the States I have traditionally voted down the school referenda where that is a possibility. They tend also to be the States where people cry loudest about local control.

If there is anything that will put the pressure to go to the State coffers or the Federal coffers, it is to cut off the finance at the local. Every time you go to the State or to the Federal, one has to expect that there are going to be some strings to be certain that that money gets where it is intended to do the things that it is designed to do and again, a loss of local control.

I get kind of amused at that merry-go-round, you know?

Mr. KILDEE. As someone said yesterday, the Federal Government does not put a pile of money on the stump and walk away.

Mr. FREITAG. Or should it?

Mr. KILDEE. There is, I think, a need for restructuring. I certainly want to bring the Federal Government into a greater financial role in education. I really still believe in the one-third, one-third, one-third ratio of school financing. But, at the same time, I do not think that Washington has the wisdom to run our local school system.

We can share our views. This committee certainly has performed a good function in doing that. NIE can do that. But we do not have the wisdom to run local school districts, We want to help equalize educational opportunity throughout this country.

Mr. FREITAG. I am fully confident that you have the wisdom to so structure that assistance that will guarantee that it does not get creamed off for administrative costs at a State department of education level that goes into the general fund there and does not, in any way, reach what it is designed to do. That is the cry of teachers, to see the Federal money which is being designed to make improvements in the classroom actually achieving its purpose.

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. MILLER. Mr. Chairman, if I might?

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. You know, we have had the provision around for some time that the one-third, one-third, one-third—maybe it should be one-half, one-half. I do not know.

But it seems to me that we also have provisions in the semiprivate sector of challenge grants. If a community will put up $2, the Fords Foundation will put up $1 or the Arts and Humanities Foundation will put up $1, something like that, and provides for a stake by those communities in their own system.

I think that is what you are really looking for. We ought not to be running the education system and I do not think this country is ever going to let Washington run the educational systems.

We can give you some categorical programs and tie you down pretty good, but in the general philosophic sense, I do not think the country is prepared to let us do that, and I tend to agree with that.

But it would seem to me that, for those areas that, in fact, want to take an interest or where you are successful in explaining to them that they should take an interest, there should be some reward for that.

I do not see—and I say this with all support that I think I have in my background for education in this country—you have mentioned respect. I do not see how a student would respect a system that passes them for doing nothing. You have to say, what kind of fools are these people? I sit here, I flunk everything, and I get to go on to the sixth grade, to the seventh grade.

I do not see how a student would respect a system that says you have got to get out of here for 3 days, but you can come back. And we can go through all of the litany of those things.

By the same token, I am not sure that society would terribly respect a system where the people work for far less than most people in this country work for, because one of the measurements of your status in our society is your income and so a person, the father of a student or the mother of a student, who is making more than the person who is teaching him, says he has got to be a fool to be a teacher.

That is very crass to say but, I think, in fact, that happens. If there is, in fact, the crisis that a lot of people have suggested in education, I think it has to be called just that.

I think it requires some militancy on the part of the people who have to deal with the crisis, because that is not yet what has happened.

For 2 years running now we have had 1,000 farmers show up to say that what they had was unacceptable and had damn well better be changed and we had a fire and boat drill around here trying to figure out how to respond to 1,000 farmers and 500 tractors. But we do not have anybody coming here and saying that our most precious resource is in very serious trouble and we could lose it. It is not happening.

I think, you can tell from my voice, there is some urgency in this situation, but I do not think that anybody is dealing with it on the proportions of the urgency that is underlying.

I am very, very concerned about that, and I think it will continue to go on about its way with the lack of respect which may be the most important problem in the system in many ways.

But it breeds that, because somehow, it is not able to provide that respect.

Ms. FUTTRELL. If I could respond to what you said, let me say, from the outset that I really enjoy teaching and I selected this as my profession because I felt that I could make a difference in the classroom and I sincerely believe that over the last 16 years I have, in many instances with children who, maybe other people have decided, that there was no—OK.

I think there is a dichotomy, and I think you have touched on it. I just wanted to put that in first, because I keep hearing say they would not choose this as a profession.

I think there is a dichotomy here, you know? We insist on standards. Society insists on standards.

When we put those standards in place and we say we want you to live up to those standards, then society comes back and says, you had better pass my child or, when we fail those children, why do you have so many failures?

I think that we have to decide which it is going to be? I am just saying just fail students on a wholesale basis because of race, because of ethnic background, or economic background. But I am saying that I agree with what Mr. Kildee was saying, that maye we need to look at the whole educational process and how we go about educating children and we need to look at what is it we really want to accomplish with this system.

Now, all of the children are not going to pass. All of them are not going to fail. Society needs to understand that their child, or children, might be one of the ones not to pass.

If we put the standards in place and we do not pass, then what do we do with them. You see, there are all kinds of questions. Each question itself raises another question.

Mr. MILLER. There is no question about that, but the premise under which I am working is the potential for far greater success if we do it right than anything we are doing currently, that there are a lot more successes in our educational system than we currently are able to bring out because of the inadequacies of the system.

There is a much greater potential for excellence among a much broader category of children than we are prepared to accept today because of limited resources. You see, I think the failures can absolutely be minimized. Obviously, we have to determine what a failure is, and it is just not the person who does not get the Ph. D.

I think the successes of people and the dignity of people in this society can be enhanced 100 times if we are willing to do it, but it costs money. What somebody has to say at some point, that is right. It costs money to preserve this educated society. And I think that it has got to be done.

My concern is that the educational establishment has been so battered and beaten by local electorates, by the press, by politicians, by people who want you to inherit all of our problems, that there is not a great deal of fight left, and that concerns me. Because in that case, I suspect we will only have continued deterioration and we will increase the failures and because of that, parents today do have a right to question by what right was their child failed? Because it is not an even system. It does not provide the same resources.

What do we call it? I want an IEP for handicapped children. I also want that for my child.

We suggested we have it for the children who fail, why not for all children. Why? It costs money.

What is the value of this most precious resource? That is a rhetorical statement that has got to be handed back to politicians.

This is a very expensive system.

Ms. FUTTRELL. You and I do not disagree.

Mr. MILLER. Not at all.

Ms. FUTTRELL. But I think you and I also need to look at--it goes beyond just the dollar figure. Okay?

Mr. MILLER. Whatever it takes. If there is a value in an educated society there is a value in preserving the national security of this country. To preserve our national security we buy everything in case—today we have descriptions at breakfast about strategic nuclear weapons and theatre nuclear weapons. We talked about long-range bombers, medium-range bombers, tactical support fighters, longrange fighters, tactical support troops, home troops, foreign troops. We buy it all.

I suggest we have a problem inside our boundaries that is that serious but we do not want to participate to the same extent.

I am really concerned that there is no fight left for the pursuit of excellence that could be available to so many more children.

Ms. FUTTRELL. There is some fight left and there is an effort to do that.

Mr. FREITAG. You may have been spared the fight so far at the Federal level because it is now a generally accepted fact that this is the place where the emphasis is put and will yield the greatest result. A farmer's program is a Federal program. I think, too, they reaped a tremendous amount of universal hostility for their performance here, and so on.

The fact of the matter is that teachers have had mass rallies on the Capitol steps around the country. In my position, I do travel to strike situations throughout the country where there is no law, or the law says you may not strike, and teachers have simply got up to here.

I have been in an area of Mr. Buchanan's State where a person, a lovely and as gentle a woman as you could ever want, graying hair, who had given her life to education asked me, is it possible that the judge is going to force us back in? And we did not know, and she said, "Well, I don't think we should go back in. It's taken us all these years to make up our mind and we should see this thing to its end."

There is militancy. There is sacrifice. We have Bridgeport, Conn., where teachers were put into a stockade literally, $1 million of judicial fines laid on them, and the result is that they got a law which allowed binding arbitration as a resolution.

In Pennsylvania, my State, we massed rallied at the capitol building to get act 195, but before that there were some very bitter strike situations which made it clear that the absence of the right at a balanced table to bargain, the absence of it would not help us out.

We needed to move forward with that sort of thing.

We are looking, as you know—we have a bill in to provide for a Federal piece of legislation that would allow for bargaining in the public sector. The militancy is there. I met with those folks a lot of my days of the year, and I have a prediction coming. And Texas has a transition that is happening right now.

Those people are at the cutting edge. Once it is clear to them how they have been patronized, once it is clear to them how they have been abused as a profession, I project that there is going to be a more fiery reaction than any of us would ever have thought

possible, because they are about 6, 8, 9 years behind some of the other more aggressive States in their rallying around activism for education.

Mr. KILDEE. I am not sure what my final judgment on social promotion will be. I know all analogies limp, and this one may fall right on its face, but we do not remove somebody in the hospital from intensive care because the patient may feel bad, or the patient's family may feel bad and put the patient into general care.

We look at the needs of the patient in the hospital, given the type of care that the patient needs. I think that this is really what we have to do more of in education. But that is going to cost money.

Some students need intensive care rather than general care. To move them out, to stretch my analogy, and promote them when they really need a great deal of remediation or intensive care, I think is wrong and educationally unsound.

There may be some social arguments for social promotion, since we do not have in place a system to meet these students' needs.

I think we really must look at the structure of education, and at the changing character of the students who are coming into education. I have talked to older people who remember how high schools were so much better in the 1920's. I think that we are still serving the type of students that went to high school in 1920. We are serving them very well but we must realize that this is no longer 1920. We really have to change the structure of our schools to meet the needs of today's students. That is incumbent upon us as professional teachers, but we have to have the dollars to do it, because those changes will cost money.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me say to the panel that we had a witness yesterday who was the school superintendent from Jacksonville, Fla. He told the committee how the school system test scores had declined over a period of years. They changed their policy approximately 3 years ago to require the same academic achievement for all of the students, turned the whole thing around, and now the test scores are much higher than any of the counties surrounding Jacksonville.

He said before that that they expected less from certain groups, of children and that they achieved less.

Now. do you feel that a firm policy of uniform achievement, can have any repercussions on discipline?

Ms. HENDRY. That is a hard one. When you talk about uniform standards, first of all, I have trouble with testing.

Chairman PERKINS. For the entire county, for the entire school system. It would have to be done locally within that county.

Ms. HENDRY. Within the county school system.

Chairman PERKINS. Or within a city school system. It would have to be absolutely uniform. The same academic——

Ms. HENDRY. No, I do not believe in that. I teach in Montgomery County. We have a rural area and we have a very highly sophisticated downtown area and the children are all children of professionals. We have all kinds of rapid learning courses, advanced learning courses. They are teaching things I did not even have in college.

Where do you set the standard? If you set the standard down for the children who come from less-oriented kinds of backgrounds—we get kids who, frankly, are already beyond the high school ability. It is no accident that our school ranked fifth in the National Merit winners, for goodness sake, and you are going to hold our standard as uniform and have the others—I do think you have to deal with the community.

If you mean the minimum competency where you have the ability to read, the ability to do elementary mathematics, it depends on where you are going to put this uniform—what you mean by uniform testing.

Chairman PERKINS. Minimum competency?

Ms. HENDRY. You want a minimum of competency.

Mr. FREITAG. If you have something firm with no escape hatches it is unreal, because you deny the teaching and learning process is an art. I have known times because I was aware of the crisis an individual student was going through, I allowed an advancement that would not technically be suitable knowing full well that after things balanced out for the child he would be right back on course.

I made a judgment and firm policy would not allow me to do that. I was right, as a matter of fact, but I could have been wrong. Either way, I would not have that freedom if the policy was so firm. I am aware of the general nature of the testimony. I have not yet had the testimony to read it through and I suspect that within that system, if it is indeed successful, there are some escape hatches. Otherwise, they are not recognizing that the students are human. And I cannot understand how a system that is so firm that it is denying the humanity of the teachers and the students would be a success.

Ms. FUTTRELL. You are indicating in Florida there is a uniform testing procedure and you are wondering about using this on a local basis, on a much broader range and part of your question had to do with the repercussions on discipline if we removed, for instance, social promotion and instituted this kind of situation?

Chairman PERKINS. Yes.

Ms. FUTTRELL. I would not like to imagine what would happen. I say that because we, again, have to deal with the fact that we are dealing with individual difference. I look at my own State, Virginia, where we have imposed minimum competency tests.

When we testified before the legislature in Virginia, we tried to forewarn them of some of the things that would happen. For instance, I complete 12 years of school according to the standards set by the State department of education. I pass the courses satisfactorily.

When I take the tests, for some reason or another—I might be nervous, I might be tired—maybe I took some of the subjects back in the eighth grade or the ninth grade and here I am taking this test now. I do not pass the test. So now you tell me I cannot graduate.

The reaction was extremely negative.

I look at an area called Greensville, Va., where a lot of publicity was given to them on an ABC special about 2 years ago where they did away with social promotion but what the special did not point out was the fact, No. 1, they had students who were like 17, 18

years old still in like the fourth and fifth, sixth grade. Some of them had been there for 5 or 6 years.

This is where we again get into the dichotomy about the value of social promotion.

They also did not point out that cramming was provided for all students. The problem was if you lived in town, you could take advantage of it, but if you had to ride the bus to get to school, you could not. So that was discrimination and most of the kids who lived outside the city limits were the minority kids, so they did not have access to these classes which would help them pass the test.

So therefore, a disproportionate number of the black students failed the tests. That was never brought out in all of the publicity that was given the Greensville County school system.

The State department of education went into an investigation. The NEA went into an investigation. No one would believe what those two agencies, which normally do not work together, found, yet time after time, that school system was given all kinds of positive publicity and the truth was not told.

I would say that that would be grossly unfair to the students. Some way or another, we have to have a happy medium whereby the standards that we set as far as the number of units that you need to graduate to get a diploma will also be complemented by what you are going to do with these tests. What is the purpose of the test? I think we have to look at that.

Can you impose a test on everyone? I would say no.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me ask a simple question. Most of the money that is expended from the Federal level is through title I, Elementary and Secondary Education Act. When we think about quality education we have to keep in mind that we must avoid as much Federal interference as possible and that the improvements have to come from the local school districts.

What suggestions do you have that would improve the quality of education and let us get more results or obtain more results from the expenditure of title I funds?

Mr. FREITAG. Well, I have to answer that. Title I classes are generally in the elementary grades in my school district. That is what they have applied for the title I funds in the elementary. It has not only been used in the regular school year but also to put some remediation classes in place.

I can only tell you that there is a great level of satisfaction with the access to that program in my school district but there is a program that probably reaches 67 percent of the student body of the district. So beyond that general kind of reaction, I am not able to offer you any specifics.

Chairman PERKINS. Do you want to comment on it?

Ms. FUTTRELL. My situation is just the same as Mr. Freitag described. It is at the elementary level and not the secondary level.

Ms. HENDRY. I must confess last night I asked what is title I. I do not see it in my classroom. But then I should not, when I found out what it was. Obviously it is not designed for me.

And in teaching, you are so busy in your classroom I honestly do not know.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. I only want to thank this panel and to apologize to the next panel. It might help you teachers feel a little better to know our situation here. I have four committees in progress, and I am hosting a luncheon that started 12 minutes ago. I am going to have to leave, Mr. Chairman, but this panel and the testimony it has given has been very valuable. I look forward to reading the committee testimony.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me compliment you all. You have been helpful to us.

Our next panel is Mrs. Marsha Berger, teacher, vice president at large, Providence Teachers Union, Rhode Island; Mr. Paul F. Cole, teacher, Lewiston-Porter Central School, Youngstown, N.Y., and he is also vice president of the American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO.

Would you come around?

We are glad to welcome you here and we will hear from you first as you are listed, Mrs. Berger.

Mr. COLE. Good morning, Mr. Chairman, members of the committee. I am Paul Cole, a teacher in Youngstown, N.Y., a full-time teacher, obviously out of class today. I would like to introduce to you Marsha Berger who is vice president at large, Providence Teachers Union, a teacher in Providence and also chairman of the Educational Issues Committee for the Rhode Island Federation of Teachers.

In addition we have with us this morning Dr. Terry Morris, assistant director of educational issues for the American Federation of Teachers.

With your permission, we would have Ms. Berger open with her remarks.

[The prepared statement of Marsha Berger follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF MARSHA BERGER, VICE PRESIDENT AT LARGE, PROVIDENCE TEACHERS UNION

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Committee, I want to thank you for the opportunity to present testimony on an important teacher concern relating to secondary education. That concern is the problem of occupational stress among teachers.

Classroom teachers have always known that teaching can be demanding and exhausting work. It can also be personally fulfilling work. However, problems such as excessive paperwork, uncooperative administrators, too many students in a class, lack of supplies and textbooks, and poor cooperation from parents can greatly reduce a teacher's effectiveness and sense of accomplishment. Furthermore, it is becoming apparent that poor working conditions in the schools can be injurious to teacher health in ways that have not previously been recognized. Increasingly one hears that teachers are experiencing "burnout," "battle fatigue," "combat neurosis," or, more generally, "occupational stress."

Stress can be good as well as bad. Rising to a challenge—and teaching offers an abundance of challenges—can yield personal satisfaction and growth. Confronting overwhelming challenges, without the necessary resources and authority to meet these challenges, can produce frustration and anxiety. Over time it can produce physical and mental illness. Evidence has emerged in the last 2 or 3 years which shows that occupational stress is a serious and widespread problem among teachers. Robert Sylvester, a professor at the University of Oregon (Eugene) has called stress "the worst health problem teachers have to contend with."

Continuing stress can result in serious health problems among teachers. Among the physical ailments that may result from teacher stress are: hypertension, coronary disease, migraine and sinus headaches, allergies, bladder, kidney, and bowel problems, ulcers, and asthma. Some of the resulting mental illnesses are: mental fatigue, anxiety, depression, and low self-esteem. Alfred Bloch, a psychiatrist who

has treated several hundred teachers for stress-related illnesses, compares the consequences of severe teacher stress to the "combat neurosis" experienced by many wartime soldiers. These health problems suggest that teacher stress may be responsible for significant costs in terms of teacher inefficiency, absenteeism, and medical services.

Surveys conducted during the past several years by the American Federation of Teachers and its state and local affiliates show that occupational stress is an extension problem among teachers. A pioneering survey was conducted in 1977 by the Chicago Teachers Union with assistance from the University of Illinois School of Public Health and Roosevelt University. More than half of the 5,000 teachers responding to the survey (56.6 percent) reported they had experienced physical illness which they felt was related to stress in their work. More than one-fourth of the teachers in the Chicago survey (26.4 percent) had experienced some form of mental illness which they felt was related to occupational stress.

Similar results have been obtained in other surveys. A survey of more than one thousand teachers was conducted by the Portland Federation of Teachers during 1979. More than half of the teachers surveyed (53 percent) reported they had experienced physical illness which they believed was related to stress in their work. More than one-fifth (21.1 percent) reported they had experienced mental illness related to work stress. A survey conducted by the New York State United Teachers during 1979 drew responses from more than four thousand New York teachers. Forty-one percent of the teachers in the New York survey reported having experienced illness related to classroom stress.

The results of the New York Survey suggested that occupational stress may be a more serious problem among teachers in urban areas. However, this does not mean that stress is not a serious problem in suburban and rural areas as well. A survey conducted during 1979 in a rural county of Maryland revealed that 40 percent of the teachers responding to the survey had experienced illness which they attributed to on-the-job stress. Of those who had experienced stress-related illness, 36 percent indicated it was serious enough for medical attention. As a further testimony to the stress of teaching, 52 percent said they had considered leaving teaching because of on-the-job stress. In most of the surveys conducted on teacher stress, there is no significant difference among various types of teachers, by sex, age, race, or other characteristics, as to the amount of occupational stress experienced.

Evidence of serious and widespread occupational stress among teachers comes from sources in addition to surveys by the American Federation of Teachers. In a survey conducted by Learning magazine during 1979, to which more than one thousand teachers responded, 93 percent of the respondents said they had experienced feelings of burnout. Burnout is a state of physical, emotional, and attitudinal exhaustion. Twenty-four percent of the teachers responding to the Learning survey said they were planning to leave teaching because of burnout. A survey conducted by Instructor magazine, to which nearly 7,000 teachers replied, revealed that 84 percent of the respondents believe there are health hazards in teaching. Thirty-three percent said their own absence due to illness during the previous year were related to stress or tension.

The pioneering survey of teachers stress by the Chicago Teachers' Union identified four clusters of working conditions and teaching experiences with different relationships to stress. The cluster that was most stressful to Chicago teachers, described as "priority concerns," expressed the themes of school violence and student discipline. It included: managing disruptive children, being threatened with personal injury, having a colleague assaulted in school, and being the target of verbal abuse by students. The second most stressful set of working conditions or experiences, labeled "management tensions," concerned actions which are the responsibility of management and generally beyond the control of teachers. It included: being involuntarily transferred, teaching in overcrowded classrooms, receiving a notice of unsatisfactory performance, and teaching without sufficient books and supplies.

Less stressful to the Chicago teachers was a cluster of conditions or experiences which expressed the theme, "doing a good job." It included: maintaining self-control when angry and teaching students who are below average in achievement level. Of all of the items in the Chicago survey, the cluster that was least stressful to teachers was that dealing with pedagogical duties—the true functions of teachers. It included items such as: having conferences with parents, discussing children's problems with parents, evaluating students, having conferences with the principal, and preparing lesson plans.

The results of the Chicago survey have been largely confirmed by the other surveys of teacher stress. Most significantly, there has been a consistent finding

that truly professional duties are not an important source of teacher stress. Rather, most stress is due to a broad array of problems and responsibilities which divert teachers from their primary functions as teachers. Indeed, it would be a great improvement if the main concern of teachers could be teaching, and not what should be secondary matters.

Underlying the various conditions which appear to cause teacher stress is at least one common dimension. That is, many teachers work in circumstances where they are prevented, by one means or another, from taking action to solve serious problems. Although teachers bear the most important responsibilities in schools, too often they are not given adequate resources or authority to deal with these responsibilities. Accordingly, stress is not an expression of teacher failure. It is evidence that teachers care about their work, but are frequently prevented from working in a professional manner.

It is apparent that much additional research is needed on the conditions which produce teacher stress. Obviously, there is also a great need for professional help to be made available to teachers who have experienced severe stress. In addition, there are many conditions in the schools which contribute to teacher stress and which need to be improved. I believe, and the American Federation of Teachers believes, that teacher stress is a very serious problem confronting the educational community. Taking steps to lessen teacher stress would undoubtedly lead to substantial benefits for students and schools, as well as for individual teachers.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify. I will be happy to answer any questions.

## STATEMENT OF MARSHA BERGER, TEACHER, VICE PRESIDENT AT LARGE, PROVIDENCE TEACHERS UNION

Ms. BERGER. Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I am Marsha Berger and again I will introduce myself as a teacher in the Providence Rhode Island School System, vice president of the Providence Teachers Union and chairperson of the Educational Issues Committee of the Rhode Island Federation of Teachers.

I would like to thank you for the opportunity to present testimony on an important teacher concern relating to secondary education. That concern is the problem of occupational stress among teachers.

As classroom teachers, we are fully aware that teaching, while being tremendously rewarding work, can also be demanding and exhausting in a positive, personally satisfying way. We have now, however, become painfully aware that something has gone awry, that teaching has become a dangerously stressful occupation.

Increasingly we feel and hear that we and our colleagues that are experiencing "burnout," "battle fatigue," and "combat neurosis." As the deadly emotional assault on the collective spirit of teachers and the unrealistic demands upon the school and the profession intensifies, teacher effectiveness and health are diminished in ways not previously recognized.

Around us, the potential for violence, the emotional drain of large numbers of close interpersonal relationships as experienced in all so-called helping professions, the excessive paperwork, constantly changing programs, unsupportive and uncooperative administrations, too many students in the class to do the job effectively, too few supplies and textbooks to do the job effectively, and often little or no cooperation from the parents.

All of these present overwhelming challenges which produce frustration and anxiety and which over time can sometimes cause debilitating physical and mental problems among teachers. Evidence has emerged in the last 2 or 3 years which indicates that occupational stress is a serious and widespread problem which may

be responsible for significant costs in terms of teacher efficiency, absenteeism, and medical services.

Continuing stress can result in such physical ailments as insomnia, hypertension, coronary disease, migraine headaches, allergies, asthma, ulcers, digestive problems, and even accident proneness and such emotional and mental ailments as anxiety, depression, low self-esteem, mental fatigue, and psychotic collapse.

Alfred Block, a psychiatrist who has treated several hundred teachers for stress-related illnesses compares the consequences of severe teacher stress to the combat neurosis experienced by many wartime soldiers. Data collected over the last several years clearly corroborate these statements and supplies supportive evidence. Surveys conducted by the American Federation of Teachers and several of its State, and local affiliates have all produced similar findings. In Chicago, Portland, New York State, and rural Maryland, great numbers of teachers—in some cases over 50 percent of those responding—reported having experienced illnesses which they identified as being related to stress in their work.

Large percentages of teachers responded that they either have considered or are actually planning to leave teaching because of on-the-job stress.

Evidence of the widespread nature of stress among teachers comes from other sources as well. In nationwide surveys conducted by two different educational journals, Learning magazine and the Instructor, high percentages of those responding felt that teaching was, indeed, hazardous to their health and a tremendous number admitted to experiencing feelings of burnout—burnout being defined as a state of physical, emotional, and attitudinal exhaustion.

In another study, when teachers were asked if they had a chance to choose again, would they choose a career in the teaching area, only 65 percent of the teachers responded in the affirmative, compared to 85 percent only 10 years earlier and compared to approximately 90 percent affirmative for other professions.

There also seems to be no significant difference among various types of teachers by sex, age, race, or other types of characteristics relative to the amount of stress experienced.

Consider, for a moment, facing on a daily basis, having to manage disruptive students who seem to dare you to try and teach them, being threatened with injury to yourself, having colleagues assaulted or being the target of verbal abuse.

Consider the concerns and uncertainties of budget crises, involuntary transfers, unreasonable cuts in teaching staff combined with increasingly overcrowded classes and trying to teach without sufficient texts or supplies.

Consider the unrealistic expectations and performance demands which society places on the schools in general and on the schools in particular.

It seems clear that most stress is due to a broad array of problems and responsibilities which divert us from our primary function as teachers. Although we bear the most important responsibilities in the schools, too often we are not given adequate resources or authority to deal with these responsibilities.

Teacher stress, then, cannot be viewed as an expression of teacher failure, but rather as a manifestation of the failure of the

system in society to support its teachers and its own ideal of education as a high priority. It is apparent that much additional research is needed on the conditions which produce teacher stress. Obviously there is also a great need for professional help to be made available to teachers who experience severe stress.

In addition, there are many conditions in the schools which contribute to teacher stress and which need to be improved. I believe, and the American Federation of Teachers believes, that teacher stress is a very serious problem confronting the educational community, and the community at large. Taking steps to lessen teacher stress would undoubtedly lead to substantial benefits for students and schools as well as for individual teachers.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify and I would be happy to answer any questions.

Chairman PERKINS. All right. Thank you very much.

Our next witness?

[The prepared statement of Paul F. Cole follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF PAUL COLE, SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER, LEWISTON-PORTER CENTRAL SCHOOL, YOUNGSTOWN, N.Y., AND VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

On behalf of the American Federation of Teachers, I thank you for this opportunity to express our concerns about current practices and conditions in the nation's secondary schools. My name is Paul Cole and I am a senior high school social studies teacher at the Lewiston-Porter Central School in Youngstown, New York.

Any look at today's secondary schools must acknowledge programs and personnel of a diversity and quality unequaled in any time or place in the world. There is certainly much to be proud of. Yet, focused attention on the secondary schools is of critical importance and probably long overdue. Despite our many advancements -- the programs to which we can point with pride -- acknowledgement must also be given to serious internal and external pressures influencing the secondary education system in a negative way.

Our first concern is the growing number of teachers who report being forced into the position of developing survival skills, of coping. Teaching in the secondary schools too often becomes incidental to this struggle. What about professional responsibilities? What about learning? What about students' education? As you ask yourselves these questions, you join thousands of teachers in high schools across the country who ponder the schools' current situation with resentment and disbelief. Worse yet are the growing numbers whose indignation has turned to resignation. For them coping has become the norm. It is simply the way things are, an unchangeable fact of life.

Consider the following. NIE reports in Violent Schools - Safe Schools that in a given month a typical teacher in the nation's secondary schools has around 1 chance in 8 of having something stolen at school,

1 chance in 167 of being robbed and 1 chance in 200 of being attacked. Nearly one-fifth of attacks reported by teachers required medical treatment, a percentage much higher than students' 4 percent, indicating that attacks on teachers are much more likely to result in serious injury.

On top of fear, you must add frustration. Paperwork and other bureaucractic requirements, as shown in various research studies, have escalated to the point where less and less time can be devoted to actual instruction. These also significantly reduce planning time.

Some of our secondary schools are permeated with fear on the part of both teachers and students. This is particularly, but not exclusively, true in many urban high schools. The impact of this fear on both teaching and learning is devastating in itself. The gradual diminution of time actually spent in instruction because of the mounting paperwork and recordkeeping increases the tension in the schools as students and teachers feel the same resentment for the absence of purpose, the aimlessness and futility of their time spent together.

Fear, frustration, lack of purpose — all are reflections of our societal problems which sit as a heavy malaise on too many of our secondary schools. Edward A. Wynne, associate professor of education at the University of Illinois-Chicago Circle and editor of the newsletter Character, points out the seriousness of the situation facing our youth in the following statistics:

- Between 1960 and 1973, throughout the country, arrests of males under 18 for narcotic violations increased 1,288%;
- National surveys report no significant declines in levels of youth drug use, and surveys of high school graduating classes of 1975 and 1977 found that the percentage of males who had used marijuana before tenth grade had increased from 18.2% to 30.6%;
- Between 1957 and 1974, the number of delinquency cases disposed of by U.S. juvenile courts increased 96%.

Wynne also calls attention to the fact that suicide rates for white males age 15-19 have increased dramatically -- 260% between 1950 and 1976. Homicide rates for the same group are up 177% between 1959 and 1976, a rise from 2.7 per 100,000 members of the age group to 7.5. Despite a decline in the homicide rate for black males in this age group between 1969 and 1975, the incidence of homicide -- 48.6 youths per 100,000 -- is still unallowably high. Wynne, as many others, believes this is all indicative of a growing youth alienation -- a crisis in values and moral character.

Another ingredient to be considered among the external forces on the secondary schools is the lack of purpose briefly mentioned before. Students question why they are in school because they have no well-defined concept of what they will be doing when this schooling is completed. Given the exceptionally high rate of youth unemployment, work experience during the school years is limited. By far more serious is the fact that many of our students see no reward for their schooling; in other words, their attitude is that since there are no jobs available to them after graduation, what good can school be? Solving the youth unemployment problem is among our priorities for this reason. At the same time we would like to point out that this is the sad consequence of tying the purpose of education, of learning, solely to getting a job. Until students understand the value of learning in their own personal development and fulfillment, this type of alienation will confound us each time we confront serious unemployment problems.

In addition, the schools face internal pressures adversely affecting the learning process. Lack of financial resources cannot be divorced from most of these pressures. Despite, and perhaps because of, declining enrollments and the reduced income to the schools, class sizes have shot up

in the secondary schools. Many high school teachers work with 125, 150 or more students a day. Some have this many in one class. Add these numbers to the fear, frustration and lack of purpose already cited and ask yourselves how much individualization can take place. Alienation heightens; students further withdraw into the anonymity of the crowd or express their individuality only in the streets.

Students might also ask questions about their importance to society as they see many programs being cut. As resources dwindle, as legislative mandates increase, schools are forced to make drastic cuts in present programs and services to attempt to meet new requirements. As a result, remedial and enrichment courses, languages, arts, music and inter- and intra-mural sports have all been severely cut back under the knife of the budget cutters. In light of this situation, it is little wonder that curriculum planners give us a sarcastic smile as we urge the need for international and global studies. Imagine. At the same time we are telling the schools that students must have a better understanding of world affairs to survive today, we have cut the programs to make sure they can all read when they graduate.

The smaller pool of students resulting from declining enrollments also hampers the schools' ability to offer more than rudimentary knowledge in several areas --languages, for example. There may be only four or five students who sign up for third or fourth year French, German or Spanish. Because this is not the minimum required for a class to be offered, the students are denied the opportunity for advanced study or at best are bussed to another school taking time away from other parts of their educational program.

As the bureaucratic redtape mounts, as teachers and students alike must concentrate more time and energy on coping than learning, as the stress builds,



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the high schools begin to break down. There is, we believe, time to reverse this trend. But the fate of public secondary education may very well hinge on whether or not the federal government assumes a positive leadership role in restoring an atmosphere of learning to the middle and senior high schools.

Right now, the urban High School Reform Initiative reports, "only one USOE program could legitimately be said to have an urban secondary focus -- the Alcohol and Drug Abuse Education Program (ADAEP). Out of $11.3 billion in program funds appropriated for FY 1979, only one $2 million program was aimed at inner city secondary students...there is no critical mass of federal funding support for urban secondary schools." In your deliberations, we ask you to keep in mind the need for special attention to our urban schools. The extreme financial problems being experienced in New York City and Chicago are but exaggerated forms of funding crises in all our cities. Twenty-five percent of all students live in cities and a disproportionate number of these are disadvantaged and/or minority. Milton Bins of the Council of Great City Schools reviews the special problems of the cities:

> Nearly 25 percent of all children with language handicaps that impede their educational progress are in the urban schools; city schools have 'unusually high numbers and concentrations' of students eligible to participate in compensatory, bilingual and desegregation programs; proportionately more handicapped students receive services today in urban school systems; and the education and training of teachers and administrators in urban settings are not commensurate with the dramatic changes in demography brought about by migration of persons into and out of urban centers.

What can the federal government do to replace the siege mentality, the all too real survivial struggle in the schools, with a learning environment? We offer the following suggestions:

1. <u>Accompany legislative mandates with the funds necessary to carry out their requirements</u>.

Few would argue with the need to provide a "free appropriate public education" to handicapped persons or to offer bilingual programs to

non-English-speaking children to bring them into the mainstream of school programs. But consider what is done in the name of such programs when state and local taxpayers' previous and continued curtailment of funds to the schools has already resulted in cutbacks or elimination of such programs as: languages, gifted enrichment, remediation, music, art, driver education, and inter- and intra-mural sports. Electives in the secondary schools have been significantly reduced, yet these are the courses that hold the interest of many students who might otherwise drop out. Advanced study courses have been greatly pared. In effect, these thoughtless actions will tell the public that our schools can no longer compete with private schools, so get your kids out of here if you want them to have a good education. We do not believe Congress will condone this situation any more than we would. But there must be a new realization that mandates without sufficient appropriations simply do not magically produce new monies out of thin air. The schools are reeling -- and even tottering -- under this misconception.

2. Educational services must reach out to the potential dropout rather than continuing the schools' common practice of offering help only after failure has been realized.

The federal government must help develop and support programs aimed at potential dropouts. Although too few in number, programs for youths who have dropped out of school are available through many of our secondary schools. Yet, little, if anything, is being done to help youths who may be potential dropouts stay in school.

Although counselors are not usually among personnel being cut, consider the fact that few are being added. And before the schools present financial problems, their numbers were far too few. Their responsibilities have probably increased tenfold under new requirements such as P.L. 94-142, minimum

competency testing and the like. Keep in mind that they, like teachers, have little time to spend with children. The entire counseling system must be shored up.

Included in the exploration of purposes of education must be the relationship of education and preparation for work. The government should support efforts to implement a curricula which prepares students for the real world. Better information is needed in the schools on what types of jobs the future will demand, what skills will be necessary to obtain these jobs, and what knowledge will be necessary to understand and cope with an advanced technological society.

Schools are now being forced to send students into the world ill-prepared for what they will find. Vocational courses are using outdated equipment and therefore giving training in obsolescence because funds are not available to update their programs. As already mentioned, foreign languages, advanced studies and electives, and remedial programs also have been pared to the bone. The cost to society of sending children forth in today's world with such minimal skills and knowledge- with or without a diploma- will be far more costly than restoring funds for these decimated programs. We ask how we can in all good conscience continue this practice.

Efforts to coordinate and disseminate placement service information through various community agencies should also be encouraged. Students should know they have an opportunity for meaningful employment after their schooling.

Support for a variety of alternative programs within the public schools should be a federal priority. Existing programs enjoying a great deal of success usually have small class sizes, great flexibility, adequate support personnel, resources and equipment. More study should be given to see how we can afford to provide programs of like quality to larger and larger numbers of students.

3. Greater use should be made of community resources under the guidance and direction of certificated personnel.

The schools presently simply cannot afford to meet all of their educational responsibilities. We believe the federal government is going to have to take a much more realistic look at the funding crises in the schools. Congress might even consider a windfall profits tax on the oil companies which would reserve a certain amount for schools to use to defray their alarmingly high energy costs. But other antidotes must also be sought. One of the most obvious is greater utilization of community resources outside the schools. Labor, business and industry should be consulted for possible contributions they can make. Better communications and linkages should be established with other public service agencies in the community, with the courts and police and social services departments. Means should be explored, under federal sponsorship, of having the entire community, even in urban areas, feel it has a stake in and is involved in the educational system.

Such purposes are defeated, however, if done at the expense of existing school programs. We believe there is little question of the need for additional remedial programs -- particularly at the secondary level. Remediation is more difficult here because of the need to adapt materials and curricula throughout all the different content areas and of the need for special training of teachers in remediation skills. But we call to your attention that Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act Amendments, Basic Skills, appropriates $7-1/2 million to schools for basic skills programs. Schools have diagnostic and evaluation instruments, trained personnel, and adapted materials. There are far too few to meet the needs of all students who could benefit from such programs. But instead of providing schools additional funds to expand this expertise, an almost equal appropriation -- $6 million -- was given to community-based organizations for basic skills programs.

Does this make any sense to this Committee? Public school programs must be supported fully if they are expected to work.

4. The role of standards and values in secondary education must be found and instituted.

Debates over the effectiveness and meaning of social promotion, declining test scores and grade inflation indicate the need for a serious examination of standards in the secondary schools. How can we assure for all an opportunity to learn basic skills and at the same time not limit educational opportunity to minimum competencies? How can we motivate and encourage students to extend themselves to reach for their fullest potential? This may sound a bit rhetorical, but we really cannot afford to let it be. Congress should provide the impetus to the secondary schools to reinstate programs which will restore meaningful standards to the schools.

At the same time, studies of youth alienation and negativism should be begun so as to ascertain what role the schools play in their development and to what extent values clarification or other school efforts might ameliorate this condition.

5. Provisions should be made to encourage and assure adequate support personnel and educational equipment, materials and resources in the schools.

The federal government should support research on the effects of inadequate support personnel and educational materials at the secondary level. The effect of many recent legislative mandates has been to drastically reduce the time that support personnel can actually spend working with children. Their primary function is now to handle paperwork and other bureaucratic requirements. We hope the members of this subcommittee will keep in mind the fact that the schools were understaffed in these areas prior to their current budgetary problems. School nurses and paraprofessionals are being laid off. There are too few

counselors, psychologists, resource room teachers, and school social workers. The list goes on and on.

The lack of adequate materials, resources and equipment also affects students' education. Beyond supportive materials, it should be remembered that many secondary classrooms do not have desks or textbooks for all the students. Many teachers find themselves hoping that 20 percent of the class will be absent so all students will have a textbook or a seat. Congress should investigate these conditions in our schools, as well as develop the means to prevent them.

6. No child should be denied full educational opportunity in the secondary schools of this nation, and each child should be guaranteed that the time spent with their teachers will be spent in instruction.

Our secondary schools must be of manageable size, from 800-1200, to allow the individualization and identity necessary for good education. Before our schools collapse under the strain, we must recognize that dollars and planning must match our ideals. Teachers and other school personnel must be available in sufficient numbers to attend to students' individual needs and differences. School personnel must not be diverted from their professional responsibilities. Teachers must have time to teach. Counselors must have time to advise. Each must have adequate planning time. Time. The federal government should, through research and experimental programs, address the time problem in the schools. How can we assure that all school employees have the time necessary to do their jobs well?

How can we address the problems of our secondary schools through better planning? How can we assure involvement of the community, parents, teacher organizations, administrators, colleges and universities, and departments of education in advising school boards from initial planning stages through implementation and evaluation?

We would like to comment here on the need to increase the appropriations for federally-funded teacher centers to help meet the extensive training needs of the secondary schools. The primary emphasis of such centers to date has been on the elementary grades. Additional funds should be set aside to develop much needed inservice programs at the secondary level.

Can we tolerate not keeping our children in school when we have a good idea how we might entice them to stay? Can we knowingly prepare our students for a world which no longer exists? Can we tolerate secondary schools having a baby-sitting rather than an educational function? Can we survive any longer without an education populace? The answers, we hope, are obvious. Our priority must be to match our dollars to our ideals.

## STATEMENT OF PAUL F. COLE, LEWISTON-PORTER CENTRAL SCHOOL, YOUNGSTOWN, N.Y., AND VICE PRESIDENT, AMERICAN FEDERATION OF TEACHERS, AFL-CIO

Mr. COLE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Again, I am Paul Cole from upstate New York. I teach in a suburban school district of approximately 5,000 students. I am a senior high school social studies in a building of about 1,100 or 1,200 students. I have been teaching for 18 years.

As you know, and as you have heard, America's public schools, especially its secondary schools, are under attack. They are accused of failing to perform their basic mission in our democratic society, to educate our children to become productive and participating members of this society.

My purpose here is to share with you some of my thoughts about the problems and the directions that our schools ought to take and the role that the Federal Government should play in this.

No society, I think it is important to begin, in the history of the entire world has given its schools the broad challenge of educating all of its young people as has the United States of America. And I think it is also important to note that no society has ever come close to accomplishing so much for so many, especially in such a diverse and pluralistic society.

Our public schools have served our Nation well and they continue to do so within their limits. So while I share in a sense some of the concerns of pessimism and negativism, I think it is very important to put in perspective the outstanding job that is being done in the thousands of classrooms across this country.

But my purpose here is to focus on some of the more pressing issues as they relate to especially secondary schools in the United States today and I would like to take it, I guess, from a classroom teacher's point of view.

No teacher can teach a child who does not come to class. No teacher can reach a child who comes to school hungry and malnourished.

No teacher alone can reach a child who is in need of special psychological assistance.

No teacher can reach a child who comes to school or comes to class stoned on drugs.

No teacher alone can reach a child who has severe physical or mental handicaps. No teacher alone can reach a child who leaves a home setting which is hostile and unsupportive. No teacher can teach a child without the books, the materials, and the other resources that are critically essential to the teaching art.

No teacher can provide needed individual attention to a child in a class of 35 or 45 or 50 and even more.

No teacher can teach effectively in an environment of fear and violence. No teacher can instill confidence and hope in a young teenage student who sees no prospects for job when he or she graduates.

No teacher can instill self-worth in a child who must ask questions about their own importance to our society as they see many of their own programs and opportunities vanish before them.

No teacher can succeed in inspiring many students to test their highest limits when the bureaucracies focus on minimums and exit criteria.

No teacher can approach his or her profession with enthusiasm when they are castigated and maligned and when they are asked to subsidize a system by providing his or her family with less.

I am not here to suggest today—or does the AFT—that the Federal Government assume the primary responsibility for helping the teacher and the schools for, as we know, education is constitutionally and primarily the responsibilty of the States to be administered locally.

But I think we all agree, based upon the reactions of the members of the committee, that there is a Federal role in our Nation's schools and in education and it is indeed a Federal role that has not been met.

I would like to make a number of suggestions to the committee, and there has been concern voiced that we really have not made any specific kinds of recommendations that the Congress of the United States can deal with to help the schools. Well, there are some.

I think the first and foremost is to accompany legislative mandates with the funds necessary to carry out their requirements. We have seen passed in the recent Congress Public Law 94-142, aid to the handicapped. There is not a teacher in this country who does not applaud and welcome the principles embodied in that legislation. There is not a teacher in addition to that who does not recognize the impact of what happens when the appropriations side is not adequate.

What happens is that the schools are forced to meet those mandates for handicapped education, for bilingual Federal mandates and so on, and what happens?

Well, what happens in my school is what happens in schools all across this country. The mandates are met. The funds are gleaned from cutting other programs and cutting materials, by demanding that staff not have adequate compensation in pay, or they are met by increasing local property taxes, or they are met by a combination of both.

The net effect of the mandate, while in large part the target area is served, is that there has not been sufficient focus upon the effect of serving those target areas on the other people who do without. And so, if we are going to legislate in areas of handicapped and so on, I suggest that it be followed with appropriate financial assistance or that it not be legislated in the beginning.

Second, educational services must reach out to potential dropouts rather than continuing frequent practices of offering help after they have been out and there has been lengthy discussion this morning about that segment of our school population that is the most difficult to education and about pushout and dropout and all the concerns that we have for those children. And there are things that can be done.

I would applaud, even though it is only a beginning step and even though much more needs to be done, the $900 million youth and education employment program that is in President Carter's budget. It is designed to go in to assist in the schools where the program belongs, where the trained professionals are, where the facilities are, and that is an area where the job can be done.

But to say that the job is insurmountable and it cannot be done and therefore nothing should be done, I think, is a wrong approach.

We must begin. We realize the constraints on the Federal budget. We realize that, for the first time in our recent history, there is probably a public consensus to increase defense spending—and we in the AFT are not necessarily opposed to that concept, as long as we make sure that we also do not have the schoolchildren of America, through the loss of their program, subsidizing the bombers and the missiles.

Also community resources, as one earlier speaker referred to, and agencies, we believe, as teachers and an organization, should be encouraged to work more closely with schools in meeting the special needs of these youngsters.

Now, what has to be carefully thought out in any legislation is that we do not develop programs and legislation and funding that creates competition between community-based organizations that provide these services and the schools. As I mentioned, the schools are best able and best equipped to deliver these services and there ought to be programs that encourage cooperation among the variety of community agencies to work with the schools in meeting the needs of those children.

Also, the rule of standards and values of secondary education must be found and instituted. Perhaps the appropriate role here for the Federal Government is to encourage research in the area through the NIE or other agencies to look at what impact does it have on schooling and the effectiveness of our schooling if adequate materials and resources are not there.

Now, research is necessary and I can explain—and I think make a good point as a teacher—about my ability and how it might be impaired, for example, to teach the aspect of totalitarianism and the Nazi appeal to emotionalism without a film of the rise of Adolf Hitler. And I could go on with example after example.

But we do need research to talk about the value and the role that those materials do play in assisting the classroom teacher to perform his duties.

Also, we should make provisions to encourage and insure that adequate support personnel and those materials and resources are available. We have had crash programs by the Federal Government in the 1960's and after Sputnik, you may remember, there were programs, largely in math and science, that went into our schools that provided these kinds of materials. I think it is still equally apropriate for the Government to do that.

I would like to suggest, I think, another area that the Congress look at. We are talking primarily, of course, when we talk about Federal aid to education, categorical aid, most revenue sharing and the other kinds of general aid are reserved for the other local, governmental agencies, State agencies, and so on.

The *New York Times* this morning in an editorial had a very interesting piece on the use of the windfall profits tax, some $227 billion, I believe, that is anticipated over the next decade, depending upon what the conference committee comes up with. But the question is not so much in terms of what is coming in but where does that money go?

While I do not agree with their conclusion, I think that they make some interesting points there and one is that perhaps some of that money ought to go back to offset some of the other taxes that people are facing with respect to their rising costs of living. Now, if we are looking for a way of channeling dollars into local school districts in an other-than-categorical aid program, I submit that it is worthy of this committee and the Congress to investigate the concept of rebating part of that multibillion-dollar windfall profits tax to the public schools in this country.

Now, there is a reason for that. If we look at increasing rates, increasing tax rates, and we look at the fact that school costs are going up, and we look at the fact that perhaps, in my district, if we lose 30 pupils in a year, that is not 30 pupils in 1 classroom. That might be one in my classroom. We have to heat my classroom just as we did with 30 pupils and the cost of energy is absolutely skyrocketing and that district has to pay that cost of energy.

They do not negotiate with the oil company to say we cannot do that, and so what we see is a larger and larger piece of the pie of local education agencies, local school districts, being drained off into the whole area of energy which compounds the other problems that we face. Who pays for it? Well, the kids pay for it again. Loss of driver education programs, art courses, music courses, and the litany can go on and on.

So I think that is a concept that is worthy of study. I think that it is an area that we could go in and at least so that the school districts are not burdened by those additional energy costs and so that those costs are not shifted, those expenses are not shifted from the teachers and the materials and the other things so vitally necessary is something that I think we ought to look at.

Also lastly, no child of course in a Democratic society and with the Constitution and the history that we have in this Nation, should be denied full, equal educational opportunity in the secondary schools of this Nation and children should be guaranteed that time spent with their teachers is time spent in instruction.

Democracy does demand that each citizen be educated so that they may fully participate. President Thomas Jefferson, of course,

dealt at length on this when he was President in terms of the value of education in a democracy and I do not think the attitude has changed.

Our teachers and our schools are facing increasingly difficult obstacles in meeting our commitment to our students. With your help and a strong, supportive, positive role on the part of the Federal Government and this committee and this Congress, I believe those challenges can be met.

Thank you very much.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me thank you. Does the other gentleman want to make a statement?

Mr. COLE. No, but he will be glad to assist us in answering questions, if that is all right.

Chairman PERKINS. Go ahead, Mr. Miller.

Mr. MILLER. I am not sure I have any questions because I think my response to your testimony would be much as my response was to the previous panel. Again, it is my feeling that you outlined a system that is in dire need of help. The question is whether or not there is, in fact, a constituency to provide that help, or whether there is not.

I just finished a full day of hearings in the district I represent on this question of the budgetary implications of Public Law 94-142 on local school districts and I guess it is a question of whether or not people on the Appropriations Committee can go home and tell their districts they have done all they can, or whether they want to do all they can.

And that is something that will have to be determined, I guess, in a political sense. I remember when we were having hearings on Public Law 94-142 that we kept saying we thought the excess costs were around 15 percent. And yet somehow the President has affixed a figure of 12 percent.

Well, what is fact and what is fiction and what are the implications of that?

If people do not want to deal with that, then I guess we will continue to have the luxury of what I think on the part of this committee is a real commitment to education where we will authorize moneys but we see that evaporate in the Congress as a whole, where I think the committee has the expertise and the understanding of some of the problems that you confront, but it continues to deteriorate in the full House or on the Appropriations Committee. That is a political problem that has to be addressed, I guess, when things get bad enough—but things are pretty bad now, certainly in my State, and unfortunately, there we have stuck the knife in ourselves.

There are some serious problems with what is going to happen in special education. But I am also very clear—and I am in the middle of a firefight right now—that there is going to be compliance with Public Law 94-142 because the law is very clear on its face. And I guess when it gets bad enough, the argument will be made in the budgetary process here or in the appropriations process, that they have to live up to the letter of the law.

Again I would suggest that you have also presented testimony of an occupation that is not one a rational person would engage in, because of the kind of stresses from external forces that are being

placed on those individuals And apparently, I do not think we are prepared yet to recognize what our responsibility is to the people who are prepared to teach our children.

We provide second career legislation, and we are going to have it again on the floor, for air traffic controllers because they have burnout and ulcers and all of these problems because in theory they have the lives of people in their hands because they are 37,000 feet above the ground. Well, right at ground level you have lives of people in your hands, but there is not a recognition of that.

So I am running out of answers and I thought I was as good as anybody at coming up with answers in this area. But I think we have a political problem.

And if you believe for a moment that this year those children are not subsidsizing that increase in military spending, as we say around here, you also believe in the Tooth Fairy, because that is exactly what is happening. That tradeoff is now being made.

We fought it off 3 years ago, if you remember. We got some of that money back and Mr. Perkins went to the well—was it last year in the budget proceedings where they made the tradeoff between military and education? We got that back and this year, I am afraid, we are not going to prevail. So the tradeoff is taking place because, as Mr. Kildee pointed out, we have controllables and other people in the society have no controllables.

So I think it is really a question now of what teachers and what administrators and parents desire and they will have to present the national agenda for education to the Congress, because I think you have a very receptive committee here with a great deal of expertise, but unfortunately in the whole Congress you are going to see very, I think, very deep tradeoffs.

Mr. COLE. Well, Congressman Miller, I think we appreciate much of what you are saying and, as my friend Bernie Frietag mentioned, that things are happening, I am sure within his organization and I know within the AFT and also of course within our parent AFL-CIO.

We do have a thing called an election coming up in 1980 and we are not unaware of that and we know that if we talk about political remedies that certainly that is going to be a factor.

We are, also, however, cognizant of some of the other kinds of pressures. We have military spending. We are cognizant of the general ideological and philosophical push of the right wing in this country that is not sympathetic with mostly what I have heard this morning.

With respect to saying that teachers should not stay in, or go into education, or that people should not, I kind of heard an analagous argument to that when I started out, my brother, that when you start out, the pay is very low and you choose it, therefore you ought to live with those conditions.

Well, I did not accept that argument then and I do not accept it now. What we did, instead of leaving it, is that we fought like hell to get collective bargaining and we fought like hell to get good raises and good class conditions, although we have not succeeded, that we have used collective bargaining in a sense to help us minimize our stress and resolve some of those problems and we have been successful, but not totally successful.

I think that it is important today, although we may not win this battle, we are in the war to bring about more aid to education in the Federal Government and that as opposed to me leaving and closing my classroom door and my back on my students because it is a bleak picture financially in this country and the issues that the Congress is facing, that I think that I have the same answer for the committee that I had for my brother, that they are not going to go away, nor is my organization, and we are going to be here next year or whenever we are invited back and we are going to be in the campaigns throughout this country and we are going to do our best and whether we succeed, of course, time will tell.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me say that I personally am going to see Senator Pell right away and sit down with him—and I know all of the committee members feel the same way. We are going to do the very best we can to obtain from the Appropriations Committee the maximum funding for these programs.

We have got some problems ahead of us. I do not think they are insurmountable, but we are going to do our best to improve the legislation. We will all work together toward that end.

Mr. Erdahl, any questions?

Mr. ERDAHL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I have no questions and I apologize to the panel for being away at some other committee meetings. I have just asked one of our staff people to get a package of your testimony and I will read it with a great deal of interest.

Thank you so much for being with us.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me thank the entire panel. You have been most helpful to us. Thank you very much.

[Whereupon, at 12:40 p.m., the subcommittee recessed, to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

[Additional information submitted for the record follows:]

nea
NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION • 1201 16th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036 • (202) 833-4000
TERRY HERNDON, Executive Director
WILLARD H. McGUIRE, President
BERNIE FREITAG, Vice-President
JOHN T. McGARIGAL, Secretary-Treasurer

March 3, 1980

The Honorable Carl Perkins
Chairman
Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary
and Vocational Education
U.S. House of Representatives
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Chairman:

In my testimony before your Subcommittee on February 6, 1980, I expressed NEA's concern about the size of classes our members teach. I cited differences between NEA figures on class size and pupil-teacher ratio statistics supplied to your Committee by the National Center for Educational Statistics.

Marie Eldridge, Administrator of NCES, wrote to the Committee to clarify the statistics. A copy of her letter is enclosed. NEA commends NCES for its explanation because it clearly differentiates between the two factors. In fact, the NCES figure on class size closely approximates NEA's comparable figure. The letter is very helpful in that it shows how the two statistics can be used to describe the same universe of teachers and pupils. The explanation also notes that these two critical educational statistics are often confused.

All of this is important to NEA and its 1.8 million members because we are very concerned about providing quality education for the nation's children. For many years, teachers have suspected what researchers now confirm--smaller classes generally mean a better education. We think it is important for the Congress and the public to be aware of the actual statistics on class size so that fair expectations may be made of education in the future.

Sincerely,

Bernie

Bernie Freitag
Vice President

BF mca
enclosure

cc: The Honorable William F. Goodling

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY FOR EDUCATION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20202

NATIONAL CENTER FOR
EDUCATION STATISTICS

FEB 14 1980

Mr. Jack Jennings
Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary,
and Vocational Education
Rayburn Building B-346-C
Washington, D.C. 20515

Dear Mr. Jennings:

I want to clarify a matter that arose in the recent testimony of Mr. Bernard Freitag, NEA Vice President and myself regarding two statistics, one on pupil-teacher ratios and the other on class size. I request that this letter be made part of the record of the hearing. The two statistics are different and experience suggests that one does not substitute for the other. In way of explanation, I want to quote from a 1974 NCES report, Profiles in School Support, which discusses reasons for the differences:

"Pupil-teacher ratio should not be confused with class size. In several school systems with a pupil-teacher ratio of 22 for secondary grades, the mean class size was 25 and the percentage distribution of classes by size was as follows:

| Class size | Percent of classes |
|---|---|
| 0-10 | 3 |
| 11-15 | 9 |
| 16-20 | 13 |
| 21-25 | 22 |
| 26-30 | 37 |
| 31-35 | 12 |
| 36 or more | 4 |

The difference between the mean class size of 25 and pupil-teacher ratio of 22 in the above case and in others could arise merely from the difference in definition of pupils. Class size was measured by average number of pupils enrolled at specified dates. For the pupil-teacher ratio, the number of pupils in average daily attendance (ADA) for the school year was used. Data collected from local school systems usually indicates that ADA averages about 90 percent of enrollment. Thus, in the illustration, 0.9 multiplied by 25 gives 22.5.

An illustration from each of the elementary and secondary grade situations should indicate some other conditions that result in a divergence between class size and pupil-teacher ratio. If an elementary school has 1 teacher for each of 8 grades and 30 pupils per grade, class size and the pupil-teacher ratio would be 30. If this elementary school added an art and a music teacher, the class size would remain at 30, but the pupil-teacher ratio would fall to 24.

In a high school where the teachers teach 5 classes while the students take 6 courses, the class size with 450 pupils and 15 teachers would be 36 pupils on the average, while the pupil-teacher ratio would be 30."

trust that this explanation clears up the differences between the two ms. Incidentally, pupil-teacher ratio is a good indicator of the ocation of teachers to schools, as used in school finance equalization studies. Class size may not serve this purpose.

Sincerely yours,

Marie D. Eldridge
Administrator



57-261 O - 80 - 42

Emeral Crosby
Principal
Northern High School
Detroit, Michigan

"Secondary School Discipline"

The American high school at the turn of the century was a different kind of institution than it is today. It was different because it was much more an academic institution. It was primarily a preparation center for students going to college. It was not a required station for most American youth. The youth could attend the high school and, at any time he so chose, leave and go into the labor market. He could drop out and seek his fortune. At the beginning of the twentieth century, an imposing event, The Great Depression, changed our way of living and lifestyle. The Great Depression brought a new demand, new position, and a new role for the American high school. Since the youth could not easily go into the labor market, and if he did, he was occupying a position considered that of the American adult, he was forced by necessity and by other pressures to remain in the American high school.

Two other great influences on the American lifestyle and the American high school were the new demands of World War II and the corporate state. The American youth could no longer readily go into the labor market, and he needed additional training and preparation in order to seek a position in the corporate state. The high school was then assigned the responsibility of holding onto the youth and giving him the additional training in order that he could fulfill the new positions in the corporate state.

As the American high school also paralleled society in changes, growth, innovations, and experiments, it also took on many of the changes necessary to fulfill its new role. Its new role meant that it was no longer just an academic institution where only those who were going to college went, or that there were only those who were well disciplined and perhaps had similar types of backgrounds. No longer did it mean that only limited kinds of influences were prevalent at the high school. High school became many things. No longer was it just an academic institution; it was also a social institution. It now provided recreation, cultural growth, athletic growth, and emotional development. Along with those changes, the American high school remained a work station for both the teachers and administration; however, it took on other roles. It became work stations and places of livelihood for food service people, secretaries, social workers, nurses, psychiatrists, career specialists, learning disability people, custodians, cleaning women, engineers, boiler maintenance people, bath attendants, ground keepers, security people, bookkeepers, cashiers, and key punch operators. With those work stations, the American high school also became a major consumer's market place. It became the place where television appealed to the youngsters to buy, buy, buy, and consequently, they bought. The high school became a restaurant; it became a secidepartment store. It became a place for buying and selling of records, such as transcripts to colleges and prospective employers. It became a town meeting hall. It became the center for raising funds for the PTA, mother's groups, dad's groups. It became the center for raising funds for the Pep Squad, the cheer leaders, the business clubs, the language clubs, the athletic clubs. It became the financial center for the buying and selling of tickets for personal recreation such as football games, basketball games, swimming and track meets. It became the cultural center and the financial cultural center with the buying and the selling of tickets for the plays and talent shows. It became one of the great fashion and style centers, for the commercial market used its influence to get the teenagers to buy

special styles which were characteristic of the teenagers in high school. With all the above changes and especially with the financial change, it was recognized that most of this money around the high school was centered in the hands of the teenagers. This meant that he was a viable, available, and ready to be manipulated market. Now, it seems that perhaps everyone except those in the decision making position recognized this new change of the American high school.

With this recognition of change, suddenly new forces began to impinge on the American high school. As business institutions recognized the vulnerability of its resources, security was readily obtained for used car lots, supermarkets, drug stores, service stations, laundromats, and the like. Somehow security did not become available to the American high school. The criminal element quickly realized the availability of this resource, this new financial center of the American culture, and that the decision makers would not provide security. The decision makers' concept of the American high school was that it was only a secluded academic institution and that only those elements present there would be those going to school and they were only interested in furthering their scholastic opportunity.

The criminal society recognized that the American high school restaurant was now doing hundreds of dollars of business everyday and that it was unprotected except by the manager. It recognized that the bookstore, the high school department store, sold supplies to students and also handled funds raised at special events which many times totaled into hundreds and perhaps thousands of dollars, was unprotected, unguarded. It recognized that the gate for the sporting events which did hundreds and perhaps took in thousands of dollars per event was unprotected and unguarded except by semi-defenseless teachers. The criminal element recognized that here were students who had lots of money to buy the new electric devices, television, cassettes and tape recorders and radios. They had the money to buy expensive and stylish teenage clothes. They were unprotected, unguarded, defenseless except by teachers on hall duty or an administrator.

There was the other element dealing in a habit forming business that had to find a patient or a client which was right or ready to be a part of his growing and expanding business. Where could he find a ready-made audience except in the school, the American high school? Consequently, the illegal drug pusher, the narcotic dealers made their assault on the school. They came with their lucrative and appealing business to influence the teenager. They came with violence and extortion. Not only were the above forces present, but it must be remembered that during all these changes, beginning with the great depression and with the new demands of the corporate state, all elements of the youth culture were forced to be a part of the school population. Consequently, all of society's personalities were reflected in the high school population: the ambitious, the conscientious, the industrious, the shiftless, the delinquent. Included were the mentally handicapped, physically handicapped, and the expectant mother. The greatest change in the American high school was the one caused by society's criminal element and the delinquent and the incorrigible student.

Society in general and business made preparation for dealing with the criminal element by providing a police force and special security personnel. The school did not take the same kind of precautions; therefore, the schools had another element for which it made no preparation except by providing an additional assignment to the dean of students or an assistant principal. With these elements present, the American high school in many degrees has ceased to be the secluded academic institution that it was at the turn of the century.

Perhaps there are only two academic institutions left in our society--the elementary school and the graduate school. The high school has taken on the role of being much more a commercial and social institution than that of an academic one. Looking at the high school structure one will notice that most of the expenditures and space are for the non-academic program. One will see massive auditoriums, gyms, business laboratories, swimming pools, athletic fields, tennis courts, restaurants, auto shops, lounges, cosmotology shops, instrumental music centers, sports scoreboards, tailor shops, electronic shops, and so forth.

Now what is happening to the American high school? What is happening is that it is not taking on the services needed for the new role which it has assumed. Not only is that reflected in the rise of crime and delinquency in the high school, but also the failure of millages and finances to adequately support the public high school as a social institution with the need and demands of that social role. At the same time they do not provide the services that are needed to eliminate the negative effects of the new social institution. They have made the daily operations critical. They have changed the role of teachers and administrators and, in many instances, have made the high school much less effective than it could be. Teaching staff has assumed the role of being hall monitors and security people as well as being lunchroom supervisors. They've had to become ticket takers and policemen.

These added services on the teaching staff cost the public dearly. The teacher who is trained to perform teaching or administrative assignments is now forced to spend a portion of his time in these non-teaching chores for which he is ineffective. The lack of training for the new assignments and the lack of continuity make the teacher become less effective in that which he was initially hired. Not only does the new role affect the academic program, it is also much more expensive. The cost of having a trained and effective person in a non-teaching position is much less than having a teacher assume this same position. A teacher with the masters degree and six or seven years seniority costs as much for one hour in a non-teaching chore as it would cost to hire a para-professional or sub-professional to perform that same job for a half-day. Three or four teachers are assigned for one hour in a non-teaching chore requir- the hiring of an additional teacher for the academic assignment.

Will the decision makers use the foresight to hire the non-certified person to perform these other chores? The question is when does the recognition occur that the American high school or the American school is no longer the secluded institution by virtue of its status in society? When will the American school have the acquisition of the kinds of services necessary to maintain an environment necessary for quality education?

For many adults the Vietnam war and all of its related activities is still on. So, we are not committing troops to Vietnam, but, for many adults and decision-makers, it seems the turmoil that afflicted our society during the late sixties and up to the middle seventies is still evident. At least that is the way they are reacting to the schools. The schools, especially the secondary school, were very much caught up in the Vietnam war and the social revolution. Many youngsters nearing draft age and graduation from high school at the same time saw their future every evening on television in the tempestuous jungles and rice paddies of Vietnam. They, their friends and their families resented it, abhorred it, and fought it tenaciously. The institution closest to these young people was the school; therefore, the school received the brunt of their hostility.

Those youngsters have come and gone. None of the students enrolled in the high school when Reverend King was assassinated is still enrolled in the high school. None of the students enrolled in high school when Mr. Nixon was elected president is still enrolled in high school. None of the youngsters enrolled in high school during the Vietnam war is still a student in high school. In fact, very few of the students in high school remember President Johnson. Yet, many significant adults think that the high school is currently servicing those youngsters who composed the high school population six or seven years ago. Time has changed and so has the youth rebellion. The issues are not the same and neither are the characters. Tempers have cooled, undesirable incidents reduced, and violence subsided.

Youth in the secondary school today are experiencing the kinds of problems generally associated with growing up: health, clothing, jobs, peer acceptance, adult approval, boy-girl relationship, and physical growth.

The problem today is not that youth is more prone to crime and violence and lacks discipline, it is that adults are providing less and less supervision. As is typical with our society, we wait until there has been several fatal accidents at an intersection before installing a traffic signal. Rather, we should chart the amount of cross traffic and install the traffic signal to prevent the accident. In school we expect these youngsters to govern and regulate themselves. We need to read Lord of the Flies. Youngsters need guidance, counseling, supervision, teaching, and monitoring. One does not grow up democratic; he is taught. Discipline is in proportion to the amount of time invested--little supervision, little discipline.

Chemistry is another important aspect of school discipline. The greater the number of youngsters we mix together in a school, the more problems we will have. The problems are not additional, they multiply, even become fissionable. Large high schools are fawning grounds for discipline problems. As Conant stated several years ago, 1500 is the ideal size of a high school. It is also a manageable size and should not exceed that number.

Our schools and our students are not robots. They can not be run from afar. They can not be run from judicial benches, from towers, or by edicts. They can not be run by surveys, reports, and memos. They can only be run by teachers, principals, and those persons who inhabit the schools. Making a law does not make one law-abiding; it is teaching one to respect the law.

It is the kind and quality of supervision that affect discipline. If it is adequate, the problems will diminish. However, some jobs are bigger than the person. If the school too large and the national society is in a state of turmoil, and crime and violence are rampant, the school will reflect it. If we want to reduce disruptive behavior in our school, then we must prevent it, not jail it. Jails are too expensive and mentally destructive.

Emeral Crosby, Principal, Northern High School

# OVERSIGHT HEARINGS ON AMERICAN SECONDARY EDUCATION

## Schools That Work and the Future of Secondary Schools

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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 7, 1980

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON ELEMENTARY, SECONDARY,
AND VOCATIONAL EDUCATION,
COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR,
*Washington, D.C.*

The subcommittee met, pursuant to notice, at 9:35 a.m., in room 2175, Rayburn House Office Building, Hon. Carl D. Perkins (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Members present: Representatives Perkins, Miller, Kildee, Hawkins, Buchanan, and Erdahl.

Staff present: John F. Jennings, majority counsel; Richard DiEugenio, minority legislative associate; and Nancy Kober, staff assistant.

Chairman PERKINS. The subcommittee will come to order. A quorum is present.

The Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education is completing oversight hearings today on secondary education.

The hearings thus far have been very productive in my opinion. Earlier this week the subcommittee looked into some of the problems which our junior and senior high schools are confronting, such as declining student achievement and school violence.

Today we will be winding up these hearings on a more positive note. This morning we will be focusing on two specific issues; how secondary schools can be effective and how they can prepare for the future.

We will open with testimony on what we are calling "schools that work." I am pleased to welcome the first panel because all the principals and superintendents on this panel represent schools and districts which have been shown to be exemplary in one way or another.

We hope to learn from you what your schools are doing that make them effective and how some of your ideas might be applied to other secondary schools around the country.

Then we will proceed to a second panel of distinguished witnesses who will be discussing directions in which our secondary schools should move in the next decade and some of the problems that will be confronting local school districts in the coming years.

I am looking forward to hearing these statements of the two panels. I want the witnesses to know that their testimony today will not only be generally helpful to the committee but that it will also be immediately useful in helping us to deal with the President's upcoming youth employment bill.

Our first witness is Ms. Susan Kaeser who is a staff associate for the Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools. The rest of the panel are Dr. Norris L. Rogans, who is principal of George Washington Carver Comprehensive High School in Atlanta; Dr. Millard Harrison, who is superintendent of Mranaook Community School District in Readfield, Maine; Father Edwin Leahy, who is principal of St. Benedict's Preparatory School in Newark, N.J.; and Mr. Clifford Gillies, who is assistant superintendent of Mukilteo School District No. 6 in Everett, Wash.

We will withhold all questions until we hear from the entire panel. We will hear from you first, Ms. Kaeser. Please identify yourself and proceed.

Your prepared statements will be received in the record and you may proceed in any manner you prefer.

[The prepared statement of Susan Kaeser follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF SUSAN C. KAESER, STAFF ASSOCIATE, CITIZENS' COUNCIL FOR OHIO SCHOOLS, CLEVELAND, OHIO

My name is Susan Kaeser. I work for the Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools in Cleveland, Ohio. The Citizens' Council is a non-profit, statwide organization whose purpose is to provide information to citizens on key issues in public education and to encourage constructive action on those issues. Over the last five years we have focused on desegregation, schools finance reform and management, community involvement in schools, and children out of school. We just started a review of vocational education issues. We are committed to public education and the necessity for it to remain alive, effective, and responsive.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to share with this committee my ideas on policies and practices that make schools successful. I hope those ideas are helpful in your review of federal policies for secondary education.

My ideas about successful schools and school policies and practices which are supportive of successful schools have come from three years of studying why children are out of school. Children are out of school because they were never enrolled, they are truant or have dropped out, or because the school excluded them as a form of punishment for truancy or some other misbehavior. All of these problems are serious in Ohio and getting worse.

According to 1970 census data, about 3 percent of Ohio's school aged youth were not enrolled in school. Many of these children have never been enrolled. We are hopeful that Public Law 94-142 will help to reduce those numbers.

School attendance is a major problem in Ohio which is getting worse. It is especially severe in the big city districts. In Ohio, attendance in all grades together in all districts has been stable at about 92 percent. However, the combined attendance level for the six big cities (Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Toledo, Akron, and Dayton) for 1978-79 is 88.5 percent, down from 91 percent the year before. The attendance problems are the most severe in senior high. Statewide the senior high attendance level is about 90 percent, while in the big cities it is 83 percent. Cleveland is the city with the worst senior high attendance level, 76.6 percent. The 90.4 percent attendance level for secondary students in Akron suggest that attendance does not have to be a problem in big cities. The junior high attendance level is also a problem in many districts. In Cleveland, it is 82 percent with Cincinnati at 83 percent. Statewide the average is 90 percent and in the four big cities with junior high schools the level is 85 percent. There are many schools in many districts where the average daily attendance is well below the district averages. Attendance is a serious problem.

While attendance is deteriorating, many districts are relying heavily on excluding students temporarily as a response to misbehavior. In many districts, more than half of the suspensions are for attendance problems. In 1972-73, more than 24 districts from a sample of 82 Ohio districts suspended more than 10 percent of their

secondary students. Four of these districts suspended between 15 and 20 percent of their students, and four suspended more than 20 percent. The highest district-wide rate was 32 percent. Although five of Ohio's six largest districts suspended more than 10 percent of their secondary students, the three highest suspension rates were found in small city districts that enroll between 7,000 and 9,000 students. There are individual schools in Ohio where as many as 70 percent of the students are suspended each year. In more recent years, the demise of educational quality in Cleveland has been accompanied by skyrocketing suspension figures where the number of secondary students suspended as a percent of enrolled secondary students was above 50 percent. Furthermore, suspension is used unevenly by race. Minority students in integrated schools are especially suspectible to suspension and are the most frequently excluded for non-threatening offenses such as absenteeism and failure to comply with authority. Suspension rates for black secondary students are often two and sometimes three times higher than the rates for white students.

The number of dropouts from Ohio schools has increased steadily over the last four years while enrollment has declined. The number of students that dropped out in 1978–79 is almost 15 percent larger than the number that dropped out in 1975–76 while enrollment declined by almost 6 percent during the same period. Dropouts are increasing in all kinds of districts: rural, suburban, and urban; and dropout rates in all sorts of districts are higher than the 4.6 percent statewide average for secondary students. The highest dropout rate in 1978–79 is 13 percent. The district is a suburb of Cincinnati. The age of dropouts is getting younger. Over the last three years there has been more than a 110 percent increase in the number of 7th graders dropping out and nearly a 70 percent increase in the number of 8th graders. While in the past the largest number of students left school in 11th grade, in 1978–79 the largest number left in 10th grade. Pregnancy, chronic attendance problems, and the extensive reliance on suspension as a response to misbehavior may be contributing to the problems. We are unsure of the causes, but are alarmed by the statistics.

In order to be able to suggest constructive action with regard to the problems of truancy, excessive use of exclusion and dropouts, I spent most of last spring visiting Ohio schools. I looked for integrated schools and big city schools where suspension and absences were not problems. I found some wonderful schools and excellent educators. A major conclusion from this research is that when children are out of school, either temporarily or permanently, it is a symptom of a variety of problems, many having to do with the performance of educators. The encouraging finding is that we need not turn in these children for a better supply, nor do we need to completely reorder society, remove all social ills, and change all families in order to improve school participation. These educators convinced me that neither expensive new programs, nor a whole new pedegogical methodology are needed to make schools work. The major ways to make schools successful lie in enhancing and releasing the creativity and skills that exist within the work force of schools. This is no easy task, but it is doable.

I would like: (1) identify what a school should accomplish; (2) identify major criteria for successful schools; (3) enumerate policies and practices in the schools I visited which contribute to the success of these schools; and (4) finally, to identify ways public policy might support these essential elements of successful schools.

First, what should schools accomplish? I expect a lot. Schools, both through their educational program and the way children and parents and educators within schools are treated, should help all children develop skills for meaningful participation in this society. Schools should help children be responsible for their own behavior, be able to make good decisions, be curious, literate and able to grow and continue to learn.

A successful school is one that works toward these goals.

Successful schools follow two major criteria. First, they serve all children. Second, they are committed to meaningful parent and community involvement. They are not just good for public schools as an institution; they have positive educational outcomes for children.

The promise of American public education is that it is for everyone. The system that is effective with only a few kids—the white, bright, and polite—is not a successful system. The first way to serve all children is to make sure all children are there. Despite the promise of public education, there are many educators who boast of putting out the bad kids so the kids who want to learn can do so. Unfortunately, much of the public has begun to believe that this is what educators have to do. Furthermore, many have begun to believe this is what has to be done with upwards of 30–40 percent of the kids in secondary schools. That is simply not true. Only a handful of kids cannot be educated in public schools. When one holds this attitude, it leads to bad educational practice. It allows for the easy use of disciplin-

ary exclusion. It encourages labeling kids as good and bad. It assumes that a student's immediate behavior is a reflection only of the child's attitude about learning when in fact it may be a reflection of the school's quality, the teacher's unfair behavior, or something emotionally disruptive. It shifts all responsibility to the child and puts adults in the position of denying something guaranteed to children—a free public education.

When educators are committed to the idea that schools serve all children, the policies and practices are very different. Vera Cogan is one such educator. She is the principal in Akron that has been assigned to three different schools in the past five years to solve problems. Her attitude is: If we can't find some way to involve or work with every child, we shouldn't be responsible for kids. That attitude creates a tremendous amount of work for her and for teachers in the school. There is no room for shirking responsibility, for shifting the blame to a deteriorating society or broken families. It means accepting children for who they are, and adjusting efforts to respond to where the child is, not what is the easiest thing to do as an educator.

It means teaching children to accept responsibility for their behavior just like they get taught about geometry and United States history. This behavior teaching must be shared with parents but it is not something only parents do. Schools must help too. It is challenging; it takes courage, commitment, creativity, and work. It is a lot harder than rejecting a large share of kids and attributing the rejection to their lack of interest in schooling!

In many school districts and individual schools, parents and schools have reached an impass. The schools are angry with the public because voters reject levies, and parents either show too much interest by complaining about what goes on in the schools or too little interest because they don't show up at a suspension hearing or a cookie sale. Successful schools are committed to meaningful parent and community involvement. They don't just say it, they reach out and help parents be involved. They open their doors. They listen to anger. They respond to concerns. They find ways to discover what parents want for their children. They respect parents and relate to their individual needs and concerns. It is in this atmosphere that parents will participate and educators will accept that participation. When the relationship exists, it provides the partnership which results in financial support, protection from vandalism, emotional support, and educational support for children so they will come to school, behave, and learn. It provides the kind of partnership that keeps education a public institution—and not simply the baliwick of the professionals.

From these basic attitudes flow many more qualities of successful schools. These attitudes filter into curriculum design, teaching styles, organizational arrangements that enhance individual growth, and respond to developmental needs. The attitude of respect for children emerges and it is from this that the positive spiral begins and children and adults make the necessary effort.

I would now like to turn to the specific policies and practices which make schools successful—that is, that make them able to serve all children, involve the community and allow more children to succeed academically. I would like to illustrate the specifics by talking again about Vera Cogan, the fiftyish, small woman from Akron, Ohio, who is the system's trouble shooter. One of her projects was to turn around Perkins Junior High, a 70 percent black school where the kids had barricaded themselves into the cafeteria and torn the place up, run rampant through the neighborhood, and moved shoddily through their school.

In comes Vera Cogan. Her basic commitment is to the education of all children. The way to do this is to get children to attend school, to respect them and challenge them academically, and to develop positive relationships among staff and students. One adult can't do it alone. A team of competent and committed and motivated teachers can. As the school leader, Cogan's responsibility was to take the steps needed to insure education was taking place in the school. The steps were no-nonsense, inexpensive, and required a tremendous amount of hard work and willingness by the educators to be responsible about their jobs. I might add, the school did have adequate staff and supplies. The basic resources for success were there, but they were not working right.

Her first step was to meet with each teacher and communicate her most basic requirement: the staff must communicate in every way possible that they respect the children and their ability to learn. According to Cogan, children will not perform nor respond when they know you have no faith. She prescribed certain behavior that she knows communicates respect: teachers are to be well-dressed, rooms are to be well-decorated, teachers are to stand by their doors and greet children at the start of class, and teachers are to be prepared to teach. She also

made it clear to teachers that their presence every day meant a lot about the success of the school and how kids felt about them.

Schools are a lot like neighborhoods. If only one person on the block is investing in their property, the neighborhood is bound to fail. The same is true in schools. If only one teacher is making a complete effort, the whole effort fails and that individual's effort is lost. Cogan acted on this understanding by working to make sure every adult was performing. Her chief practice in this area was to visit classes every day, to observe performance, to look at lesson plans, and to talk with teachers about their strengths and weaknesses. This communicated to the teachers that someone cared about just exactly what it was they were doing behind those doors and had ideas about how to do it better. The principal's personal investment in individual effort and the staff's knowledge that everyone else was in the same position of being reviewed and encouraged to do their best led to productivity. Leadership gave support to effort—which was the best way to get high quality performance from the people in classrooms who make the difference in education.

The kids were made to feel welcome in the school in other ways. The teachers opened the Perkins Pantry, a candy stand in the cafeteria open after school. It gave kids a chance to see teachers in ways other than in the classroom. The money raised was used for a school improvement project.

The after school loitering problem was solved as well. The Pantry was one place to go. Another solution was a strict definition of appropriate behavior and the principal's willingness to patrol the streets, talk to kids, and take them home if necessary. A month of intense effort stopped community complaints. In fact, the message got out somehow that things were hopping at the school and parents started showing a renewed interest.

Vera Cogan has guts. She is not afraid of teachers, unions, kids, or the community. She uses none of them as excuses for inaction. She inspires the best in everyone in the school community. Her basic practices and efforts are the kinds of things being done in many Ohio schools; of course, in each case the specifics reflect the individual styles of the educators who want their schools to work. It needs to happen in more schools.

Successful schools need:

*Strong leaders.*—People who are able to create the delicate balance between the students, the community and the faculty. People who know how to work with people, inspire quality, respond to human needs, and who, most of all, respect peopole and communicate that respect.

Successful schools need:

*Motivated and capable teachers.*—Teacher performance is where everything happens. It is only the cooperating team of teachers that can keep the process afloat. They need capable leadership, good feedback, constant attention and assistance with developing a sense of professional competency and importance. When that happens, they will work hard, they will draw on their skills as educators and individuals, and they will do the work of challenging kids.

When these things are in place, most problems tht interfere with academic activity disappear. Time then exists for the small number of difficult children who need some special attention. It is a much smaller number than we would expect. But a small number makes it a lot more feasible to find solutions.

Successful schools need:

*An involved community.*—Children need to know their eduction is important and teachers need to know that someone cares about what they do. Both teachers and children need to know what parents and the community expect of the schools for the schools to do what they should. For all of these reasons, schools need the community to be in the school, in classrooms, making decisions and monitoring what takes place so that the public institution continues to serve the public. This will happen if the school is honestly open to its community.

Unfortunately, the things that makes schools work cannot be legislated. Federal law making can, however, help create some opportunities which might help leadership and community involvement.

1. Support for professional leadership. Principals need to be very skillful. They need training in team building, academic evaluation and planning, budgeting, and child development. They need to be confident. Federal assistance might help give more educators and people interested in children a chance to develop those skills.

2. Teaching is a tiring, draining profession. Teachers need more chances for renewal. They need sabaticals, new educational and learning experiences, planning, reflection. Federal assistance could help with teacher renewal.

3. In-service training is always hoped for as a solution to personnel problems. We need effective in-service at the school building level that solves problems on site.

Perhaps federal assistance for new styles of building level in-service programs is a good approach.

4. The curriculum and design of secondary education is pretty dull. What can we do about it? The only innovation is the warmed-over old idea of separate schools for the hard-to-teach. We need some new thinking about the designing of secondary education. Federal assistance could provide support for someone to take the time needed to do this.

5. School finance reform in a number of states has encouraged new forms of community involvement in schools. Building level community involvement and decision making have been encouraged. Federal policy toward parent involvement needs to move beyond mandating committees for every categorical program.

6. Large schools are impersonal places for kids. Declining enrollment issues might be a boon. The Federal government is in a position to explore this option.

The best way to encourage successful schools is to make really good use of the human resources involved in schools. The most important thing those of you in policy making positions might do is to remind us of the importance of public education as a resource for all children and the need to find ways to serve all children. Educators with that commitment have few problems designing the specifics of doing that.

The Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools is an independent statewide organization devoted to raising public awareness and understanding of major issues in elementary and secondary education and supporting constructive action in dealing with them.

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# ORDERLY SCHOOLS THAT SERVE ALL CHILDREN

## A Review of Successful Schools in Ohio

A report of the
Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools

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July, 1979

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# What We Learned

The Citizens' Council began this study having analyzed in great detail a mass of statistics about attendance, suspensions, and dropouts. While the statistics convinced us that too many children were out of school some of the time, they did not help us understand why or suggest solutions. Some school officials were critical of our report for being one more attack on public schools. A few told us that there was nothing to be done about low attendance and high suspension and dropout rates in areas with high concentrations of poor children. Both reactions prompted us to ask our staff to visit schools and find out more.

We now understand some of the many reasons why children are not in school, and we have thoughts about solutions. Changing the troublesome attendance and discipline statistics is difficult, but we now totally reject the notion that nothing can be done. The schools and programs reported in this document are our evidence—a few examples of what is already being done. We believe there are more.

While this book is powerful anecdotal evidence to support the findings and conclusions offered below, it does not have tucked within it "the answer" to attendance and discipline problems. It does, however, suggest a direction, a framework for thinking about school participation, and the set of variables that must be influenced if changes are to occur. The Citizens' Council will encourage further thinking and action on all of these matters.

The schools we visited shared a number of qualities that have significant implications for solutions:

1. Discipline was not an annoying distraction from education, but a crucial part of teaching. Teaching alternative behavior was seen as the aim of discipline in these schools rather than simply punishing bad behavior.

2. None of these schools sought new forms of punishment. When students misbehaved they responded with the standard practices of detention, work details, elimination of privileges and thinking and writing about better behavior.

3. Some of these schools have long lists of rules for students; others have short lists. What they have in common is that the rules are clear to everyone in the school; they are believed fair; and they are perceived to be fairly applied.

4. These schools do not use out-of-school suspensions for class cutting, tardiness, and truancy. School administrators indicate that this punishment does little, if anything, to deal with those symptoms of limited motivation. Instead, a variety of methods are used to approach motivation problems ranging from in-school suspension with counseling and assistance to total curriculum reform. If other schools adopted these methods, about one-half of all out-of-school suspensions could be eliminated.

5. The attitude of school administrators in these schools toward children was a mixture of love and firmness. All talked of meeting children's needs; none suggested children should run the school. All talked of listening, none suggested doing whatever anyone asks.

6. The administrators of these schools expected much of parents just as they expected much of teachers and students. Their expectations were usually met. Parents were welcome in the school, and when students misbehaved repeatedly or seriously parents were expected to help solve the problem. Parents were asked to help in developing a solution to the behavior problems; they were not accused of failing to keep their children in line.

7. Some of these schools sought to draw parts of the community into the school rather than close the school off from the community. Professionals from community agencies or universities were called upon to help.

All of these schools shunned security guards in favor of more educators, counselors, administrators, and community agency resource people.

These common characteristics suggest the following conclusions:

1. School attendance and discipline problems can be solved; however, there are no panaceas. A variety of approaches work at a variety of grade levels. They are described in some detail in the body of this report. The examples here do not exhaust the possibilities.

2. No new special program needs to be launched. Effective responses lie within the basics of providing good educational experiences for children.

3. Since attendance and discipline problems are the most acute in secondary schools and comprehensive approaches are the most lacking here, more attention needs to be directed to rethinking the education of adolescents. This can be done as the State Department revises minimum standards for secondary schools over the next two years.

4. Administrators were the key to making these schools work well. They had several important management skills. They were able to build teams of people—parents, other administrators, teachers, and students—to solve problems. They communicated clearly with a variety of different audiences. They worked well in groups, were not afraid of conflict, and were good negotiators. It is not necessary to clone these good principals. Many of their skills can be learned; they suggest a curriculum for administrator education in college and on-the-job. One essential part that cannot be taught is an unthreatened openness to the needs, hopes, fears, and angers of teachers, parents, and children. To the degree that unthreatened openness comes from being a professional who is confident of his or her abilities, better education for administrators will help. Otherwise, hiring criteria for these positions need to give priority attention to these skills.

5. Adequate and stable financing of Ohio school districts is essential for many reasons but it is a very important element of maintaining the high staff morale essential to orderly schools. Since there are no financial rewards for effort or success in the classroom, other benefits like security on the job, predictable raises to meet cost of living increases, and supportive administrative leadership become even more significant in maintaining teacher morale and holding on to good teachers. While much can be done to improve administrative leadership and to provide in-service training and support, a secure financial base for Ohio's schools should also be sought as a way to improve the performance of school professionals.

6. Adequate resources to schools at the building level are a necessary ingredient for solutions. In each of the schools in this study the equivalent of at least one professional other than the



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principal, assistant principal, and classroom teachers made a difference to the school's ability to work on problems or stimulate participation. In some cases the additional professional help came from other agencies serving youth. Funds to these other agencies to help children in schools as well as additional funds for schools may be useful. It may also be possible to reallocate personnel within some school districts to increase the number of professionals in school buildings without increasing expenditures. In a few cases, increasing resources at the building level may be cost free. In most cases, it will not.

7. Size of school seems to be an important factor to consider. Elementary schools are usually under 800 students. Smaller secondary schools (under 1,000) are inherently less prone to attendance and discipline problems. It is harder for a child to be anonymous, easier for teachers to individualize, and simpler to manage staff and resources. Larger secondary schools (over 1,000 students) which are orderly and interesting places to be are creating the inherent characteristics of smallness within their largeness. They are divided into schools within schools or children are assigned to a group of 100-150 with whom they are involved most of the time. Smaller secondary schools may be more expensive than current secondary school operation but perhaps not that much more expensive than a properly staffed large secondary school. As schools are closed throughout Ohio in the face of enrollment decline, the benefits and costs of smaller secondary schools should be carefully analyzed.

Every word of this report to the Trustees of the Citizens' Council and the photographs that illustrate it reflect not only Susan Kaeser's considerable skill, but her commitment to the proposition that we are, all of us, responsible for the children of this world. The Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation, and the Edward W. Hazen Foundation supported her work. The Sherwick Fund supported the publication of this book and its distribution. We are grateful to them for their confidence and to the Ohio educators, parents, and students whose lives and skills are written about within.

Rowland C. W. Brown
*Chairman of the Executive Committee*

Rachel B. Tompkins
*Director*

# Introduction

Large numbers of school age youth in Ohio are not in school. Sometimes they are absent because they lack motivation. They decide to stay away from school for short or long periods of time. Some drop out completely. In other cases, the schools have excluded them because of misbehavior or attendance problems. This frequently discourages further participation.

Whatever the reason for their absence, when children are out of school it is a serious education problem. It bears directly upon the student because time spent in learning tasks greatly affects student achievement. Furthermore, if schools are to function effectively children need to attend on a daily basis.

The Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools documented the extent to which children are not in school in the 1976 publication, *Children Out of School in Ohio*. Subsequent review of the data indicates that the problems are not getting better. The data show:

1. Absenteeism is high. Daily, about 8 percent of the students enrolled in Ohio schools are absent. In most districts absenteeism tends to be higher in secondary schools than elementary. Absenteeism is the highest in secondary schools in large city school districts. The overall absence rate for city secondary schools is about 12 percent and some urban senior high schools have a 30 to 40 percent daily absence rate.
2. A large share of students in all types of school districts are out of school because they have been temporarily suspended from school for misbehavior. According to 1972-73 data for a sample of 82 Ohio districts, 24 districts suspended more than 10 percent of their secondary students, four of these districts suspended between 15 and 20 percent of these students and another four suspended more than 20 percent of their secondary students. The highest district-wide rate was 32 percent. Although five of Ohio's six largest districts suspended more than 10 percent of their secondary students, the three highest suspension rates were found in smaller city districts that enroll between 7,000 and 9,000 students. There are individual schools in Ohio where as many as 70 percent of the students are suspended each year. According to 1975-76 data, suspension rates increased over the 1972-73 rates in four of the five big city districts with high suspension rates. There is little evidence that schools are relying less heavily on suspension.
3. As the most serious punishment, suspension is generally reserved for the most serious misbehavior. In many schools and districts it is not used in this way. A review of suspension by reason in a few districts with high rates suggests that about half of the suspensions are for absence, cutting class, or tardiness, and another 40 to 50 percent are for other non-threatening types of behavior.

4. Minority students in integrated schools are especially susceptible to suspension and are the most frequently excluded for non-threatening offenses such as absenteeism and failure to comply with authority. Suspension rates for black secondary students are often two and sometimes three times higher than the rates for white students.
5. Many students are repeatedly suspended. In some districts more than 5 percent of the students are suspended more than once.
6. Many school aged youth, an estimated 3 percent in 1972-73, are not enrolled in school. They are students who dropped out before completing 12 years of school, or children who never enrolled because they slipped past the system, or had handicapping conditions and were not encouraged to participate.
7. Despite declining enrollment in Ohio, the number of students dropping out of Ohio schools is increasing. A reported 34,796 students prematurely left school in Ohio in 1977-78, an increase of more than 1,000 students over the previous year. Enrollment declined during the same period by about 70,000. While some districts, both large and small, have experienced slight improvements in dropout rates, for the most part the net increase in dropouts is spread through a variety of districts, many of which have also experienced enrollment declines. The large cities, however, continue to have the most serious dropout problems. While big city enrollment constitutes 18 percent of all students in the state, about 34 percent of the dropouts are from big cities, almost twice the expected rate if the problem were equally distributed among all districts.

If the potential for student achievement and access to the benefits of public education are to be realized fully, children must be in school. The degree to which they are absent varies considerably by school and district. Many factors contribute to the existence of school participation problems including the way education is delivered. Because the school is a crucial ingredient over which there is some ability to exercise control it is an important place to start to find solutions. The Citizens' Council, therefore, chose to look for the things that schools can do to improve school participation. To do this we visited a variety of Ohio schools where participation is good and order is not a serious problem.

This report examines school motivation and discipline problems and describes how the small sample of Ohio schools that we visited have worked to create orderly schools where children are motivated, attendance is high, disciplinary exclusion is not relied on to create order, and children are learning. Because of the severity of problems in large and medium size districts, this study focuses on successful schools in these settings. It also includes a few examples from suburban districts.

PUBLIC SCHOOL

## The Discipline Problem: What Are We Talking About?

There is widespread concern that schools are suffering from serious discipline problems. While there is general agreement that discipline in schools is desirable and the absence of discipline is problematic, this is the end of agreement about the exact nature of the discipline problem.

Some of the commonly identified problems include:

—truancy, class cutting, and tardiness. At a recent school discipline meeting sponsored by the National Association of Secondary School Administrators, 59 out of the 60 administrators present identified these motivation problems as their most serious discipline problems. They affect the largest number of students and punishment does not change the behavior.

—violent acts and vandalism committed by youth, in or out of school. Teacher assault is one especially significant category of violent behavior. Media coverage of student conduct focuses on this shocking behavior which affects a small minority of students and schools but has had a profound and frequently debilitating effect on the attitudes of teachers, students, and the public toward school and children.

—small but irritating behavior which distracts educators from teaching. Research suggests that minor problems (chewing gum, moving in the classroom, talking, refusal to follow teacher's directions, scuffles between students) stimulate the bulk of disciplinary responses from principals and teachers.

—adult behavior and fair treatment. Many students, advocates for children, education researchers, and parents are concerned about how well the school runs and the ways adults use their authority in the schools. They are concerned that administrators and teachers at times act out of convenience rather than commitment to serving students, which results in inappropriate or damaging punishment and sets a bad example for students about the use of power.

In some schools all of these problems exist and the cummulative effect has meant bad experiences for students and adults and bad press for education. In other schools, the discipline problems are much less severe, but no less in need of attention. Solutions require a willingness to sort out the problems and provide proper responses to each of the contributing factors.

## The Siege Mentality and Barriers to Solutions

In many medium sized and large cities especially, discipline has become a consuming issue and a siege mentality has developed about children and schools. In some cases the public is hostile towards children and schools, and children are hostile about education and educators. There are despairing teachers and administrators. Many educators resign themselves to an unrewarding police role. Stricter discipline codes are written, more children are put out of school in efforts to create order, and educational dollars are spent on security guards. The children for whom the education system exists have become the enemy.

While these responses fail to educate and frequently fail to provide the desired order, many people feel that schools have no other choice. Deteriorating families, uncooperative and disinterested parents, deep social ills, seriously disturbed children, the lack of financial resources, and erosion of the school's authority are frequently offered as explanations for the problem and why educators are powerless to make schools better places that serve all children.

The social and individual problems that face many children and affect public education do not have to mean that the school will be ineffective. Schools are a potent force in the lives of children and have tremendous resources for working with all children. There are too many schools that work effectively with children under the same set of constraints to justify the failure by so many

schools to create order and the dependency in so many cases on excluding a large share of students as the way to create order.

Hazardous schools are neither acceptable nor necessary. Students, educators, and the public deserve schools where teachers function as teachers and children participate, grow, and learn. There are many schools in Ohio serving a varied population where order prevails and disciplined and motivated students are engaged in learning. It is possible to improve public education so all children may benefit.

## The Study

This study focuses on policy and personnel at the building level. While school district policy and leadership, federal and state laws, finances, and many other factors affect a child's educational experience, public education is delivered in classrooms in schools. Most of what happens to children in schools happens between the child and the teacher or the administrator at the school building. This is especially important in the areas of discipline and student motivation.

During the fall and spring of the 1978-79 school year, Citizens' Council staff visited 30 schools in 16 Ohio districts including the largest cities and a number of smaller cities and suburbs. We reviewed data and talked to district administrators and board members, education professors, teachers, parents of public school students, newspaper reporters, and foundation and union personnel in order to identify schools to visit. We excluded schools that depended on large federally funded programs to create solutions.

We went to schools that serve all age groups, students from a variety of economic and racial backgrounds in single race and integrated schools, and students whom many have assumed are neither interested in learning nor capable of behaving well. Many of the schools had experienced serious problems at one time, but have been turned around. We talked extensively with more than 80 administrators, counselors, teachers, and students, and visited classrooms, cafeterias, and halls. We found some excellent schools that indicate that discipline, order, and high levels of participation are not too much to ask of public education. A sample of those schools is described in this report.

## How Successful Schools Address the Problem

The educators we talked with don't claim full success with every student, nor do they claim to have found the single answer that should be adopted by all other educators. They strive to make their schools an important part of the lives of the children with whom they work and they do so in a number of ways that reflect individual styles and talents.

While school discipline has at times been a sensational issue, the solutions that these educators offer are anything but sensational. They are, nonetheless, inspiring. For the most part, neither new forms of punishment nor expensive special programs are seen as the answer. When the schools have adequate resources the existing talent within the school, focused on the details of making education work, results in orderly schools and motivated students. These educators are successfully carrying out basic and sound educational practices, and are finding rewards in positive student and faculty behavior. Some basic elements of their efforts include:

**Commitment to serving all children.** The need to serve all children is an overworked and under realized axiom of public education. When school personnel believe that all children can learn and that they can behave, both teachers and students respond. The creativity that exists in teachers and administrators is released and all kinds of options are provided to meet the individual needs of students. This responsiveness prevents many problems and leads to solutions to those problems that persist.

**Strong building leadership.** Building administrators set the tone for student and faculty behavior They do much to demand that all children are served, and to provide the guidance that makes it possible to do so. They can be the key to releasing the creativity that exists among educators and making parental involvement effective. An adequate supply of administrators at the building

level who are strong leaders is crucial to quality education.

**Attention to problem solving.** When students misbehave or stay away from school it is a symptom that the school and/or the child has problems. Therefore, punishment is rarely a sufficient response when students misbehave or are absent from school. More productive responses are those that focus on solving problems or helping the child cope with problems that underlie the behavior and strengthen the child's ability to be responsible for his/her own behavior.

**Tireless commitment.** Conditions in schools are always changing. A school that is doing well today may deteriorate at any time if constant attention is not given to maintaining the quality of the curriculum, instruction, teacher performance or student behavior. The job is never done. Tireless commitment to excellence and relentless attention to detail, not a stock set of programs or new and better punishment, make schools workable and keep them that way.

# Some Interesting Ohio Schools—Case Studies

## ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

Attendance rates tend to be uniformly high for elementary schools and suspension is rarely used. Serious discipline and motivation problems generally are not expressed until the student enters junior high or high school. The elementary years provide the foundation for later school experiences, so it is especially important to provide an effective educational experience at this point in the student's career.

We were happy to find some very comprehensive approaches to providing quality elementary education, motivating students and promoting self-discipline. Two alternative programs within the public schools, Douglas Elementary in Columbus and the magnet IGE program at Longfellow in Dayton, exemplify the most innovative efforts. While Douglas and Longfellow have special curricula which make them unique, these schools are successful because they pay special attention to the basics of quality schools: school organization, principal-teacher relationships, and working openly with parents and students. Prospect in East Cleveland and Windsor in Columbus are more traditional schools but they address the same issues. The four schools together illustrate a variety of ways in which schools can motivate students and create order.

### Douglas Elementary School—Columbus

"Please continue to stress attendance with your kids. We need to help them feel missed when they're not here. Also stress what activities they are missing," reads one of principal Kay Feike's announcements to her staff. This is typical of the school's approach to problems. The staff is given a large share of the responsibility. Their resources are the educational program and an approach to kids which focuses on student needs.

There are about 400 students enrolled at Douglas, half of whom are low income black children from the Douglas neighborhood. The other half are white children from a variety of income levels and Columbus neighborhoods who are bused to Douglas to participate in the special curriculum.

Douglas is considered an alternative school. Education is offered in the open classroom setting by teams of teachers assigned to five learning areas. Instead of an assistant principal, Douglas has a curriculum coordinator, Bob Leonard, who explains: "We want children to feel that it is more fun to be here than to stay at home." The city is the central theme for educational activities. The school also has the benefit of a physical education teacher and an arts impact team, four part-time teachers who provide instruction in art, drama, music, and dance. Another major element of the Douglas approach, the unbudgeted element, is that parents, teachers, administrators, and students share responsibility for a productive and orderly school where the needs of children come first.

"With parent support you can do anything," observes Gene Norman, the guidance counselor at Douglas who has been instrumental in putting the notion of shared responsibility into practice.

"You cannot underestimate the importance of an open building. The school must be open to any parent at any time. This is the most important thing you can do to involve parents," says Feike. Parents are encouraged to visit the school at any time, and many do. They come to talk, to help, and to participate in the special activities that are always happening at Douglas.

The other key, says Feike, is to be able to accept angry parents. "You must be able to listen to what they are saying and be able to respond." Most of Feike and Norman's first year at Douglas was spent meeting with parents and students, explaining their approach to education, and providing help where possible.

**"We have developed a feeling of trust with our parents. They know their kids are safe here and that their help is needed to work out problems," says Feike. She is pleased that the school rarely has trouble getting a parent to respond to**

**any request for help in working with children and that parents feel free to ask the school for help with a wide range of problems.**

Douglas is run by participatory management. Teachers and administrators share responsibility for administrative responsibilities, educational and program planning, and parent communication. Teachers work in teams and each team has a leader. The principal and curriculum coordinator periodically meet with team leaders to pass on administrative tasks, and meet weekly with each team to set action goals for their program for the next week. Teachers are also expected to work with parents and to help children work on self-discipline. This is an important responsibility which Feike is anxious to share with those who work directly with the children.

Shared responsibility is also key with children. "We want our children to take responsibility for their learning and their behavior," explains Feike, who admits, "it is not always easy to live with children who are independent."

A section of the student handbook, written by three sixth graders at Douglas, illustrates the responsibility which children have:

> *Teachers in this kind of school believe that their job is to make it fun to study and work; to give the kid facts and things to learn with; and to help students try very hard to get all they can out of school. Teachers know that they can do these things for us, but only we can do the learning. The other special thing at Douglas is the way we feel about discipline. It is the job of every kid to behave at all times so that the kids will not only learn more but also will not stop the other kids from learning.*

According to the rules at Douglas, a student who writes on a school wall or desk violates the rights of others to learn in a clean and neat environment. The natural consequence is to clean up the mess. Students who misuse their privileges in the school may be deprived of those privileges. Students who fight must sit together until they find a better response to working out their differences. "It may take all day," observes Feike who often accommodates these children in her office, "but they find a solution. We can wait. This teaches them very early that there are other ways to resolve their problems. We are helping children to verbalize their anger and frustration and thereby find better ways to act."

In some cases the child does not learn from the first fight and gets in trouble again. In these cases a meeting is held with the parents to find a strategy to end the behavior. The plan may involve the student leaving school for the day to think quietly, to write, or to talk with parents about what happened.

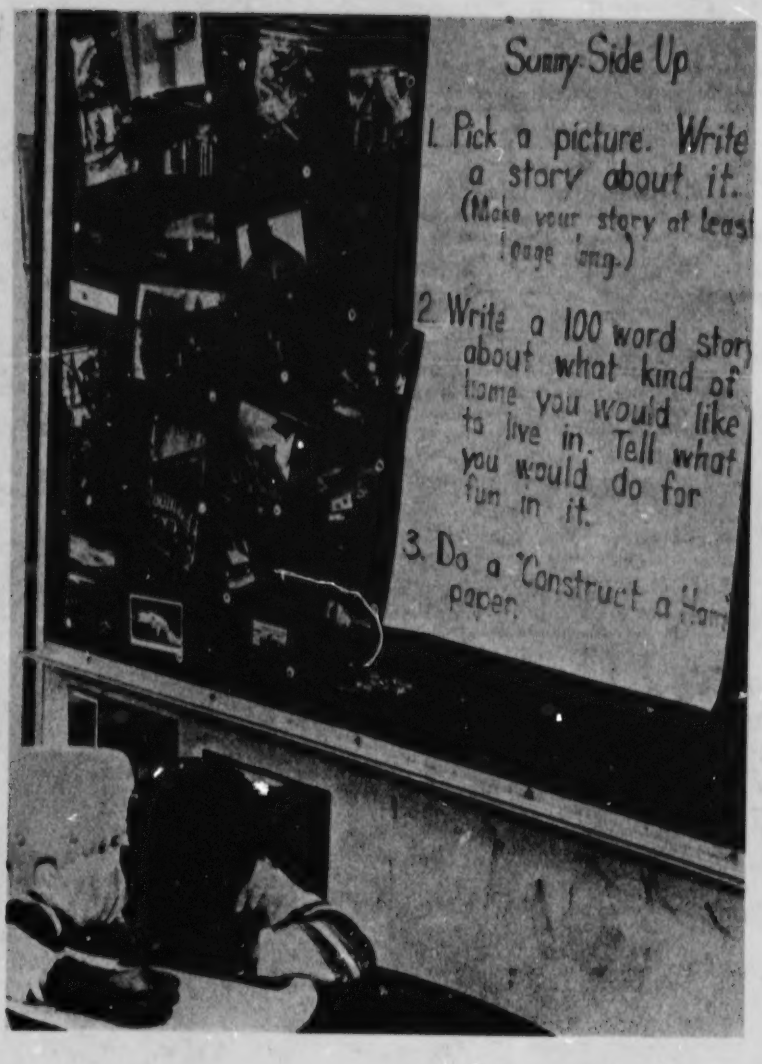
Feike admits that the Douglas approach to discipline is time consuming, but rewarding. The hours of adult energy spent helping children to take responsibility for themselves and the effects of their behavior on others, to be aware of their feelings, to find constructive solutions to trouble, have payed off. In her third year at Douglas, less than an hour of Feike's day is spent on student behavior. Children have learned to act responsibly and resolve their differences in constructive ways.

**"Kids are good. Given the opportunity to grow and a positive atmosphere they will grow. When their needs are met, they can be trusted and will be responsible," says Feike. This has been central to the whole approach to education at Douglas. It has payed off in high attendance, excitement for learning, independent students, involved parents and reduced behavior problems.**

## Prospect Elementary School—East Cleveland

"Kids need to know who you are," is Elvin Jones' opinion.

Jones is principal of Prospect Elementary School in East Cleveland. Students know a lot about him: he holds a doctorate in education and a law degree, plays football in the East Cleveland adult league, and likes kids. Prospect students are anxious to talk with him, shake his hand, or collect a hug from him as he circulates through the halls, cafeteria and classes. Children look forward to the chance to read to him when they learn how to read and to listen to him when he visits their classes, a daily occurrence.


Sunny Side Up
1. Pick a picture. Write a story about it.
(Make your story at least 1 page long.)
2. Write a 100 word story about what kind of home you would like to live in. Tell what you would do for fun in it.
3. Do a "Construct a Home" paper.

"If you extend yourself, kids can appreciate you," says Jones who knows the names of all 900 children enrolled in this 98 percent black school where many children come from low income or two worker households. Attendance is high at Prospect, more than 96 percent, and only one student in two years has been suspended. Jones occasionally uses the paddle.

**"My priorities are to educate children and make them feel good about themselves," says Jones. "With these priorities we are willing to go the extra mile to work with the child. It keeps us from fighting children and making discipline the issue."**

"Adults do not need to be punitive with children in order to have order. Kids can love and enjoy you and will respond to who you are", says Jones. Developing a trust relationship with children by caring for them is key to working effectively with students. "If students know you are concerned and that you want change for a good reason, they will want to do it for you. They want to keep that friendship," says Jones. Although he has two assistant principals, Jones handles most discipline problems himself.

According to Jones, "Children can't learn out of school. There are no problems that we can't deal with in some way right here in school." With this attitude he prefers to use work details, conversations with students, essay writing and other kinds of responses that make the child think about alternative ways of solving problems. He also relies heavily on parents to help resolve problems and draws on the variety of resources that exist within the East Cleveland school system if a student has serious problems.

Adults must be careful in the way they handle discipline at the elementary level because it serves as a lesson to students about fair treatment, trust, and the use of authority. This philosophy leads Jones to some basic guidelines for discipline. First, adults must help students develop self-respect and self-discipline. Adults in the school setting must reinforce good behavior and constantly help students know what is expected. Second, if a student misbehaves the adult must be sure not to over react. Jones is also concerned that his students learn to be honest when they make an error and that their honesty produces solutions. Adults must react constructively to student honesty.

One part of discipline for Jones is working with students when they misbehave. The other important part is to prevent the problem all together. "Many problems stem from teachers

who are not organized or are ill prepared for class," says Jones.

The fact that Jones has final say in who teaches at his school means that the quality of instruction and education reflect on him. This provides him with a strong incentive to make sure that his staff is doing a good job. He spends much of his day visiting classrooms, encouraging teachers to do their job, and letting them know that he cares how they are doing. He feels that change depends on teachers who are open to help.

While Jones visits classes daily and oversees classroom activity, he relies heavily on Assistant Principal Cathy Whalen's expertise for developing a strong curriculum, and improving instruction. "She is the light which allows the new and old teachers alike to function well," says Jones. Because Whalen handles many of the curriculum, in-service training, and staff evaluation functions for the school, Jones is able to devote time to working with individual students and teachers in the building.

Children at Prospect wear T-shirts that read, "Prospect—Where Quality Is A Must". The same sign appears on the door to the office. This expectation is translated to staff and students alike.

## Longfellow IGE School—Dayton

**"School has to be a place where kids want to be," says Greg Caras, principal of Longfellow, an elementary school that serves grades four through eight in Dayton. Students want to be in schools where they "feel comfortable and not frustrated with class. No one wants to be a loser," says Caras.**

The school has a 95 percent attendance rate, the second highest in Dayton, and no one has been suspended in the last three years. If statistics are any indicator of the desirability of a school, Longfellow is a place where kids want to be.

During the 1978-79 school year about 650 students from all over Dayton decided to attend Longfellow and to participate in the Individually Guided Education (IGE) program. Of these students, 59 percent are black.

Longfellow's approach centers on knowing students. For example, explains Caras, "the IGE program fits the curriculum to the student, not the student to the curriculum. Most people think IGE is unstructured. In fact, it is highly structured, because we must know where everyone is academically."

The organization of the school appears to be unstructured because there are no bells and schedules are flexible. These administrative elements of the building allow for the educators to tailor the education to the needs of the individual.

The curriculum requires the school to know exactly what academic skills and weaknesses the students possess. Students are evaluated upon entry at Longfellow and grouped by ability for math and reading. Classes are multi-aged and non-graded so that if a student is chronologically in seventh grade but doing fourth grade work instruction is related to his fourth grade needs. Similarly, students who are in eighth grade but capable of doing high school work are able to pursue that.

Other elements of the Longfellow program that focus on knowing kids are the advisory period and learning community. The daily half hour homeroom period has been replaced by an advisor period where each teacher meets with a multi-aged group of children. The student sticks with the same advisor/teacher throughout his/her career in the school while taking classes from a variety of teachers. This gives the student a social group which eases the transition to the school. The advisor also becomes an advocate for the student, a person whom the student and parent can approach when there are problems, someone to welcome parents in the school, and someone the student can depend on at school.

In addition to the advisor period, students are assigned to "learning communities." Five or six teachers are assigned 130 to 170 students from two or three grade levels. The instructional needs of the students are met within the learning community. Much of the scheduling and programming for the student in each learning community is determined by the staff within that community. General governance of the school is accomplished

through the Planning Improvement Committee, made up of the teacher-leader of each learning community, Caras, and the assistant principal.

The team organization has benefits for teachers and students. "With a team," according to Caras, "you can't hide." Teachers challenge each other to do their best and to learn from each other. The team allows for more chances to succeed with each student because there are a variety of teachers who can relate to any individual, one of whom may be successful. When children have problems, the team is an excellent resource for finding solutions.

**Despite all of the efforts to prevent problems by organizing the school in a humane way and challenging students academically, some students misbehave. The responses to misbehavior reflect Caras' philosophy, "our job is to help kids, not suspend them. There are things you can do to work with problems but they take time."**

Although Caras has not thrown away the paddle, he cautions that great care must be taken in using corporal punishment. In most cases, counseling, detention, parent conferences, and deprivation of privileges are effective. He feels that in schools larger than his it would be difficult to take the time to work out constructive responses to misbehavior, but in his school he is able to invest the time to help children learn better ways to resolve their problems and to learn self-discipline.

Caras says there are 10 to 15 students at Longfellow who have some serious problems and chronically have difficulty handling the school day. He also has the responsibility to challenge and involve this small group of hard-to-reach children. His approach is to find things for these students to do in the school that make them feel part of the school, preserve their self-esteem, and keep them there and involved.

Caras is proud that he knows his kids and that this knowledge is at the heart of making a workable place for these children, whatever their level of accomplishment and their behavior problems. He is proud of his school and summarizes why it works so well: **"We treat kids well and they treat us well."**

## Windsor Elementary School—Columbus

"My role is to do everything possible to promote a positive atmosphere in the school," explains Lee Hall, the guidance counselor at Windsor Elementary, a school located in a low income housing project that serves poor black children.

Five years ago when Hall started at Windsor the school atmosphere was terrible. The principal's day was spent paddling kids and Hall's day was spent as a glorified babysitter.

"The best thing I could do for order was to take care of the 12 worst kids. I knew there was something more I could do," remembers Hall, who now works at Windsor part time because of budget cuts in Columbus.

Today the crisis and the paddle are gone; Hall has an active developmental guidance program and spends three-quarters of her time in classes. The change began when the school staff decided to teach their children skills for listening and expressing their feelings applying the techniques of the Glasser Circle.

**"The Circle keeps people on track, both teachers and kids. It allows people to interact in an informal way; it is a place to share ideas where each opinion is valued and equal. It may be the only time that a student is never wrong, and they look forward to it," explains Hall.**

To begin, extensive attention is given to the skills for listening and sharing. The Circle may then be used for conversations on a number of personal issues or problems which the group can solve. The process promotes self-respect. According to Hall, "what we try to do in the Circle is the goal of education: to get students to think for themselves."

The Circle has set the tone that students must be responsible for their own behavior. Instead of paddling students who misbehave, they are taken aside to think about what happened and to learn more appropriate ways to act. For those few cases where this response does not solve the problem there is a time out room where the student may retreat from regular classes until ready to participate. Hall and social work students staff the time out space, and help the student figure out what behavior would be more desirable next time.

During Hall's first year at Windsor a new teacher who had serious problems controlling her

class asked Hall for help. Together they began to use the Circle. It changed everything. This teacher's success convinced other teachers that there was something to be gained. The staff decided to learn the technique and applied for a $2,500 grant to hire consultants to provide training. Each staff member volunteered their time to participate in the week long training. Now every teacher spends at least one class a week and as much as one class a day in the Circle.

**"You don't make it without the teachers," insists Hall when referring to the success of the Glasser Circle program. They are the reason the program took hold and is effective.**

Since the Circle is such an effective approach with students, the teachers have also adopted the technique for working out many of their own problems. Hall has organized regular circle meetings with the staff where, as a group, they decide directions for their activities and their school. It is important to faculty for the same reasons it's important to students: everyone is heard and each person's ideas are important.

**"The key to happy kids is happy teachers,"** is Hall's conclusion which explains why she also devotes energy to staff relations. "Human relations is so simple and so important," says Hall when identifying the minor details such as arranging for coffee and donuts for the faculty, fixing up the teachers' lounge, working with the student council on a teacher appreciation day, and organizing a secret friend week. The spin off effect for staff morale is incredible says Hall. These things can add up to a cohesive staff that works together, shares ideas, and is interested and able to work with kids.

## JUNIOR HIGH and MIDDLE SCHOOLS

Seventh, eighth, and ninth grade are crisis years for many children. Students begin to drop out of school in seventh grade and attendance in many junior high and middle schools drops precipitously from the elementary levels. Statistics indicate that suspension is used the most for students in these schools.

Educators at Princeton Junior High in Princeton, and Perkins Junior High and Jennings Middle School in Akron have caused significant improvement in student behavior and motivation. A basic strategy in all three schools is to maximize teacher effectiveness and communicate high expectations for student and teacher behavior. These schools also help students with the transition from elementary school to the more open and independent structure of the typical secondary school through the middle school organization and/or team teaching.

Secondary schools tend to be subject-centered; that is, there is a distance between teachers and students, and teachers define their responsibilities in terms of academic instruction to the exclusion of social, emotional, or personal development needs of the individual student. In these schools efforts are also made to modify the narrow academic focus of the subject-centered emphasis.

Some special programs are offered for children at this level who exhibit serious motivation or behavior problems. The Occupational Work Adjustment program offers a small number of students in most Ohio school districts an alternative education experience that includes employment. The Informal Truancy Intervention Project operating in two Columbus schools exemplifies a cooperative relationship between a social service agency and the schools as a way to increase resources in the school for working with children with serious problems. Both of these programs represent resources for helping schools to be responsive to children with a wide range of needs.

### Perkins Junior High—Akron

"We have blamed kids for the deterioration of schools. Black kids have had to carry the most blame while getting a poor education," says Vera Cogan, a 30-year veteran of public education.

**"Too many educators don't believe that inner city kids can learn or can benefit from their efforts, so they don't try. Children know early whether or not you believe in them. If you don't and your program is not strong, the kid will start his own program which can take apart the school.**





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**The teacher's best defense is a strong program," explains Cogan.**

The solution to discipline problems, motivated students and orderly schools is simple: "All it takes is an ambitious, good day's work from every professional in the school," says Cogan who is credited for turning around a number of crumbling schools in Akron including Perkins Junior High.

Today Perkins is a smooth running school. Attendance is 95 percent in this predominantly black (72.5 percent) school which enrolled 1,127 students in 1977-78. It is a traditional school with a traditional curriculum. The present principal at Perkins is Don Young, who attributes the ease with which his school day runs and the well dressed and well behaved students to Cogan who was principal from 1974 through the first semester of the 1977-78 school year.

Perkins has not always had a good reputation. The wealthy white families that are also served by the school sent their children to private schools. Attendance was low and students terrorized the neighborhood. At one time, students barracaded themselves into the cafeteria, fought, and demolished the place. The police had trouble breaking up the melee.

"The staff at Perkins was young and wanted to do a job, but there was no discipline in the school," explains Cogan who met with each staff member and with groups of teachers before school opened in 1974. "They said, if you will get the kids settled down, we will teach them. I did and they did."

On Cogan's first day at Perkins, classrooms were decorated and teachers were well dressed and at the door of their classrooms welcoming students. "We needed to let them know from the start, in a visible way, that this was a different place," explains Cogan who feels that many of these superficial steps are direct ways of communicating respect and high standards.

**"Administrators must believe and the staff will believe," explains Cogan in reflecting on her role in the situation. In her view the administrator also has a major responsibility for helping teachers who are often isolated and lack feedback on their skills.**

"You also have to be able to manage people, to be able to assess their strengths and weaknesses, and help them with their weaknesses. You can't be afraid to tell them when they are doing it wrong or to let them know that you know good instruction," says Cogan. In some cases, it means being willing to replace those who are unwilling to change. In order to act on this belief, Cogan spent most of her day in classrooms. She expected her teachers to be well organized and prepared, and never to miss school. Visits were unannounced. Great care was taken both to reward good instruction and encourage improvement. This helped keep the educators performing, which Cogan feels kept students performing, the school orderly, and attendance high.

The rewards for this approach were gratifying. Most kids could not stay away from school because, according to Cogan, "good education is exciting". There were some students, however, who did not fully comply with expected standards. Cogan felt it was her job to help teach these students new habits. In some cases, punishment was used. In most cases, behavior was improved by finding ways for students to belong. The school sponsored new clubs to attract all kinds of students and the staff found every way they could think of to give students a chance to help out and do something in the school.

Efforts were also made to find something special for those students who felt especially unaccepted. Each teacher, for example, was challenged to take under his or her wing a student who was especially unattractive and had the most trouble with friends.

**"If we can't find some way to make kids want to succeed, we shouldn't be responsible for kids," says Cogan, who admits she lost sleep trying to think of constructive responses for her most difficult students.**

Neighborhood vandalism also received priority attention. The school explained its expectations for student behavior and appealed to the student's sense of pride. Instead of pushing students out of school at the end of the day, the cafeteria became the "Perkins Pantry" and teachers sold candy and pop to their students. The friendly interaction between students and faculty as well as

the school improvement projects financed by the proceeds from the "Pantry" increased school pride and contributed to improved behavior.

The message was made clear to students: you carry the reputation of the school as you pass through the community, give us a good reputation. The positive side was accompanied by a willingness to enforce the idea. The principal patrolled the streets after school, picked up troublesome students, and drove them home. She used the opportunity to make personal contact with the students, let them know that she cared, and, in fact, made them realize she was willing to come to their homes. She had great success with this approach.

"Even with the most defiant kids you can find something that the kid wants and use that point to improve his behavior," observes Cogan based on her experience at Perkins.

Parents supported the rules and techniques used to create order. "Parents won't support a school that is going down the drain. They don't have time to support that and schools have failed them so often." Cogan's experience, however, shows that parents will "do something real for you" if you ask them and they know you are trying.

**"It doesn't take more money; it takes determined people who care enough to make a difference," observes Cogan who attributes the positive atmosphere at Perkins to the classroom teachers who were never absent and consistently provided the strong program. The challenge for the administrator is to keep everyone honest and producing so that the high standards that are set are reached and maintained.**

## Jennings Middle School—Akron

Bells are heard only three times a day at Jennings Middle School. Additional bells would inhibit the flexibility required at Jennings where the school is divided into two houses each having a unit principal and a guidance counselor, each housing three of four learning teams, and each team arranging the day to fit its program. Teachers, not bells, determine when classes begin and end in each house.

The house organization is offered to help children with the transition from elementary

school to high school. Each house is the home base for three or four teams of seventh and eighth graders. A random process assigns students from each of the five feeder elementary schools to the teams and insures that students are exposed to a whole new set of children. There are about 115 students and four teachers assigned to a team which stays together for the two years at the school. This organization allows the students to know their team mates and to belong to a larger group than a single class, but saves the student from being overwhelmed by a large school. Students identify with their team and their house.

Jennings serves 750 students from a variety of ethnic and economic backgrounds. More than 30 percent of the students are black and most students experience their first integrated school experience at Jennings. In 1972, Jennings became a middle school. Overcrowding at Jennings Junior High and excess space in the area's senior high made conversion to a middle school serving two grades practical. The needs of this age group made the middle school and the house organization educationally desirable.

All children in the school participate in a short record keeping period in the morning followed by an activity period. Two days a week the activity period is dedicated to intramural sports or academic competition among teams selected from each learning team. The whole school participates in this form of team competition rather than in an inter-school athletic program. All students are encouraged to participate in at least one of the intramural teams as a player. Those who do not play are part of the crowd supporting their team. Grades and citizenship are criteria for participation. Principal Paul Gruich, who inherited the middle school last year, thinks the competition motivates many children to get to school and to work and provides the school some additional leverage for working with students because it is a privilege which can be revoked by the team teachers.

For the rest of the day, schedules vary considerably as students in each house participate in courses designed to meet their different educational levels. Any child reading below level will have time scheduled for the high intensity reading lab and all students have math labs two or three days a week. Students select courses in the creative arts. Each team has a teacher for English, math, science, and social studies. Additional instructors include two foreign language teachers, a reading specialist, and seven creative arts instructors.

Gruich is a salesman for the team approach and the middle school organization. He claims that teams give children a sense of belonging and pride and uses peer pressure in a constructive way. The team is also important for teachers.

**"What makes a good school are good teachers. The teams make the teachers feel good because they are able to be successful," says Gruich. He feels that the teaching teams are essential to teacher productivity. Teachers no longer work alone. They have the help and support of other teachers who can challenge and help each other to grow. The peer sharing in solving problems, particularly with regard to difficult students, makes for better solutions and success. The teacher's increased control over the school day is also seen as a benefit.**

Gruich's philosophy about education is, "We work with youngsters, the subject matter is secondary". The team approach is especially desirable because it facilitates this emphasis. "Our teachers know their kids like a book. It's so much easier to work on their problems when you know them," says Gruich.

In Gruich's experience, "If you give a good program and make teachers happy, discipline becomes secondary".

## Princeton Junior High—Princeton

**"Schools don't have to be what they are. They have the potential to be what we want them to be,"** says Terry Steele*, administrative assistant to the superintendent. As the principal of Princeton Junior High, Steele worked successfully to make his school something different.

There are about 1,200 students enrolled in the seventh and eighth grade at Princeton Junior

*Terry Steele died in December, 1978, shortly after this interview. We are glad to have the chance to share his ideas about education.

High. About 30 percent of these students are black. Princeton is a suburb of Cincinnati.

"Although Princeton is a relatively wealthy district and has excellent facilities, we have problems too. Our program needed direction. We had students who were not learning, teachers not performing as well as they could, and discipline problems," explains Steele. "Without good solid goals and a sense of direction and a good feeling about himself, the student will waste time in school. Schools can be part of the solution" says Steele, when explaining why he wanted to redirect Princeton Junior High. Steele became principal in 1975 and held that position for three years until health problems took him out of the school. His main project was to introduce team teaching into the junior high.

**Discipline referrals to the principal decreased by 50 percent during the first year of team teaching at Princeton Junior High, explains Steele, because "the staff assumed much more responsibility for the behavior of their kids."**

The team approach gives a group of four teachers responsibility for the basic instruction of a group of 120 children. In this case it increased staff responsibility for the use of resources, designing instruction, and solving student problems. The team confers with parents and works with each student to set behavior and academic goals. Teachers plan together and work on each child together breaking the individual teacher's isolation. The increased communication encourages teachers to share ideas and techniques for instruction. It also means that four people know each child well and can work as a group to solve problems. The system increases a sense of professionalism.

A number of curriculum and training changes accompanied the conversion to teams. The school's reading department led in-service training sessions for all team teachers in reading. The learning disabilities instructor provided similar instruction for the teachers. Increased teacher responsiveness reduced student frustration and trouble. The net effects were less trouble and a better system for handling the problems that did occur. As discipline referrals began to shrink, the assistant principal also benefited as his role became more professional and less oriented to disciplining children.

Steele cautions that changes are neither automatic nor insured by restructuring. "The team approach must be more than words. There must be real carry through, planning, and commitment. Things don't occur in just a year or two. It takes time. It's always easy to slip back."

Another element of the program at Princeton was to create a strong sense of school pride and to find ways for the students to feel that they were part of their school. Steele is very proud of the fact that the students undertook a fund raising effort to buy two kangaroos for the Cincinnati Zoo. This has real benefits in terms of student behavior: "You can handle things that come through the school unit if the kids see themselves as part of the education setting," says Steele. This may be at the heart of the whole effort to individualize and increase sensitivity and human concern between students and teachers.

## School Truancy Informal Intervention Project—Columbus

**"No one is out of school just to be out. School absence is a symptom of some other problems that might need attention," says Michael Folmar, an in-take worker for Franklin County Children Services.**

Folmar is one of two social workers working in two Columbus junior high schools that have serious attendance problems. They are trying to address those other problems which school personnel frequently feel they lack the resources to address. The program is unusual because it is a cooperative effort between a social service agency and a school district.

School districts in Ohio may take students who are habitual truants from school to juvenile court. The school districts, juvenile court, and the youth services agency in Franklin County (the Columbus area) have developed a set of procedures for filing on students for truancy. According to that agreement, personnel at the school building, the district's pupil personnel office, and the county's youth services agency must all exhaust

their resources before the district may take a student to court for truancy. Folmar says this agreement has resulted in many fewer referrals to court. The School Truancy Informal Intervention Project tries to divert children from the court at the very first step in the process when the problem is the responsibility of school personnel at the building level.

"The victories are hard to see," says Folmar. Sometimes his work does not result in immediate changes in school behavior because there are so many other problems to address. However, he is satisfied that the group sessions that he and the guidance counselor conduct provide the school with a new way to address these problems. He is also satisfied that the increased attention to problem solving keeps some kids from the negative consequences of court involvement.

A major activity for Folmar is to negotiate truces between the students and the school. "The community and school have had bad feelings for a long time," says Folmar who feels positive that some understanding between the two forces is emerging.

An advantage of the cooperative project, according to Folmar, is that it has helped bring together the apparently divergent priorities of the school and social workers. He discovered that social workers have not given school attendance the kind of attention that school personnel would hope they would give it. This project starts to change that concern among the social workers involved while also paying attention to those larger problems that can prevent students from getting to school. The fact that the school is open to their assistance is a major step by the schools to bring those interests closer.

This effort to increase resources to kids by combining the efforts of agencies is supported by a Juvenile Justice Delinquency Prevention grant to Franklin County Children Services.

### Occupational Work Adjustment Innes Junior High—Akron

Every school has its marginal students: those who are poor readers, chronically absent, the behavior problem, the person who has trouble with peers, or the student who is affected by serious problems outside of school. Rejection is often found at every turn, so school is a painful experience. Special adult attention and careful programming can be a beneficial approach to a carefully selected group of students who might otherwise be completely discouraged by the regular school program.

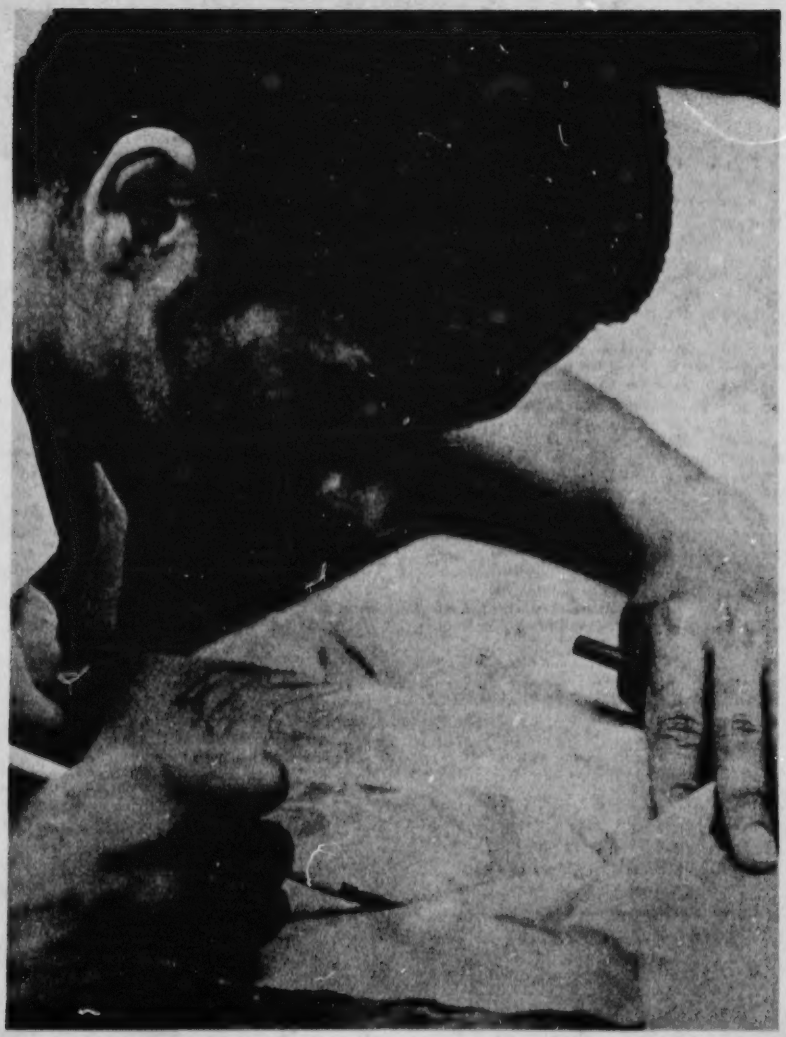
Stan Gustely works with these students. He is the Occupational Work Adjustment (OWA) teacher at Innes Junior High in Akron and he and many other OWA teachers in schools all over Ohio have the job of finding jobs for students for part of the day and for helping them be more successful in school for the rest of the day. His position is supported by state vocational education funds. Gustely is responsible for about 25 students.

"The money (they make by working) is something these kids understand. It helps to motivate them and it lets them know that they are a success outside of school. In many cases their work experience lets them know they are accepted by some adults," observes Gustely. He is very proud of his kids, many of whom raise their grades and school attendance so remarkably after entering the program that they are able to have some real choices for their future. For example, every one of the students completing the program during 1977-78 who applied for admission to a vocational program was accepted because of their success in the OWA program.

"We aren't a success with everyone. But we have made tremendous changes in many kids' behavior," says Gustely.

## SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

Many of the children who experience repeated exclusion or were consistently absent from school in earlier years drop out of school by tenth or eleventh grade. For those who make it beyond this point, attendance rates are often low. Senior high attendance levels of 80 and 85 percent are not uncommon for Ohio schools. Large numbers of



students are also out of school because they are punished by suspension.

Many responses to motivation and behavior problems at this level are designed to prevent problems from occurring. Others are more drastic and are designed to help the student whose problems have accumulated over time.

Mansfield Senior High School, for example, is a traditional high school where a teacher advisement program is used to prevent problems by humanizing the school experience. Trotwood-Madison High School is another traditional school that exemplifies how administrative leadership, clear rule setting, and creating a variety of options can help turn a school around, prevent problems, and avert crisis situations. The School for Creative and Performing Arts in Cincinnati is a less traditional school where the specially designed curriculum and unique structure help to motivate students and provide leverage for working with problems. Worthington High School's Alternative Program is a second example of an alternative for a wide variety of students which suggests some new directions for secondary education that have benefits in terms of behavior and motivation.

The Center Program at Shaker Heights High School is an in-school suspension program designed to work with a variety of students who misbehave. It is more than a punishment response. The most drastic response to students who exhibit chronic problems is the alternative school or alternative program within a school. We visited a variety of these programs in Sylvania, Shaker Heights, University Heights, and Lucas County. Other similar programs exist in many districts that know something special must be done to recapture a small share of students with especially serious problems. The Lucas County Alternative Learning Center illustrates some of the elements common to programs that are effective with students who exhibit continuing motivation and behavior problems.

### Teacher Advisement
### Mansfield Senior High School--Mansfield

"All of us need to be positively stroked; students don't get enough positive attention," observes Ron Morvai, principal of Mansfield Senior High who believes, "Kids are good if you provide them with structure and meet their needs. We are [illegible] a very effective job of doing that."

In his experiences as assistant principal in charge of discipline, Morvai learned that high school just does not work for many students. He thinks the subject-centered focus of the senior high where the teacher maintains a distance from students and defines his/her role only in terms of academic subjects is part of the problem. In order to rectify this condition, Morvai has instituted a teacher advisement program. It is not seen as a complete solution to making schools workable for all students, but one response which Morvai hopes will increase the school's ability to respond to a variety of student needs, and get more students to buy into the education system.

There are about 1,420 students enrolled in four grades at Mansfield High School. About 25 percent of the students are black. Students come from middle class and low income backgrounds. The school has three full-time and one half-time school counselors for a ratio of one counselor to 400 students.

**The teacher advisement program is designed to humanize the school situation by increasing opportunities for relationships between staff and students. The advisor becomes the advocate for his/her advisees in the school and a go-between with the home.**

Each staff member including the principal is a mini-counselor, making the ratio of advisor to student one to 18. Each advisor is released from class for one hour of the week, but the hour rotates each week so that students don't miss that teacher more than once during a grading period. During this release time the advisor meets with three or four of his/her advisees to consult primarily on educational and career planning. Other problems, however, may be discussed and referrals may be made to others with more expertise in a problem area. The program is still evolving and next year the advisement program will be offered through a homeroom period.

The program also mandates that the advisors hold three consultations a year with the parents of

their advisees. Parents of high school students rarely get an overall view of how their children are doing because the student has so many different teachers. The advisor program means that there is one person who has some knowledge of what is going on in the school life of that student. This makes parent contacts more feasible, gives parents a place to go with their concerns, and improves the relationship between the home and the school, a necessity for relating to the young person on more than the academic level.

When the program began in 1978-79, the staff identified the grade level they would like to advise and the students chose the faculty member for their grade level with whom they would like to work. In almost every case students were able to work with one of their top two choices. The advisees will stay with their advisor through the four years of high school which will allow each student to be involved over the long run with at least one adult.

The program is only in its first year so the effects are hard to gauge. There are individual incidents of teachers negotiating punishments for their students and parents calling advisors instead of the principal which indicate that the program is taking hold. Despite some faculty resistance to this new role of counselor, the process is in motion. The next issue is whether it works to decrease alienation and improve school participation.

## School for Creative and Performing Arts—Cincinnati

Jane Sublette left a parochial school to attend sixth grade at the School for Creative and Performing Arts (SCPA), a public school in Cincinnati. At the time there were 150 students enrolled in grades four through six. Now there are 1,000 students in grades four through twelve. Sublette is now one year from graduation and wants to be a doctor. Although the school and her interests have grown and changed, she is happy that she was educated at this school. She is particularly satisfied with the quality of instruction and relationships in the school. "We know our teachers so well. They are our teachers, but they are something more. There is mutual respect from working together," she explains.

The arts focus means that students and staff are involved in endless rehearsals, and performances in the school and the community. The school day is an hour longer than other schools in order to include both the academic and the arts curriculum, and performances require many hours of work beyond the school day. More time together, the out-of-class context, and professional relationships that exist between students and adults mean there are diverse opportunities for understanding, teaching, and learning.

"What we are talking about is personal commitment," summarizes William Dickinson, a musician and the school's principal. He is referring to the commitment that comes from both students and faculty and is expected if students are to strive for excellence as students and artists. The arts demand constant work and both students and faculty respond to that demand.

"Hiring is contingent upon full-time involvement," says Dickinson, who warns new teachers about the school's style. There is no extra pay for the extra time required to make the program run. This seems to work because, according to Dickinson, "the kids turn on the faculty" and "don't cooperate with teachers who lack full time involvement". This means that the principal rarely intervenes in teacher performance. Many teachers love the school, and those who don't leave, says Dickinson.

**A major benefit of that commitment level from both students and teachers according to Dickinson, is that students have good attitudes toward their teachers. "How can you hate someone you work with four nights a week?" he observes.**

Other benefits are high attendance levels, about 95 percent in 1978-79, (although tardiness is high due to transportation problems), minimal discipline problems, responsible students who make it to performances, and achievement levels beyond expected levels.

Admission to the school is based on a demonstrated interest or talent in the arts. Students audition for admission. Enrollment is about half

black and half white. Testing for academic skills occurs after the student enters the school and a variety of courses are offered to help students in academic trouble. More than half the students enter the school more than two grade levels behind.

**The fourth through twelfth grade school structure creates administrative problems, says Dickinson, who thinks that the benefits, particularly in terms of student motivation and behavior, far outweigh the costs. He thinks that the multi-aged structure makes the school like an extended family which helps with student behavior. Older students, who frequently help instruct younger kids, see themselves as role models for the younger students which motivates them to do well and behave well. The benefits to the younger students are high standards and cues for positive behavior.**

The nine year school means that students experience a consistent school philosophy and the educators are more accountable for a good school experience. There is no one else to blame if students leave the school with inadequate academic or professional skills. The exposure to the wide range of ages also gives the faculty a more developmental understanding of children. This is particularly beneficial for older students whose human needs are often forgotten in the subject-oriented secondary school, says Dickinson.

The school program is also a source of motivation for students and parents. The school offers something that students and parents want and students participate out of choice. This motivates students, results in strong parental involvement, prevents problems, and is leverage for administrators when working with students.

In addition, the professional focus involves teaching the basics for success. Those include a commitment to excellence, an ability to make tradeoffs, and good manners. Students must work hard, be willing to do their academic work so that they may do well in the arts too, and behave. One result is that students achieve at a higher level than one would expect.

Dickinson hastens to point out that punishment is another resource that he uses to motivate and discipline students. He has a paddle which is used sparingly, but used nonetheless. He suspends students. There are three special rules beyond the general rules for the district which if violated result in suspension from school: destruction of the work of a fellow artist; rudeness as an audience or a performer; and failure to complete class work. During the 1978-79 school year three students were suspended for violating the special rules and 20 others were suspended for all other violations, the major being drug use. This is one of the lowest suspension rates in the city.

The class of '79 is the first graduating class. Dickinson expects that about 5 percent of all graduates will lead lives in the arts. Long term careers in the arts are not the only benefits for having a specialty school.

## Trotwood-Madison High—Trotwood

Four years ago Trotwood-Madison High School became a four year school. More than half the students were new at the time, and the school had experienced an increase in minority enrollment. A fight between a black student and a white student became a crisis that closed the school and led to the departure of the principal. Order was regained, security guards were hired, there was lingering hostility and a sense that control was gone.

Lentini Combs had been an assistant principal for five years before that incident. Combs accepted the principalship on the condition that an assistant principal be hired to replace the security guards, and that she be able to hire a black person to fill that position. The school serves 1,500 students from two working class communities adjacent to Dayton. The enrollment is about 29 percent black and 71 percent white.

A clear cut set of policies regulate student behavior, particularly fighting, alcohol and drug use, and smoking. The policies are tough and enforced widely.

"You must be realistic about kids' behavior," observes Combs in explaining the school's smoking policy. She does not think that it is realistic to expect students who smoke not to do so during the school day. On the other hand, the school cannot support smoking and smoking in restrooms is

intolerable. The school therefore, created several smoking areas outside the building, and designated times for their use if parents approve. Students who violate these rules are susceptible to suspension. Combs and other administrators do not hesitate to enforce the policy because some realistic options have been provided.

In order to make sure that school work is not seriously interrupted, the school created an in-school suspension (I.S.S.) room. Teachers send assignments to the office which are then taken to the I.S.S. The isolated room may handle about 20 students at a time. While it does little to prevent future misbehavior, it keeps students in school. During the first semester of the 1978-79 school year there were a total of 1,014 suspensions, 651 of which were served in the I.S.S. The in-school suspension program saved students 1,235 school days that would have been lost if out of school suspension had been used. The bulk of the in-school suspensions, 70 percent, and all suspensions in the district are for attendance related offenses: class cutting, tardiness, and truancy. The principal is aware that these are major problems that still need attention and that suspension has not solved them.

**School administrators have taken constructive steps toward preventing problems at Trotwood-Madison, so things run smoothly and the crisis has faded. Work can now be done on the other problems facing the school.**

## Worthington High School Alternative Program—Worthington

"We are trying to help students be self-directed, perpetual learners," explains Barbara Laird, teacher/coordinator for the Worthington High School Alternative Program, commonly referred to as the A.P.

The A.P. opened its doors in the Fall of 1973 as an experiment. The district agreed to offer this option as a way to relieve the overcrowding at the high school and to satisfy local interest in providing more educational options. The only constraint was that educating children in this program could not cost more than the regular high school program.

The A.P. is now an ongoing and permanent program of Worthington High School. It is housed in a converted elementary school about a mile from the main campus of Worthington High School in this upper middle class suburb of Columbus. Any student who wants to try another

educational style may apply. A random draw is used to choose which applicants will fill the 160 positions in the school.

The school has a relaxed atmosphere and allows students to earn high school credits in a number of ways. They may establish a work contract with a faculty member, participate on an equivalency schedule where the student plans his own way of fulfilling 30 hours of learning a week, or the student may participate in a traditional classroom. The school offers student taught classes where the staff certifies the student/teacher's work, as well as an interim program for two weeks in the winter and spring where students focus intensively on special areas of interest. All students keep logs on their efforts which are used in student evaluations. Those who do not account for their work do not receive credit. Student led town meetings are held twice a week to deal with school decisions. At the start of each semester this time is used to advertise student initiated courses and to recruit participants.

While about 10 students a semester return to the regular school because they are unable to handle the high level of independence and self-motivation, the program is effective with a large share of the kids. **"This situation makes some students more motivated than in the other setting: the sense of independence, the intellectual challenge, and the small setting where there is constant communication with staff makes some students work harder, develop better interpersonal relationships, and feel better about themselves than they would in the other school," explains Laird.**

## The Center
## Shaker Heights High School–
## Shaker Heights

"Some of the kids whom we see have had problems since first grade. The majority, however, are showing the pangs of growing up. They are involved in horseplay or exercise bad judgment," explains Suzanne Bassett, the teacher/director of the Center, an in-school suspension program at Shaker Heights High School.

**"I'm not interested in good or bad behavior, but behavior that is productive versus non-productive. Students need to be in control of their behavior or they will be manipulated," explains Bassett. This is the basic message that is communicated to kids through the Center's multi-faceted approach to both academic and behavior problems.**

Violators of every suspendable offense in the school except for drug offenses are suspended to the Center. This includes fighting, forgery, truancy, insubordination, harassing other students, smoking in the wrong place, and verbal abuse. There are rarely any out of school suspensions for these offenses. Following the normal due process procedures for a suspension, the student is assigned to the Center which will take a maximum of eight students. If all positions are taken, the school will delay the suspension until there is space. There were an average of 22 suspensions a month during the 1978-79 school year and the average duration was for three days.

The Center also accommodates students for part of the day who are having trouble in a class and who can spend their time more productively in a neutral environment. It is used to prevent suspension. The third category of student who can be found at the Center for part of the school day is the student who previously had been assigned to the Center but returns for study halls. The Center can also be used by any student as a self-help service when academic or personal problems arise.

Students who are suspended to the Center arrive at 8:00 a.m. The first two periods are spent working on assignments for the classes that they are missing. At various times of the day, Bassett, another teacher, and a math tutor provide one on one academic assistance. A specialist in reading and study skills is also available during two periods of the day. The final class period is spent in a group discussion of behavior and a variety of school survival topics. Throughout the day points are given to reward appropriate behavior. Those who accumulate enough points are released from school a half-hour early.

"Kids know immediately if adults care or whether they are getting on their back because of their need to use power. When they find out that we are on their side and we want them to succeed,

they are cooperative. These students really respond," observes Bassett.

Many students find long term assistance while in the Center. Students are recruited into a reading improvement course, or sign up for tutoring in courses with which they are having difficulty. The Center staff works closely with the Push For Excellence program in counseling students about academic, career, and psychological resources available which might help make school survival more feasible and enjoyable. Many students take advantage of the high school's Job Placement Center for help in obtaining after-school jobs.As Bassett observes, "We have 20 people who really care about kids to whom we can refer these kids for more help. The chances are high that somewhere someone can relate in a meaningful way with these kids and make a difference."

The Center remains involved with the student after the suspension has been served. Every two weeks all of the students' teachers complete an evaluation and progress form for each of these students. Bassett holds conferences with each of the students to let them know how they are doing. Not only does the student know that someone cares, but it helps to identify if more help is needed. Many of the kids really enjoy the conferences, says Bassett, because they "enjoy the positive feedback".

Many of the students return to their classes and change their academic and social behavior. Bassett does not claim full success but is pleased. "We have seen some kids make tremendous changes. We have given them the possibility for different kinds of behavior. Some kids are learning how to succeed."

The Center is in its second year at Shaker High. Federal Emergency School Assistance Act (desegregation) funds support Bassett and an assistant. Additional resources used by the Center are part of the normal resources available in the Shaker system. There are 1,600 students enrolled in this largely upper middle class community and 33 percent of these students are black.

Bassett says some people object to the

**program because it is "too easy on the kids." Her response is simply, "Someone has to stop and work with these kids or they will be someone else's problem later on".**

### Alternative Learning Center—Lucas County Board of Education

The Alternative Learning Center (ALC) sponsored by the Lucas County Board of Education works with students in four local school districts who are disgruntled with their regular high school program and are not doing well. A whole range of kids from those with behavior and learning disabilities to drug users, serious truants, those in need of remediation and referrals from the court participate in the program. These students are from schools in Anthony Wayne, Springfield, Ottawa Hills, and Washington Locals.

**"The advantage of the alternative setting is that the mode of teaching can match the student's need at that particular time," explains the ALC's teacher/coordinator Will Loeffler. "It is one option that can help."**

The school has four full-time teachers and serves about 100 students. The program combines work and school. Half the day is spent in pursuit of high school credits while the other half day the student is employed.Small classes, emphasis on decision making skills and understanding values and goals, attention to the effects of individual behavior on the group, and energetic teachers are major ingredients of the ALC program. Family counseling is also part of the school's activity. Finally, the students have a strong community spirit and esprit de corps which Loeffler feels is important to these students who have essentially been outcasts in other situations.

School counselors or the court may recommend that students attend the ALC, but the student and his/her parents must choose to participate, and a committee in the student's school district and the ALC staff must accept the student's application. This process is designed to prevent the school from becoming a "dumping ground" for any student whom a school is having trouble serving. There are limited spaces and it is not a school for every student. The most disruptive student or the student who is unwilling to try will not be admitted.

Loeffler has observed significant changes in attendance patterns (for many students going from 0-80 percent attendance), grades, attitude and self-esteem. Behavior changes from simple courtesy to attitudes toward authority figures and work behavior are indicators that the program has had a positive effect. Changes in families are also apparent and parental attitudes toward education have improved markedly.

The ALC opened its doors in March, 1978. So far, some students have graduated, others have returned to their home school with highly improved attitudes and behavior, while others remain at the school with a long way to go in improving behavior.

The ALC is responsible to the Lucas County Board of Education which officially sponsors the school while the sending districts grant their students credit for their work at the ALC. The $180,000 program has been funded largely through CETA and two private grants.

## Summary

These schools indicate that discipline does not have to be an overriding crisis in public schools; that the racial or economic characteristics of the student body of a school do not determine whether things run smoothly or badly; that excluding large numbers of children from school does not need to be the primary resource for creating order; and that expensive special programs are really not the place to look for solutions.

These examples illustrate that there are some tangible things that schools can do to make the school run well, serve children and prevent problems. These are the things that should be pursued in finding solutions to school discipline problems. They are things that can be accomplished in any school by most committed educators who apply their skills and respect students.

While expensive special programs are not needed, the answers are not cost free. Expenditures are needed that support sound educational programs, and attract skilled and dedicated pro-

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fessionals. Adequate and secure salaries must be guaranteed to all staff if basic morale and productivity are to be maintained. Additional expenditures for a sufficient supply of administrators and support staff, in-service training, and planning and curriculum development are some of the basics which should be financed to make schools orderly.

Two basic approaches to school motivation and discipline problems are notably successful in these schools. One adds special programs for children who exhibit discipline and motivation problems. The second prevents problems by attending to the details of providing quality education throughout the school. While special programs can be very effective for working with a select group of children, they are not a panacea for resolving most discipline and motivation problems. They must not be substituted for making sure that the school, the educational program, and teachers are functioning constructively and to their highest potential.

The schools in this study, both those with special programs and those taking the comprehensive approach, share two basic elements: they work to insure high levels of teacher performance; and they find ways to translate the idea of a child-centered institution into reality. The results of these factors include: motivated teachers, a strong education program, high expectations for student performance, educators who are willing and able to work with parents, and consistent and constructive responses to student behavior. With these resources in place, behavior is an on-going concern but not an overwhelmingly negative problem. They create the environment for children to grow and to be motivated and self-disciplined. By addressing these basics, many problems are addressed and changes are made at a relatively low cost.

## Some Specifics for Creating a Child-Centered Institution

A major point of tension in educational philosophies exists between the subject-centered and child-centered approach to education. The subject-centered approach implies that the teacher's role is to present material for students to absorb. There is distance created between the teacher and student. The child-centered school is sensitive to individual student's learning styles and their psychological and cognitive readiness for learning. Subject matter is sequenced and packaged with the learner in mind.

A common characteristic of the schools in this study is that they try to make a child-centered education a reality. Since the child-centered approach is typical of elementary education, it was done most completely in the elementary schools in this study. But the secondary schools here are special because they acknowledge that the child-centered approach is equally important to the secondary student. These schools, including the alternative schools and special programs, are primarily designed to add some of the sensitivity and elements of the child-centered approach into the secondary school.

For the most part, it is the attitude of the administrators and teachers toward the educational process which determines just how child-centered that school is. It may be reflected and institutionalized in a number of ways.

**1. Communicating respect to students.**

A basic attitude in the child-centered institution is that children are capable learners. This is communicated through a variety of subtle cues. The appearance of the school building or of staff are two visible ways that an attitude is created about the importance of the school experience and of the child.

**2. An educational program that focuses on individual needs.**

Individualization is a much talked about and highly desirable concept in public education which has been hard to realize. A number of effective schools give this concept reality. The alternative high school programs give it meaning by providing education to a small number of students with a fairly low student-teacher ratio. Programs are designed for each student and easy access to adults

is insured. Team teaching, multi-aged group classes, and flexible scheduling have allowed for increased individualization in instruction in a number of elementary, middle, and high schools that are not alternatives.

**3. School organization and programs that increase adult knowledge of students and student knowledge of adults.**

The traditional organization of elementary schools allows one teacher to know one class of students very well. This usually enhances that teacher's ability to respond to those students. The fact that teachers work in specific subjects in secondary education means that teachers deal with more than 150 different students a day, are unable to know their students very well, and are responsible for only one period a day of that child's school experience.

Team teaching or assignment to a learning community, and the organization of teams of students are two basic organizational changes that have been added to the junior and senior high as a way to increase adult knowledge of students.

These changes have also given students a chance to relate to a fairly small group of students within a large institution and to belong to a group. Reduced anonymity and increased teacher knowledge and responsibility for students have helped solve problems with increasing responsiveness to a variety of student needs.

The ungraded and team taught open classroom in the elementary school is another organizational change which increases the number of children that elementary teachers are responsible for and gives the child the benefit of having a variety of adults to relate to in the school setting.

A student advisement program, the conversion of homeroom to a daily advisory period, class time dedicated to problem solving for the class, time out space and group guidance are additional ingredients found in these schools designed to improve adult-student relationships and attention to the student's personal needs in the school setting. Finally, the school program and curriculum can maximize student-adult interaction as a way to relate to this need.

## Some Specifics for Maintaining Teacher Performance

Teachers have the most contact with students during the school day; they communicate expectations to students, structure materials and learning activities, and create the environment for learning. They are the major ingredient to the process. The key to quality lies in assuring effective teacher performance.

**1. Rewarding Quality.**

Many teachers are self-directed and motivated; but for that effort to be sustained, it must be rewarded and supported. Many of the principals in the schools we visited recognize this and give priority attention to teacher performance. They try to motivate excellence in their staffs by setting an example in their own behavior and treatment of teachers, children, and the community. They also spend time in classrooms which communicates to teachers their concern for performance and provides the data needed to help weak teachers and praise strong ones. These principals are not afraid to set high expectations for their teachers and to reward and recognize quality when it is delivered. These things have significant effects on teacher performance.

**2. Attention to staff morale.**

Where staff morale is low, problems are sure to exist. While attention from the principal can be helpful for supporting effort and thereby maintaining morale, a variety of human relations activities are also helpful. Many people in the school may bolster morale by providing coffee, decorating a teachers' lounge, arranging parties and informal gatherings, or finding ways to solve problems. Uneasy financial conditions for the school district create serious morale problems which are much more difficult to cure than the problems emerging from the daily routine.

**3. Breaking isolation.**

While the individual teacher's skills and performance are important, time and energy are also committed to helping teachers be an effective staff. In many of the schools, teachers and admini-



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strators alike seek group approaches to planning and solving problems. Breaking the individual teacher or administrator's isolation is an important ingredient for an integrated program, problem solving, and motivating and strengthening individual staff members. It is done formally in schools with the team teaching approach and in those with participatory management arrangements. Informally, this was addressed through simple planning sessions and staff meetings. In one school the teachers took responsibility for this need and found their own system for breaking down isolation and working together as a staff. All of these approaches increase the teacher's responsibility for the school's effectiveness which increases their sense of professionalism and helpe motivate teachers to do their best. They almost always require extra time and commitment from staff, something which needs financial support if it is to be institutionalized.

**4. Schools that seek and respect parental involvement.**

These educators do not use gimmicks to gain the support and interest of parents. They understand that parental support for and involvement in the child's education, the school program, and the child's success and failure increases the school's ability to work with individual children. They open their schools, invite adult assistance and opinions, listen to parents, take their concerns seriously and try to respond. In turn, parents support the school's efforts to educate their children.

**5. A wide range of responses to student misbehavior.**

Some students misbehave even in the best schools under the best circumstances. The adults in child-centered schools are willing to provide individually designed responses to misbehavior in order to solve problems if the benavior is a symptom of other needs or to increase student responsibility for their own behavior. They use suspension and paddling sparingly, if at all. This does not mean that they are "soft" on discipline. Their responses generally confront the student and give the student an opportunity to find better ways of acting. These educators take every opportunity to help the child develop a sense of responsibility for his/her actions, and to act constructively in any situation regardless of the presence of rules or adults to make them behave.

The techniques for teaching self-discipline are not surprising. The main characteristic is that they take time and a willingness for the adult to make the most of a bad situation. Consistent responses, dedication to explaining what is not acceptable and why, and a willingness to challenge the student to respect the rights of others creates the environment in which a variety of responses other than suspension and corporal punishment can be used to improve the behavior of students. Student ownership of rules and the consequences for their failure to comply, special attention to solving problems in non-violent ways, recognition of feelings, space for students to retreat, and an ability to get cooperative and consistent support from parents are all elements of this approach.

**6. School size.**

Many secondary school educators in this study were concerned that the size of their schools created problems for their students. While an optimal size is difficult to identify, many of the schools in this study are small (range between 400-800) and appear to face fewer obstacles in providing a child-centered school experience.

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## STATEMENT OF SUSAN KAESER, STAFF ASSOCIATE, CITIZENS' COUNCIL FOR OHIO SCHOOLS

Ms. KAESER. My name is Susan Kaeser. I am a staff associate with the Citizens' Council for Ohio Schools in Cleveland, Ohio. This is a nonprofit organization with a statewide focus.

We are concerned about providing information to citizens on key issues in public education and to encourage constructive action about those issues.

The issues that we have focused on in the last 5 years have been desegregation; school finance reform and management; community involvement in schools and children out of school. We have recently undertaken a project in vocational education.

The citizens' council is committed to public education and the need to keep it alive, effective, and responsive.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to share with this committee my ideas about policies and practices that make schools successful.

My ideas about successful schools and supportive practices come from 3 years of studying the issue of children out of school. That is children who are truant or suspended, not enrolled or who have dropped out.

The statistical evidence outlining the extent of these problems in Ohio is in my prepared testimony and I will not document it here.

I would simply like to say that these are very serious problems in Ohio and problems that are getting worse. While the dropout rate is increasing, attendance is deteriorating and we are suspending more and more of our children.

Too many children in Ohio, and I must say in many other States, are not being served by public education. In order to be able to suggest constructive action about what to do about these problems that we have found in Ohio schools, I spent most of last fall visiting good schools in Ohio, schools that were integrated in big cities where suspensions were low and absences were also low.

I wanted to find what these good schools were doing and what we could learn from them about what it takes to serve all children.

I found some terrific schools and some really neat educators. I wrote about them in this publication, "Orderly Schools That Serve All Children." I have made copies available to the committee.

The major findings in this research I think were very encouraging. When children are out of school either because they choose not to be there or because the school people put them out, it is a symptom of a variety of problems, many having to do with the performance of educators.

I discovered that we do not have to turn in this generation of kids for some better ones. We do not need to completely reorder society. We do not need to remove all social ills and in fact we do not have to put all families back together again in order to do something about these problems.

We do not need expensive new programs nor a whole new pedegogical methodology to make schools work.

What we do need to do is enhance and release the creativity and skills that exist within the work force of schools. This takes money to assure stable paychecks and adequate pay. These are chronic problems in a number of large city districts right now. It takes

money to make sure that the necessary supplies are in schools and that we have a sufficient number of adults and a good supply of administrators and well prepared teachers.

This money and these things alone will not do it. It still takes the energy and the commitment and the creativity of the people involved in schools to make the enterprise work.

This is no easy task but I think it is a doable task.

In the next few minutes I would like to identify what I think we should expect from schools; some major criteria for successful schools. I would like to enumerate on some policies and practices in the schools that I visited which contribute to the success of these schools and I would like to identify a few ways that I think public policy might be supportive of these essential elements in public schools.

What should schools accomplish? I think they should accomplish a lot. I want schools through their educational programs and through the interaction among the children, parents and educators within schools to help all children develop skills for meaningful participation in society.

Schools should help children to be responsible for their own behavior; to be able to make good decisions; to be curious; to be literate and able to grow and continue to learn.

I think a successful school is one that works toward these goals. I think successful schools have two other major qualities. First they are committed to serving all children and they are also committed to meaningful parent and community involvement. These qualities are not just good for public schools as an institution but they have positive educational outcomes for children.

The promise of American public education is that it is for everyone. The system that is effective with only a few kids, the white, bright and polite, is not a successful system.

Despite the promise of public education for all children, there are many educators who boast of putting out the bad kids so the good kids who want to learn can do so. When you take this attitude I think it leads to a number of bad educational practices.

It makes it very easy to excessively use disciplinary exclusion. In some schools it has meant putting out more than 70 percent of the kids at least once during the course of the year and some kids five or six times during the course of the school year.

It encourages labeling kids as good and bad and it differentially affects your expectation of those children. It assumes that student's behavior is only a reflection of the child's attitude about learning when in fact it may be a reflection of the school's quality; the teachers' unfair behavior or something emotionally disruptive that is affecting that child.

It tends to shift all responsibility about education to the child and puts adults in the position of denying something guaranteed to children which is a free public education.

When educators are committed to the idea that schools must serve all children, the policies and practices are very different. One discovers that there really is only a handful of children even in the largest schools who cannot be easily educated in public schools and that denying access is not really the only way to generate order in schools.

Vera Cogan is one such educator. She is the principal in Akron, Ohio, that has been assigned to three different schools in the last 5 years to try and solve their problems. Her attitude is, if we cannot find some way to involve or work with every child, we should not be responsible for children. That attitude creates a tremendous amount of work for her and for the teachers in that school.

There is no room for shirking responsibility or for shifting the blame to a deteriorating society or to bad children or broken families.

It means accepting children for who they are and where they are and adjusting the efforts to respond to who the child is. It means teaching children to accept responsibility for their behavior just like we teach them about geometry and history.

This approach takes a lot more courage, commitment, creativity and work then not serving a large share of kids and attributing this failure to the child's lack of interest in school.

In many school districts and school buildings, parents and schools have reached an impass. The schools are angry with the public because they reject levies and parents either show too much interest by complaining about what is going on in the schools or too little interest by not showing up at a suspension hearing or a cookie sale.

Successful schools are committed to meaningful parent and community involvement. They do not just say it. They reach out and help parents be involved. They open their doors. They listen to anger. They respond to concerns. They find ways to discover what parents want for their children. They respect parents and relate to their individual needs and concerns.

It is in this atmosphere that parents participate. This involvement results in the financial support; protection from vandalism; emotional support to teacher effort and educational support for children so they will come to school, behave and learn. It provides the kind of partnership that keeps education a public institution and not simply the baliwick of the professionals.

I would now like to turn to the specific policies and practices which make schools successful or how you carry this out.

Again I would like to illustrate the specifics by talking about Vera Cogan, the fiftyish, small woman from Akron, Ohio who is the system's trouble shooter.

One of her projects 2 years ago was to turn around Perkins Junior High School which is a 70-percent black school where the kids had barricaded themselves into the cafeteria and torn the place apart. They typically went wildly through the neighborhood on their way home after school and they were not particularly proud of themselves or moved very well through their school.

This school had the basic resources. They had supplies and personnel. Something just was not working. Then comes Vera Cogan. Her basic commitment is to the education of all children. For this to happen, children must be in school and the adults in schools must respect and challenge them academically. There must be a positive relationship among staff and students.

Cogan understood that she could not do these things alone but needed a team of competent, committed, and motivated teachers.

She took the no nonsense inexpensive but time consuming steps to get the teachers to work as a team and the children to respond.

Her first step was to meet with each teacher and communicate her most basic requirement, that the staff must communicate in every way possible that they respect the children and their ability to learn.

According to Cogan, children will not perform when they know you have no faith or have low expectations.

She prescribed certain behavior for the staff that she knows communicates respect. You have to be well dressed. Your room should be well decorated and clean. You need to stand by your door and greet kids in the morning and you have to come really prepared to teach.

She also made it clear to the teachers that she wanted them there every day, that their presence made a great deal of difference and it would affect the children's attitude.

None of these are very glamorous policies. They are not very expensive. They seem to be rather commonsense ideas. They seem to really work.

I think schools are a lot like neighborhoods. If only one person on the block is investing in their property, the neighborhood is bound to fall apart. The same is true in schools. If only one teacher is making a complete effort, the whole effort fails and that individual's effort is lost.

Cogan acted on this understanding by working to make sure that every adult in her school was performing. Her chief practice in this area was to visit classes every day and observe performance, look at lesson plans, talk with teachers about their strengths and weaknesses and this communicated to the teachers that someone cared about what was going on behind those doors.

The principal's personal investment in individual effort and the staff's knowledge that everyone else was in the same position of being reviewed and encouraged to do their best led to productivity and in fact there were no teachers absent during the course of that school year.

Leadership gave support to effort which is the best way to get high quality performance from the people in classrooms who make the difference in education.

The kids were made to feel welcome in the school in other ways. The teachers opened the Perkins Pantry, a candy stand in the cafeteria open after school. It gave children a chance to see teachers in ways other than in the classroom and the money that was raised was used for a school improvement project.

The after school loitering problem was solved as well. The kids had the Pantry to go to and they also strictly defined appropriate behavior for students after school when walking through their neighborhoods.

The principal was willing to enforce that behavior. She would patrol the streets, talk to the kids, and take them home if necessary.

In less than a month's time this intense effort of letting kids know what was expected of them led to the end of community complaints. In fact the message got out that things were hopping at this school and parents began to show a renewed interest.

One of the outcomes in this school was a number of the white children who lived in the district who had gone off to private schools because of the state of life in the junior high had returned to public school after this woman took over.

Vera Cogan has guts. She is not afraid of teachers, unions, kids, or the community. She uses none of them as excuses for inaction. She inspires the best in everyone in the school community. Her basic practices and efforts are the kinds of things being done in many Ohio schools. In each case the specifics of how you do it reflect the individual styles of the educators who want their schools to work. It needs to happen in more schools.

Successful schools need the things that we always have known schools need. That is they need strong leaders; people who are able to create the delicate balance between the students, the community, and the faculty. They need people who know how to inspire quality; who respect people and communicate that respect.

Successful schools also need motivated and capable teachers. Teacher performance is where everything happens. It is only the cooperating team of teachers that can help keep the classes afloat. They need capable leadership; good feedback; constant attention and assistance with developing a sense of professional competency and importance.

When that happens they will work hard and they will draw on their skills as educators and individuals and they will do the work of challenging kids.

Successful schools also need an involved community. Children need to know their education is important to someone and teachers need to know someone cares about what they do.

Schools need the community to be in the school and in the classrooms; making decisions and monitoring what takes place so that the public institution continues to serve the public.

This will happen if the school is honestly open to its community.

Unfortunately the things that make schools work cannot be legislated. Federal lawmaking can help create some opportunities which might help leadership and community involvement.

A few of the things that I have thought about which might be helpful would be in the area first of principal and professional leadership.

I think principals need to be very skillful. They need training in team building, academic evaluation and planning, budgeting and child development. They need to be confident.

Federal assistance might help give more educators and people interested in children a chance to develop these skills and qualities.

Teaching is a tiring and draining profession. Teachers need many more chances for renewal. They need sabaticals, new educational and learning experiences, planning and reflection.

Federal assistance could help with teacher renewal and teacher preservation.

Inservice training is always hoped for as a solution to the personnel problems. I think what we need is effective inservice training at the school building level that focuses onsite on the problems in that building and what you can do about them.

I do not see very much of that happening. I think perhaps some Federal assistance could provide some ideas for developing new styles for inservice training.

I think the curriculum and design of secondary education is pretty dull. In my study I have found at the elementary level is where the innovation is taking place. They are getting new ideas of how to act as a team and how to better involve children.

I did not find enough of that happening at the secondary level. What I did find are the warmed over old ideas about developing separate schools for the hard to teach. I think there is a place for that but we need to really rethink more about what secondary education is about. I think Federal assistance can provide the time for someone to think about that and work on it.

School finance reform in a number of States has encouraged new forms of community involvement in schools. Building level community involvement and decisionmaking have been encouraged.

I think this is a very helpful sign. I think Federal policy toward parent involvement needs to move beyond mandating committees for every categorical program.

Large schools are impersonal places for kids. That seems to be a chronic problem with secondary education. I think this era of declining enrollment can be a great opportunity for dealing with that very clear problem. I would hope some Federal support for exploring facilities, planning, and interdistrict cooperation in this area might be helpful.

I think the best way to encourage successful schools is to make really good use of the human resources involved in schools. The most important thing those of you in policymaking positions might do is to really call attention to the importance of public education as a resource for all children and the need to find ways to serve all children.

I think educators that have that commitment have few problems really designing the way to do that.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me thank you for an excellent statement.

Our next witness will be Dr. Norris L. Hogans, who is the principal of George Washington Carver Comprehensive High School in Atlanta, Ga.

[The prepared statement of Norris Hogans follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. NORRIS L. HOGANS, PRINCIPAL, GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL, ATLANTA, GA.

*The Carver model—a workable solution to the problems of urban education*

The Comprehensive High School is a peculiarly American phenomenon. The concept offers under one administration and under one roof, a secondary education—both academic and vocational, to any and all students regardless of their backgrounds, future goals or motivations. James B. Conant, in his book, The Comprehensive High School, defines this kind of institution as a network that "endeavors to provide a general education for all future citizens on the basis of a common democratic understanding; and it seeks to provide in its elective offerings excellent instruction in academic fields and rewarding first-class vocational education." The approach is aimed at all academic levels and works with the student at his level to increase the same at his own rate of comprehension.

The Carver Model uses the above as its basis and implements this basic concept further in an individualist and modifiable approach. Individual differences of students and the community served require flexibility, constant modification and strong administrative responsibilities in the educational program when applying the "comprehensive" approach. Instructors and supervisors must be knowledgeable not only in the academic arena, but must know well and be able to project the roles and responsibilities of the various vocations in society. Learning experiences must be usable in guiding students in their development of career goals and job performance requirements.

*The community and resulting goals of the model*

The George Washington Carver Comprehensive High School is an integral part of the environment of the Carver Homes Housing Project, located in the southern part of Atlanta. The project is a federal housing community made up of 990 units with a current population of 3,404 residents. The community has been identified as one of the most economically deprived in Atlanta, with a median income for all families of $3,742 as compared to a median income of $8,464 for the metro Atlanta community as a whole.

As a result of the socio-economic circumstances, the residents of this area experience constant distress, and on a daily basis are the objects of many adverse and perplexing situations.

The majority of Carver's students reside in the aforementioned area. The school also receives students from a multiplicity of Atlanta's school zones because of the wide variety of educational opportunities offered here. Considering that the majority of our student population comes from this background, we are forced to provide a sound program with well-developed goals and objectives. As our major goals, we must provide a program focusing upon giving young people a realistic and meaningful educational experience. More importantly, the environment provides a carry-over effect on students and graduates from an academic setting into the world of work.

*The concept of the student body*

The Carver student has a maturity unique for an adolescent. This is shown in the interaction of the student with staff, peers, present and future employees. Students understand the working of the Carver system and on the whole cooperate and perform exceptionally well toward personal and educational achievement. The only unfortunate aspect in the make-up of our student body is that a small minority do not realize how fortunate they really are and do not fully take advantage of the comprehensive opportunities afforded here.

*Problems and solutions provided by the Carver model*

In the 1970's, education in America took a nosedive, as evidenced by the decline in SAT scores on a national basis. During the 1980's, we must work toward the goal of "doing a better job of educating." A re-emphasis on discipline, competence and values must be our concern, along with an attitudinal change in our feelings toward public education. By every yardstick, improvement must be made in both teaching and learning. One of the major problems that educators had to confront in the 1970's was the failure to provide students with survival skills for contemporary society. The comprehensive approach, as illustrated by the Carver model, gets to the root of this problem and faces it head-on.

Since the urban school plays a very special role in the American way of life, it must do more than fulfill its traditional role of merely teaching academic subject matter. In this respect, Carver is on the right track. It is providing both a strong general and college preparatory program, in addition to an excellent vocational program in some twenty trade areas, to fit the need of each individual in the environment.

*The Carver model*

In an effort to summarize what the G. W. Carver Comprehensive High School is doing to reverse the "nosedive" in urban education it is necessary to give a brief picture of what is happening here.

Carver's success has arrived from a unity of efforts between and among Carver and the many businesses, industries, governing bodies, agencies, and higher education institutions in the larger community. These representatives come not as visitors, but as a part of the school, to increase the mutual access of students and businesses and to extend the learning experiences of Carver students into the real world. Subsequently, different social and governmental agencies were invited to take up quarters on the campus.

August 6, 1976, saw the organization and first meeting of the Interagency Council at Carver, comprised of representatives from various agencies, churches, companies, and volunteer groups, along with some of Atlanta's most influential and productive community leaders. The Interagency Council represents a coalition of the Public Schools, Private Enterprise, Higher Education, and Governmental Agencies in which these "Big Four" can merge their separate identities and become a cooperative model of interdisciplinary learning and problem-solving.

The Council convenes in a working luncheon setting on the Carver campus the first Wednesday of each month. The Interagency Council—with its numerical sub and ad hoc committees—is the "hub"—the "dynamo" for the ever-spirial succession of programs and activities designed to promote its goals, which are as follows:

The emphasizing of the interrelationship and mutual responsibility which exists between and among the School Community, Businesses, Agencies, Civic, and Social Organizations and Institutions.

The creating of learning experiences which make the skills of communication vital and functional.

The instilling (withing the students) of an appreciation for, and pride in, work well done.

The provision of field experience for varied occupations and careers available; and the continuous emphasizing of the necessity for adequate academic preparation, and personal qualities such as self-discipline, perseverance, and initiative.

Examples of specific programs which enhance the effect Carver has on its students are:

1. The work-study internship program provides for on-the-job training at some of the largest companies in Atlanta. As a result of this exposure, many of the interns, upon graduation, receive permanent positions with these companies. Thus, the way is paved for these students to become functioning contributors to society.

2. Propinquity, an alternative approach to learning, has an interdisciplinary team of teachers, a counseling staff, and social service needs staff. In addition to providing academic learning experiences the program addresses other student needs related to problems which might prevent regular school attendance or cause school-leaving or disruptive behavior. In this program, also, one of the strongest assets is, perhaps, the encouragement and support given each student in creating a positive self-image, sponsoring opportunities for friendships with worthy adults, and developing qualities of leadership, as students participate in community action and in various social agencies.

3. The Explorer Club, a downward extension of the work-study internship program, gives a tenth grade student the opportunity to examine the business community as both a social setting and an occupational network. On-site tours, classroom visits, and seminars by host business are conducted throughout the year for Explorer Club members. This is the exploratory stage; however, by grades 11 and 12, students who have survived intensive scrutiny, have persevered, and are industrious and disciplined, can begin to "earn as they learn."

This growing network of programs has had a great impact on students at Carver and on the school itself. The key word in these efforts has been, and is, motivation—the drive or active desire on the part of the student to want to learn; to see the value of what we impart and to develop to the maximum, his ability to be a literate and worth-while part of society.

## APPENDIX

Following here is some substantive data that aims to give an overview of some of the outcomes reached as a result of applying the Carver model-comprehensive approach at the G. W. Carver Comprehensive High School.

*1. Attendance.*—On-the-whole, Carver had the lowest attendance rate of any of the 22 Atlanta high schools. Since 1976, we have come from an attendance percentage rate of 70 percent to a range between 80 and 85 percent.

*2. Suspensions.*—During the tenure of the present administration, there have been nonsuspensions for disciplinary or other reasons. (August, 1976) Prior to this time, 20 percent of the carver student body was thrust into the streets on a weekly basis because of significant behavioral difficulties at school.

*3. Enrollment.*—Enrollment has increased from approximately 700 students to 1,363 since August, 1976. Average enrollment for an entire year has been 1,200, with the least being 1,000 at any time since August, 1976.

*4. Drop-out rate.*—The tenth grade year has been identified as the drop out year. Through programs providing motivation, and stimulating interest in school, we have been able to stabilize our sophomore class enrollment each year at around 310, with some 90 percent of those returning for the 11th grade or junior year.

*5. Job placement*—Through the Work Internship Program, Vocational Office Training Program, and the Diversified Cooperative Training Program some 25–40 students work daily on jobs ranging from skilled labor positions to those positions requiring further acadmic study.

One of our students recently received the highest paid promotion for any employee at one of the largest architectural firms in the city. Students have been able to by-pass entry-level positions, especially in the blue collar fields, by virtue of the fact that they received these basic skills while in high school.

*6. College placement.*—From 20 to 25 percent of our graduates go on to institutions of higher learning, i.e., junior colleges and four-year colleges. Some 15 percent go on for advanced technical training, both at technical schools and through on the job training, in apprenticeship positions. Because of our greater emphasis upon academics, in addition to the vocational program, 20 percent of our students are able to receive better paying and more advanced positions in all phases of working society.

*7. Community involved.*—Through the Interagency Council, there are 47 community agencies and organizations involved in giving support to our students and our schools. These agencies represent a spectrum of the social, private, and business sectors, as well as the local community. Members of these diversified community agencies meet on campus every first Wednesday of each month and work through programmatic problems until they derive at solutions that lend themselves to the total student body at Carver.

## STATEMENT OF NORRIS L. HOGANS, PRINCIPAL, GEORGE WASHINGTON CARVER COMPREHENSIVE HIGH SCHOOL, ATLANTA, GA.

Dr. HOGANS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I must say it is a delight to be here from the wonderful city of Atlanta, Ga. Yesterday we had snow and today the sun is shining. It is just delightful to see some more snow in Washington, D.C.

I represent the Atlanta public schools which is one of the largest school districts in the Southeastern United States with a population of some 90,000 students and with some 95 percent minorities of that population.

More specifically, I am the principal of the George Washington Carver Comprehensive High School which is a school that is located in a predominately public housing project serving some 900 single family dwelling units headed 90 percent by females and one parent families with an average income of less than $3,500 a year and an average family size of seven to one.

Some 3 years ago I was appointed administrator of this comprehensive high school. I would like to pause here and say according to James B. Conant, a comprehensive high school is one that offers an umbrella approach to the growth and development of all students and not necessarily lending itself to the academics but the academics, the vocational, technical, and general education.

What we have attempted to do in a 5-year plan at Carver since August 13, 1976, is to develop that model working in conjunction with Georgia State University where I serve as a professor and also with the Emory University and with Atlanta public schools. We call that the Big Three.

In addition to those two higher education institutions and the public schools we saw the need to bring about a coalition of working with all of the agencies and businesses in this community.

Every first Wednesday of the month we have some 40 businesses and companies on the campus in what we call an interagency council which is a luncheon working meeting addressing the many problems that we are faced with in public education, that is the health problems, the education problems, the social needs, the

personal needs, and most of all trying to meet those front end needs of those young people coming out of primarily a public housing project.

We have some 1,375 students presently matriculating at Carver. Of those students some 50 percent come from all sectors of the city by public transportation and come in that environment for some 6 hours a day from 8 a.m. to roughly 3:30 p.m. and take part in the total program of the academics, vocational, technical, and general as well as the athletics and the other recreational activities.

We have presently some 350 11th and 12th graders in what we call an executive internship program. We tried to do some innovations as the young lady was speaking of. We have tried to develop an innovative program that would lend itself to the total city and not just Carver Homes which is a school that is located across the tracks and I mean across the tracks. You either go under the tracks or over the tracks in order to get there.

It is the largest campus in the city of Atlanta. It is a 68-acre campus. It has eight buildings. I am not overstaffed. I do have 2 administrative assistants along with 25 people on loan from the various agencies.

We are fortunate because of our working relationship that we have persons from economic opportunity on loan full time. We have persons from the companies and the industries on loan as well as from the health facilities on loan.

We have a terrific sex education program working in conjunction with the largest hospital in the city of Atlanta, Grady Memorial Hospital. That program is a weekly program sponsored by the hospital on campus onsite working with young expected mothers and working with hyperactive young people, trying to give them some front-end knowledge about this whole notion of sex education.

More specifically we inherited a school that had the highest dropout rate and had the lowest achievement rate and had the worse morale in the city. The board of education had it on the drawing board to close this school in 1976.

We entered the school with 700 students. In 3 years the enrollment has doubled. The attitude of the student body has changed. The attitude of the community has changed and not because we manage a Gestapo-type organization but we try to put some humanistic approach into working with your faculty and our staff and with our student population as well as with the support staff.

We have an open door policy. We try to make learning fun in the environment. We have some policies that may or may not be so attractive in other schools. We have a very strong discipline policy. We do not suspend any students. We have not suspended a student in an urban high school in the 3 years I have been administrator.

This may sound astounding. We spend a lot of time counseling with students. We have the clergy involved, the Interdenomination Theological Seminary as well as the Presbyterian Seminary involved with our students. We have the Southside Comprehensive Health Center which is a center that is sponsored by the city and the Federal Government as well as the county health center involved with counseling.

We have parent volunteer counselors as well as our counseling staff and social service staff sponsored by one of the local agencies.

We find with this added help and with what we are attempting to do in the Carver environment we have been able to maintain a stable enrollment and maintain a good atmosphere in the environment.

We try to make the workload as conducive as possible for teachers and most of all we encourage professional growth with our staff.

As a result we have had little or no attrition in terms of our staff in 3 years. We do have some staff members that have been onboard since the school's existence. I have three staff members that came onboard in 1948 when they opened the doors of the school.

This school was designed for expectant mothers in 1948. A young lady could not enter a high school expecting a child. There was only one school in the city of Atlanta that did and this was Carver. That is where all the kids went that were considered nonachievers and had problems.

That has been an image that we have tried to clean up in 3 years. It has been an up-hill climb trying to clean up that kind of image and provide the necessary growth and development for young people in that particular section of the city.

We have several alternative programs at the school in addition to the programs I have mentioned. You may be familiar with the term "Project Propinquity." It is a coining of a word, the "nearness" or the "closeness." Through that project alone we have some 20 persons from social service agencies on loan throughout the city. These are staff persons, Boy Scouts, Economic Opportunity, United Way, et cetera, that provide additional services as well as the full-time staff members working with these students that have been turned off with school and turned off with home and turned off with church and the community.

We have worked with these young people and have had better than an 80-percent turnaround in terms of getting them back into the mainstream and doing some positive things as well as some incentive work programs.

We have the work internship program at the school. We have made a concession with some of the industries and businesses to bring our students in at an entry level work experience. They go to school half a day and they work half a day.

The whole process is earning as you are learning. The kid cannot go to work and not go to school. He cannot come to school and not go to work. As a result we have changed some behavior on Friday evenings instead of Johnny walking down the hall with a frown but he is walking down the hall with a jingle in his pocket and he has a smile on his face.

That has changed some behaviors. That has changed some images with respect to young people participating in our program. It is not a hand-me-down-type program. We are not asking for a hand me down. All we are asking for in terms of this total program is to better sell this kind of concept with the help of the universities and with the help of the agencies and most of all to replicate this kind of program throughout Metropolitan Atlanta because we have too many high school students completing high school and moving out into the world of work having no coping skills and no

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markable salable skills and cannot get a job but does not want to do manual labor.

It is our job as educators and administrators and as providers to do our utmost on the front end to prepare these young people for the world of work and get them off the welfare rolls and on the tax rolls and get them off the street into jobs that are meaningful and productive.

Through our program we have attempted to do this with another component which we call our explorer program. In Carver, all 10th graders and we have some 350 10th graders, every Tuesday they visit 10 of the largest companies and businesses in metropolitan Atlanta. Just the busing alone for this program which is for 9 months costs us better than $8,000 at no cost to the board of education but at the blessings of the companies and some of the larger companies in this city detail staff members for some 3 hours every Tuesday to work with these young people, giving them some front end kinds of expectations in terms of what the world of work is about and what they ought to be about in terms of setting their career goals.

As a result of this program alone, under the auspices of Boy Scouts of America with a full-time Scout executive on campus assisting us with this program, this graduating class of 1979-80 will be the first graduating class in my 3 years that have their heads somewhat screwed on right because they went through this program and they have set their goals and know where they are going.

I talked with my senior counselor just before leaving yesterday. Every one of our seniors know whether they are going to college or into work or whether they are going to increase their skills in the technical schools or the junior colleges or move out and set up housekeeping. They are more in tune with what they are about than they were 3 years ago.

This program enables the 10th grader to move into his 11th and 12th grade year in the Carver environment and say I am going to perfect some marketable salable skills in cosmetology, in greenhouse management, in automotive mechanics, brick masonry, and we do believe in title IX. We have girls in these classes also.

We have some 31 vocational and technical offerings in this environment. Each student has an opportunity to explore some nine of these vocational and technical offerings before completing his 10th grade year and make up his mind as to what he is going to perfect some skills in.

With the many alternative programs as well as our total program we offer a variety of offerings for a student who chooses to matriculate in the Carver environment.

I find the time to counsel with every student coming in and that is a lot of time. We say on the front end it is a privilege to go to this school and you should feel good about it and walk tall and act tall and most of all you should think tall about what it is you are about.

We tell them we are going to do our utmost in this environment to provide you with the necessary skills where you can move into the world of work.

I would like to say in closing that our attendance is up. Our suspension rate is nonexistent. Our enrollment is up. Our drop out

rate is down and I mean down to virtually zero. Our job placement rate is up. Our college placement is up. Our SAT scores are up. Our community environment is the best in the city of Atlanta in terms of public education.

We feel good about it. If I had one wish to leave with the committee it would be we take a look at the whole notion of comprehensive education.

The city of Atlanta has five comprehensive high schools. The State of Georgia has 120. In the outlying counties there are ultra-modern schools. In the city we have had to make shifts and do some things with and without the modern equipment.

If I had to leave a wish with this committee it would be we take a no nonsense look at the whole notion of comprehensive education as it relates to the metropolitan urban cities and see if in fact we can look at a model that is working.

We feel good about our model. Yesterday we had three visitors from the Denmark school system in our environment looking at our program. We feel it has some answers for many of the student unrest problems that plague us in our cities today.

Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much for a good statement.

Dr. Harrison?

**STATEMENT OF MILLARD HARRISON, SUPERINTENDENT, MARANACOOK COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT, READFIELD, MAINE**

Mr. HARRISON. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I want to correct the record. I am not a doctor.

The State of Maine and the type of kids it has are not any different than what we face nationwide. We do have our drug problems. We do have our alcohol problems. We have teenage pregnancies. We have indifferent parents.

I hope you take this into consideration and that my discussion with you is not misleading.

I appreciate the opportunity to share with you some of our community's concerns and thoughts on the topic "Schools that Work."

It was my good fortune to be in the right place at the right time to assist four school committees and community members from those communities to develop a new school based upon a community concept. My remarks will attempt to summarize the cornerstones of this concept.

I emphasize this point that we would not be where we are today if we did not have a little help from the Federal Government.

Before I share this accomplishment, the Maranacook Community School, I do want you to know of three major steps which assisted us which were the direct result of receiving two Federal grants and participating in a third Federal grant. As there is no money at the state or local level to carry out programs implemented by these Federal funds, I do not know if Maranacook Community School would be the kind of school it is today.

The first grant we received was in 1974 for a staff development grant prior to our opening of our school in 1976. This allowed us 6 weeks in the summer to have an extensive training program for

staff members. This included everything from an outward bound survival type of thing to an establishment of an adviser-advisee system, the latter of which I will expand upon later.

The second grant in which we participated was a management training program established by the Department of Education with Federal funds. This program allowed us to train team leaders, coordinators, principals and myself in a systematic process, management by objectives, to implement curriculum.

I would like to emphasize and I believe the previous speaker referred to it, that in my opinion the crying need to further train the middle management personnel in techniques of managing change is still one of our most pressing needs.

Most curriculum changes fail and not because they are bad ideas but because the ideas are poorly managed and poorly implemented.

The third grant which we received two years ago was one in the field of experience based career education; again a very critical part of our school and its programs which I shall expand upon later.

Incidentally, I hope you can observe that in our three grants we did have a systematic approach; to train staff; to train middle management personnel and lastly by this training we were in a better position to administer a program for students. We are indebted for the Federal assistance which has impacted the mission of our school in a positive direction.

In attempting to shed some light on the theme "Schools that Work" I have divided the topic as it relates to our experience into four major areas: the governance of education at the local level; the internal operating structure of a school; the partnership between the community and the school and programs and activities for students.

Governance of education at the local level: It has been our good fortune to have a school committee that has fostered community participation; allowed some risk taking; demonstrated a willingness to share some responsibilities.

I think one of the more important things that I want to emphasize is to recognize that schools have limits and the community represents a place for learning and a clearly defined mission of the school and initiated procedures to implement that mission.

Attached to the end of my speech is our school mission statement. I would like to emphasize that not only is that a very integral part of our system but it is in a plaque located in the hall as you come into the school. It is ever foremost in our minds as to every single thing that we do in the deliberation of programs, budget, the employment of personnel and everything else.

I think that is where many schools fail because they really have not thought through clearly what they want to do.

The school committee has a strong interest in offering a broad curriculum that offers students numerous choices.

Indications of this shared governance among school board and community include involving community people in the screening of the staff. We are probably the only school in Maine with such a screening policy. No faculty member at our school is employed without community people sitting in on a screening committee.

It involves community people in the curriculum studies. No curriculum is built in our school without community people sitting with staff determining and assisting with them the goals and objectives of that curriculum.

This approach has several spinoffs. It lets the prospective teacher know that the members of the community are partners. It provides the direct feedback to administrators on teacher candidates; it conveys to the prospective teacher community attitudes about education and community expectations of a teacher at Maranacook.

The word "Maranacook" is an Indian word meaning "gathering place."

Community people form a Community Education Council who are responsible for our adult education program. Community Education Council members survey the communities to identify what courses should be offered; interview and recommend to the school committee adult education teachers for employment; establish a budget to recommend to the school committee; develop policies to recommend to the school and it is up to them to defend the budget at our annual meeting.

Again I would refer you to the end of the speech where there is a sheet on the roles and responsibilities of the Community Education Council.

One of our underlying themes is that there is always more work than one can really handle; hence the need for assistance from the community. I can state unequivocally that our adult education program would be in an embryonic state if the development of that program was left to the superintendent of schools and the school committee.

Presently we are looked upon as a model throughout the State of Maine in how a community education program can be responsive to its constituents and how community people can readily assume the responsibilities for developing its program.

It surprised all of our expectations in terms of the number of people that participate in our programs and all of this was done by a committee that truly operates and develops the program.

Our school committee believes in the mission of the school and expects the staff to carry out that mission. The mission is a living mission and not something adopted and forgotten.

Our mission statement is attached to every teacher contract to emphasize the school's role in preparing students to realize their potential.

The second part is the internal structure of the school. Two factors stand out. One is our school decentralizes authority. There is a management team comprised of nine people including the principal. This team is responsible for the development and the implementation of management plans for the school.

Our principal last year left us and went to Kuwait. A lot of people thought we were going to be in for a horrendous time. I said this is a good test of our theory as to whether a management team can really govern the school in lieu of a principal and we really had a very successful year. He did return after 1 year in Kuwait.

The school is committed to our adviser-advisee structure which is the heart and soul of our school. This is not new in schools but I

believe we make a commitment to an extended personalized involvement with our students.

Our school is organized with approximately 14 students to each staff member including our secretaries and other nonprofessional personnel who also have advisees. We also see this structure as one that commits our personnel to more than just a job description. Subsequently we have a very caring faculty and staff.

General goals of the adviser-advisee structure are to increase staff awareness and understanding of students and their needs, to perceive students' potential needs and take appropriate action; to assist students in developing an awareness and better understanding of self and to encourage a positive self image, much of what Mr. Hogans spoke about earlier.

Also to assist the students in developing an awareness and better understanding of others; to assist students in developing their program of study to meet their needs, interests and career goals and to establish and maintain communication among the family, adviser, and student regarding the student's school life.

Another factor which impacts the adviser-advisee structure is the requirement for all advisers to make home visits. We know our families. That faculty member knows the kids in that family, the mother and father or whether there has been a divorce or a separation or an alcohol problem. We have a pretty good understanding in terms of when that child walks through the door in the morning, the type of situation he or she comes from.

In addition advisers and advisees plan activities together throughout the year which covers such things for example as having breakfast together to a trip for campus or career exploration as well as closely monitoring academic performance.

What we have done is to emphasize that the link to the school for the parent is directly to the teacher, to the adviser and not the principal or the guidance director and not the superintendent of schools but to the adviser. All problems that emanate from the school are channeled through the adviser-advisee system. That extension of the teacher beyond just teaching gets the teacher into a broader understanding as to that total responsibility that they carry.

The other factor that we have is guidance and the counseling staff are responsible for administering the adviser-advisee system.

The adviser group remains intact throughout the student's school experience rendering it at the seventh grade level through to graduation. We are a grade 7 to 12 school. There is exhibited throughout our school a very close relationship between student, faculty and staff. Also by structuring our school in this manner our guidance personnel is free to concentrate on those needy situations that take an inordinate amount of time for followthrough.

The third area is partnership between the community and the school. In our mission statement article 4 states "to build bonds between the school and community which emphasize responsibility, cooperation, mutual understanding and commitment."

I enumerated earlier many aspects of this partnership in the section in which I discussed under governance of education at the local level. In this section I wish to reaffirm the importance of that partnership in the screening and selection of staff; the community

education council; the adviser-advisee structure which entails home visits and the building of curriculum together and another example of being our comprehensive health curriculum in which the community has played an integral role.

Also in our experience based career education program of community based learning where a number of our students are entering into learning situations outside the core curriculum.

In addition to these linkages to the community we have community members who serve as debate coaches, basketball coaches and previously as softball coaches. I have one person with me who is a secretary who is also a swing coach with us this year.

As mentioned in our policy to become a community school we have made every effort to reduce barriers. There is easy access to our building. Anyone can use it and the use of its facilities.

Another dimension of our partnership was to build a community park complex providing community recreation areas. We have a site that has 270 acres of land. We have produced a number of recreational facilities that the communities did not have before.

The final topic which is programs and activities for students is our most important topic. Our responsibilities rest with serving students. We have a very solid academic program. Due to the lack of time my emphasis will focus on two areas, the cocurricular program and the experience based career education program.

Our school offers a wide variety of cocurricular opportunities which include drama and the traditional sports as well as nontraditional sports as well as nontraditional sports such as skiing, swimming and gymnastics.

What is unique about our cocurricular program is that we have a "no cut" policy. Students who want to participate remain on our teams irregardless of their skill level. Approximately 60 to 70 percent of our students engage in some type of cocurricular activity. We also have an intramural program at the seventh and eighth grade level.

I might add it is interesting to note that when our school gets over at 2:35 p.m. there are more kids that stay in the building than leave the building to go home.

One thing does concern me and I attended the meeting yesterday to hear that part of one of the reasons for the successes is that we do run late buses at 5:15 p.m. I am not sure in terms of the cost of that transportation how much longer we are going to be able to afford that. I do think that is something that perhaps some assistance somewhere along the line needs to be looked at.

I am sure if we did not run late buses we would not have the participation since we do have some students who live as far away as about 16 to 17 miles away from our school.

In our academic program I would like to take the liberty of emphasizing one area. In addition to offering our students a work experience program, a cooperative education program, an excellent wood harvesting program, we also provide as a result of Federal funding an experience based career education program which is what we call community-based learning.

One of the fundamental realities which educators must acknowledge is that schools have limits. In order to meet the various individual needs for programs beyond the resources of the school

the community becomes a logical extension of the school learning experience.

It is this concept which is articulated through the program of experience based career education. EBCE is a program for all students. It is not limited to the unmotivated, vocational, or average student. It serves a very good source for the academically talented and gifted as well as being an extension of vocational programs.

The community-based learning concept takes us away from the brick-and-mortar philosophy which in my opinion has historically kept education too institutionalized. This break from the brick-and-mortar philosophy is perhaps most timely as we face the astronomical costs of heating our buildings and transporting our students in traditional vocational education programs.

We are served by a region and that school is approximately 15 miles away from us. In our rural region 10 percent of our EBCE sites are within 3 miles of the school and 10 percent are within 6 miles of the school and 20 percent are within 9 miles of the school and 60 percent of the sites are within 12 miles of the school.

I believe these parameters of distance reinforce the idea that surrounding us in a relatively close proximity exists a variety of environments to locate students for a continuation of their learning. We do not have to put kids on the road and consume precious time transporting them to and from vocational centers for hands-on training.

Goals of the experience based career education program are to offer an alternative education program for students; to place students in the community where they have an opportunity to explore careers; to demonstrate that the community is a natural and logical extension of any secondary school program to assist in carrying out the mission of that school and to develop life skills of problem solving, oral and written communication, decisionmaking, and time management.

I would recommend that we look at experience based career education as more than career education. We should look at it as part of vocational education and an an alternative to existing and more costly programs.

I have tried in a very short time to highlight some ideas and practices that make our school work. Statistical evidence can also support our thesis.

Our dropout rate is below the State average being at 1.5 percent while the State average is 4.6 percent. Our 1.5 percent is through age 17. The State's statistic is up to 17.

Out of 50 original staff members who went through our community screening process only 2 members were terminated. The community is a good judge of potential teachers.

Our vandalism cost in our school over 3½ years is negligible. I would be hard pressed to say if we spent more than $2,000 over a 3½ year period as a result of vandalism.

From observation one is immediately impressed with the respect that students and staff have for each other. I really attribute this to the adviser-advisee system. These people meet every single day for about 10 minutes. They have a variety of activities designed and developed by the guidance department.

I think we have a very strong feeling. You do not see students and teachers looking upon each other in an adverse manner. There is a very nice atmosphere.

Thank you for the opportunity to represent our four communities that comprise the Maranacook Community School as you deliberate pending legislation that effects elementary and secondary schools.

Attached to this is a part the committee might be interested in. There is the mission of the school. There is the community education role and responsibilities. I will not read it. These are practicing documents. These are not just documents that are written and forgotten.

There is an adviser-advisee system in terms of the goals and responsibilities. There is the team leader role and responsibilities and there is the experience based career education.

Thank you.

[Attachments to Millard Harrison's statement follow:]

MANCHESTER, MOUNT VERNON, READFIELD, WAYNE COMMUNITY SCHOOL DISTRICT

The mission of the school is:

1. To develop a solid curriculum which matches community and school resources with the ability, interests, desires, and skills of the individual.
2. To guide the students to responsible decisions about who they are, what their skills are, what their options are, what resources they can use, and how they can proceed to continue their education and to be employed.
3. To develop the knowledge, the understanding, and the skills which are basic to a purposeful, happy life.
4. To build bonds between the school and the community which emphasize responsibility, cooperation, mutual understanding, and commitment.
5. To demonstrate the value of the individual, and the importance of living in and contributing to a productive community.

DECEMBER 1975.

*Position description—team leader*

1. To teach while serving in the capacity of a member of the administrative team.
2. To coordinate the development of curriculum within subject area of expertise, and to establish the goals and objectives for each course.
3. To work as a team member with other team leaders and to establish and maintain close cooperation among curriculum areas; to create an interdisciplinary program where appropriate.
4. To build, supervise and evaluate planning and teaching teams.
5. To interact and communicate with community members to explain programs, to involve the community in courses, and to foster active community participation in the school.
6. To be responsible for budget recommendations of team needs.
7. To develop and implement with team leaders and team members a policy of student assessment, evaluation, and reporting system.
8. To work with the guidance team and team members to develop and take part in a guidance system of advisers.
9. To ensure that the curriculum program and team members meet the intent of the school's mission statement and of the teaching positions notice.

(A role description will provide a detailed description of team leaders' responsibilities, including their relationship with the administration, with teachers, with students and with school programs.)

*Adviser-advisee system*

The adviser system is the link to ensure communications among students, staff and family concerning the student's school life. By meeting individually and in small groups each adviser will be aware of the particular needs and problems of his/her advisees. The adviser can then take appropriate steps to make school a successful learning experience. The adviser thus becomes the key person for each student at Maranacook.

General Goals of the Adviser-Advisee System are:

1. Increase staff awareness and understanding of the students and their needs.
2. Perceive student's potential needs and take appropriate action.
3. Assist students in developing an awareness and better understanding of self and encourage a positive self-image.
4. Assist students in developing an awareness and better understanding of others.
5. Assist students in developing their program of study to meet their needs, interests, and career goals.
6. Establish and maintain communication among the family, adviser, and student regarding the student's school life.

EBCE FACT SHEET

1. EBCE (Experience-Based Career Education) is an alternative educational program for Maranacook Community School and is open to all sophomores, juniors and seniors.
2. The purpose of EBCE is to get the students into the community where they have an opportunity to explore the careers they are interested in through observation and participation in the working experiences of adults.
3. While in the program, students acquire academic credit in a chosen subject. EBCE may replace one subject area. Students at Maranacook will continue with the traditional classroom curriculum in their other subject areas.
4. Not only is the student doing career exploration and acquiring academic credit, but he/she is also developing knowledge and skills necessary for independent living. Students gain knowledge of their own interests, values and abilities while developing time management skills, problem solving, decision making and communication skills.
5. EBCE is a structured program. Students have 5 career packages to choose from (commerce, communications/media, life science, physical science, social science) and their activities are monitored by program staff consisting of a Director, Learning Coordinator and Resource Analyst.
6. EBCE is an individual and flexible program. Students have the major responsibility for their programs. Resource Site personnel and the Learning Coordinator assist students with planning activities and accomplishing goals.
7. Resource Persons and student determine the length of site involvement, project activities and whether the Resource Person will evaluate the student's work.
8. Participation is voluntary on the part of the Resource Site and the student in terms of job, scope and duration. (Again, it is very flexible.)
9. The employer is not expected to be a disciplinarian.
10. Ideally, a Resource Site offers 3 levels of learning activities: *(a) Orientation.*—Meet personnel, become familiar with Resource Site. *(b) Exploration.*—Observe and acquire skills. *(c) Investigation.*—Utilize skills and do in-depth study.
11. Students are covered by Maranacook's insurance plan.
12. Students are not paid for their services—EBCE is a learning experience.
13. Since Resource Site activity is determined by student interest, a Site may not see a student for some time.
14. A Resource Guide is prepared by the Resource Analyst for use by interested students.

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MARANACOOK COMMUNITY SCHOOL, READFIELD, MAINE

COMMUNITY EDUCATION COUNCIL ROLES AND RESPONSIBILITIES

NOVEMBER 7, 1979.

On August 9, 1976, the Community School District School Committee voted and authorized the Maranacook Community School Adult Education Council to serve as an agent of the Board, being responsible for the development of the Adult Education programs. As of January, 1978, the Council voted to change the name of the program to Community Education. The CSD Board delegated the following duties and functions of the Community Education Council:

1. Develop and provide adult learning activities based on community wants and needs.
2. Serve as a communications link between the school and the community.
3. Develop and submit an annual budget proposal to the School Board.
4. Continually evaluate the Community Education program.
5. Formally evaluate the Council, the Coordinator, and their working relationship annually.

6. Recruit and interview instructors for the Community Education program, and recommend them to the CSD No. 10 School Committee for approval.
7. Attend staff development workshops.
8. Be actively involved in the selection of the Coordinator and Assistant.
9. Maintain an adequate Council membership; take an active part in chairing meetings and decision making, draw up policies and procedures, and determine goals for the year.
10. Oversee the use of registration fees.
11. The Council volunteers to represent the school and community at State meetings, conventions, institutes and other adult education programs in order to keep the Council aware of community education activities as well as sharing their experiences with others.
12. Keep the School Board informed about the Community Education program.
13. Support the Mission Statement of Maranacook Community School.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much for a good statement.

Our next witness is Father Leahy, who is principal of St. Benedict's Preparatory School in Newark, N.J.

## STATEMENT OF FATHER EDWIN LEAHY, PRINCIPAL, ST. BENEDICT'S PREPARATORY SCHOOL NEWARK, N.J.

Father LEAHY. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to begin by saying good morning to Mr. Buchanan and to Mr. Hawkins, and Mr. Kildee. I wanted to give somebody else an opportunity to speak. You sit there all morning and listen to us. That is the last thing you want to do in a classroom.

Most of our experience has been you go in and the teacher starts talking and finishes at the end of the class and 85 percent of what we hear we forget. I think that is pretty well documented. Most of the things that have been successful in education recently have been things that have gotten people involved and students involved in the learning process rather than just listening.

I am not going to say much at all but hope to involve you by asking some questions and trying to get involved in learning something about what is going on in secondary education and in our case, in a private school that has 300 students, grade 7 through 12, 70 percent of whom are black and 20 percent white and 10 percent Spanish speaking.

We are in a similar situation like the one Mr. Hogans mentioned, with a significant number of our students coming from public housing projects right across the street from the school. We are in the center of Newark, N.J.

We all do similar things in our schools. I am not going to repeat what has already been mentioned nor read the statement. I always hate ministers or priests who get up on Sunday and read what has already been printed. If you want to read that, you can. If you want to read it 10 years from now, you will have it.

What is different about our school is we are in session 11 months out of the year. We run a bit differently on our schedule to give some flexibility but also to give our kids and our faculty a sense of commitment to the task.

We bring all our freshmen, our ninth graders, into school at the end of June when we begin our school year and because of the various backgrounds of our kids, we bring them in and have them sleep overnight on the floor of the gym and create a combination novitiate in a monastery and a Paris Island and create as much

tension and as much pressure as we possibly can to the point where somebody wants to quit.

I perceive the tendency on the part of a lot of young people to give up and to quit as one of the biggest problems we face in the country. We try to create that atmosphere so somebody wants to quit and build in enough support underhandedly frequently that students get over that problem and are successful.

Having had that first experience of success, sometimes it is the first experience at our school and sometimes it is the first experience of success for a lot of these students and we can use that later on in the course of their stay with us in school to refer to when they begin to want to give up in mathematics or English or a particular job opportunity.

We place a great deal of importance on that. All of our freshmen finish their freshman year by backpacking the entire Appalachian Trail in New Jersey which is about 42 miles. We have had students who have wanted to quit there. We have told them we would pick them up the following spring.

They quickly changed their mind and proceeded down the trail. After having another success, they have something to use later on when they have the same tendency that we have to give up.

Another thing that is different about our school is we operate on an honor code. We do not lock anything. We do not have locks on lockers. We do not lock classrooms. That does not always work.

Many of our students are kind of used to getting whatever you have to get in any way you can and frequently out on the street. It does not happen as often as people would think in the school because we try to create a sense of responsibility for one another and one way of doing that is by not locking anything.

I could walk down the hall and go into any student's locker and any other student in the school could do the same.

We are committed to trying to understand our responsibilities to each other.

We have broken the school into 14 groups very much like the British house system. Each group is comprised of students of grade 7 through 12. They meet every day in these adviser-advisee situations with faculty members in an attempt to solve particular problems or to do cross-age teaching. A variety of possibilities exist there.

We also to support our sense of responsibility to each other will take the whole school to do a particular task. Sometimes it is pleasant and sometimes unpleasant. It is not uncommon for the entire school to be found walking through the city going to a funeral of a student's parent or a faculty member's parent. We feel that is important.

The last thing that I would like to mention that needs serious consideration in education—I would like to ask a question first of the committee of what you meant by a school that works. I am not sure exactly what that means. It may mean for some people that all of the people who walk in in the morning walk out in the afternoon.

I think it can mean different things to different people. I would be interested to hear your thoughts about that.

We cooperate with several schools, many public and many nonpublic, in what is known as the national network of complementary schools. We exchange students across the country. That has been important for our students and important for students at other schools to have an opportunity to come into Newark and to find out that most people in Newark do not spend their time tearing drain pipes off buildings or doing B. & E.'s.

It is important for our students to get out and find out what opportunities exist in other places. The network has been important for us.

I think kids reflect the adults in the society. If we are frequently encountering difficulties in schools, it is very much like looking in a mirror. We are often trying to wash the mirror rather than looking at ourselves and seeing what kind of images we are reflecting for students.

Questions of community involvement in schools I think are crucial.

Thank you.

[The complete statement of Reverend Leahy follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF REV. EDWIN D. LEAHY, HEADMASTER, ST. BENEDICT'S PREPARATORY SCHOOL, NEWARK, N.J.

When I walk through the streets of Newark and notice the graceful old buildings or an elderly black couple walking smartly down Market Street, I can't help but reflect on the pride and determination, the desire to excel, that are so much a part of our history. The evidence is in the craftmanship that went into building, in what we know of the struggles of so many to grow up with pride and dignity when your father was out of work, when those meat bones had to be kept on the window ledge overnight so they could be used for soup the next day. I think to the pride it took to maintain a sense of worth despite having to ride in the back of the bus or going to the back doors of the butcher shop. Pride and determination in the struggles to live with dignity, to realize a sense of accomplishment in work. These seem to me to be some of the virtues that brought us this far "up the mountain."

Underneath all the concerns about how "Johnny can't read" or write, how SAT scores continue to decline, how our schools are beset with vandalism, violence, at worst, it seems to me there are some fundamental problems. They do concern how we are doing our jobs -- we who are teachers in the broadest sense - any of us who exert influence on young people through what we say or do, or don't say or don't do - by what we encourage or what we permit or what we ignore.

I am very concerned about the young people in our country. I am afraid that we are betraying them by not giving them the best chance to develop the virtues they will need to grow into responsible, mature persons. We can see the effects of this betrayal or neglect in the widespread symptoms that used to afflict only the poor and oppressed -- symptoms that now appear in the living rooms of our middle and upper class families. I mean, of course, the children of what used to be called broken homes, the problems with drugs, vandalism, passivity, lack of motivation.

It's easy for adults to look at these symptoms as the problems somehow caused by the young and grow impatient and disturbed at them. But I consider

this something like blaming the victims. We have to recognize that looking at our young is like looking in a mirror. Our young people reflect us. If we don't like what we see we have to change the image. We can't just wash the mirror clean, we have to wash ourselves.

Schools certainly form an important part of the process which shapes all of our lives. We are the way we are, and our children the way they are because someone -- parents, teachers, coaches, leaders -- taught us "how to be." We still teach youngsters how to be, although we don't seem too pleased with what we have created. I do believe that kids reflect the adult society that surrounds them. In our pursuit of comfort and material things, we send a lot of messages to young people -- that discipline isn't very important, that what takes effort and struggle is to be avoided.

To be effective, our schools have to be aware of what they contend with. The picture I draw here is an important part of that total environment that we, not just in the cities, but everywhere, have to recognize as playing a tremendous role in our students' lives. Perhaps because these factors are universal, we have to pick up possible remedies wherever we can find them, even if in some of what we are trying to do in the middle of Newark with a small school of typical teen-age boys. If some of what we do "works," maybe it can work for others.

Our school, St. Benedict's Prep, is located in the heart of Newark, New Jersey's oldest city. Our student population now is just under three hundred students. Seventy per cent are black, about twenty per cent are white, and the remainder are Spanish-speaking. Most of our faculty members are monks of Newark Abbey who live in the monastery physically attached to the school buildings. Many of our kids come from one-parent families, where the parents are usually trying to combine working and going to school themselves. Consequently, many of our students face long hours of unsupervised time.

Discipline and structure are certainly crucial elements in our program. The students need to know what is consistently expected of them and to realize the consequences of their decisions and actions. But these elements can't exist in a vacuum. The students know that the school belongs to all of us -- it's not run by the Headmaster or the teachers. There is no adversary relationship between students and teachers, and we try to build strong

cooperation between students and parents and parents and teachers. We are all in the venture together. If our students are to grow into strong faithful, gentle and successful people, they need help from all those important to them.

We derive an important, almost tangible benefit from our strong tradition of excellence in academics and athletics. Our students know well that St. Benedict's has produced Bernard Shanley (counsel to President Eisenhower), current New Jersey Attorney General John Degnan, Congressman Matthew Rinaldo, renowned athletic coaches Joe Kasberger, and Ernest "Prof" Blood (a member of the Basketball Hall of Fame). We try to build in them a sense that such a record of accomplishment didn't happen magically, that it took pride, determination, effort, struggle. We believe, and teach our students to believe, that we are responsible for passing that tradition on to others.

Our philosophy and our programs are consciously designed to help our students develop those personal qualities that we believe will enable them to face their futures with confidence and competence. We place much emphasis on non-academic ways of challenging our students, through athletics and other programs involving all students.

Strange as it may sound coming from a Headmaster of a well-regarded prep school, I believe athletics are as important as academics for our students. For some students at certain stages, athletics are even more important than class. That's not at all to say that school work is neglected. Rather, school work can be tackled with greater confidence and success once a certain determination and toughness are present in a student. It's all to easy for a student to hide from a really tough challenge in the classroom.

But activities like sports help a kid face certain responsibilities head-on -- in a clear way that neither he nor anyone else can ignore. While a potentially strong student can hide behind C's and D's, or someone who has difficulty with math or reading can try to get by by keeping quiet, on a track, on a court, a wrestling mat, or a stage, there's no place to hide. The demands are rapid, intense, clear, and the results are in right away. You have to meet the test, and pass or fail, almost instantly, and often, alone.

With so many students unused to struggling, unaccustomed to demanding the most from themselves, such opportunities seem to me to be a crucial di-

mension of their education. They need to be in difficult situations where they may be tempted to give up, but where they're forced to "stick with it." We let our young people down if we rob them of such significant opportunities to grow. There are just not that many places in their lives where they face the intense demands athletics or other total challenges present to them.

We begin our students' careers with us by presenting them with such a demanding situation. We require all freshmen to spend the first week of school in a rigorous orientation program: they sleep in the gym, go to class, study the history and traditions of the school, and participate in an arduous physical training program. This week is part a monastic novitiate and part Parris Island, I suppose. Many of them want to quit at some point. Only a few actually do. This early exposure to success at meeting a tough challenge gives us experience to build on when things get difficult later in the first year. All these same young men, all about fourteen years old, are required to backpack the 42-mile stretch of the Appalachian Trail in New Jersey at the end of freshman year. This is our attempt to cap the year with an even more difficult total challenge. It's hard to quit on yourself on the trail. You may not get picked up until the next year.

Experiential education of this sort is important for our students all four years. The effectiveness of this approach to learning is well-documented; we recently participated in a study published by a team from the University of Minnesota in cooperation with about twenty quite varied schools nationwide. Each spring, we take five weeks out of the classroom to involve our students in various first-hand, hands-on learning opportunities. These include internships, shadowing various adults in their professional or business careers, volunteer with community groups, finding out more about Newark. It gives our students a chance to learn that they are important to the rest of the community and to learn more directly about that community.

Unlike many schools, perhaps unlike most, we go to school each summer, so our school year is eleven months long. We consider school a full-time job. The only real time off is in August. This schedule gives us a sense of commitment to the task as well as some extra flexibility in scheduling.

One of the other things you would notice if you visited us is that nothing in the building is locked. We practice an honor code. Students



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have no locks on lockers, and classrooms are left open. This, too, is a challenge, and it doesn't always work. But we are committed to the ideal. We work hard at making the code succeed. This is part, too, of making our students feel they are in control of things, that their beliefs and behavior make a difference.

Our use of a group or "house" system, patterned somewhat after the approach of English schools, is a chief way we involve students in controlling the school. Each group is named after a famous teacher or coach at the school, and each group includes about twenty students in a cross-section of students from grades seven through twelve. The groups are led by students assisted by a faculty advisor. These groups meet each day at 8 AM in a school convocation, with one group responsible for leading the meeting, and again at mid-day. The groups compete against each other in athletics and acsdemics, and have an area of the buildings to clean each day. During the daily group period, the older students help younger ones, those stronger in certain subjects help those in difficulty. In this cross-age teaching, our students get direct daily experience of their actual responsibility to each other. Each quarter, groups are ranked on the basis of total performance, so everyone soon becomes aware of how the success of the individual group rises or falls on the performance of each group member.

When there are stubborn problems, as with the conduct of a particular student, repeated problems with lateness, or failure to work to capacity, the student group leaders are expected to resolve them as much as possible. We have come to the conviction that it is a great mistake to do for students things that they can do for themselves. Growing in the ability to adjust maturely and sensitively to the weaknesses and strengths of others becomes another important part of the challenge our students must face. Within the school, they are frequently asked to make decisions, or to advise about decisions, that demand their utmost personal competence.

Ideally, each of these "programs," if that is the right term, helps build the sense of the importance each member of the school has for the rest. Many visitors seem struck, or stunned, with the "miracle" we seem to be working. After all, we are in an "inner-city," many of our students would seem to be

disadvantaged by background, a good number are poor, and so on. In and out of the classroom, we try to give each student the sense that we value him as a person. That seems to make a difference; it's fundamental, nothing miraculous. That's possibly a most important part of our responsibility to our students.

Like a family, we do a lot together. It is not strange, for example, to see our entire school, walking in those fourteen groups through the streets of Newark, on the way to a church for a funeral of, say, a parent of one of our students or teachers. It is a way for us to express to each one in the school the values that are truly important.

I realize I haven't said anything about money. Sure it takes money to do all of this. But it takes some convictions, some real choices about what qualities deserve our conscious attention, what model of human performance we want to find reflected in our students. All of us who are adults teach powerfully in what we do and what we emphasize to our young people, all our students. At our school, St. Benedict's, we work at trying to be as conscious as we can of all those non-academic ways of teaching our students "how to be." It takes patient, dedicated effort from our teachers, and enormous collaboration with parents, not to mention the cooperation of our students. It's a lot of work. Perhaps that's what is meant by that tag "schools that work ..."

Chairman PERKINS. Do you want to recognize your students?

Father LEAHY. Yes. I brought John Edelen who is the senior group leader which would be equivalent to student body president and Carl Blake. Both are seniors at St. Benedict's.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you.

Our next witness is Mr. Clifford Gillies, who is assistant superintendent of Mukilteo School District No. 6, Everett, Wash.

Mr. Gillies?

## STATEMENT OF CLIFFORD GILLIES, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT, MUKILTEO SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 6, EVERETT, WASH.

Mr. GILLIES. Thank you.

I would also like to express my appreciation for the committee listening to practitioners and what they are attempting to do in the school scene.

I would be very repetitive of programs you have already heard about if I were to go through my statement that I have presented to the committee. With your indulgence, I will try to highlight it.

Mariner High School is the school I will be speaking about. It began some 12 years ago based upon 7 primary educational concepts.

This came about after going through the community and talking with the teachers that were to be at Mariner High School and that sort of thing.

It came down to seven items or concepts that we were going to focus our program on. One was interdisciplinary approaches; personalized learning; continuous growth; integrated and sequential programs; teaching of concepts rather than subject matter per se; continual coordination and in-service of the staff members and

students and the advisor-advisee program which has been very well explained already.

We have a very highly structured curriculum. We took from industry and the building trades a thing called critical path networking to identify in each learning sequence from its inception to its conclusion the essential content of that learning sequence.

We focus our instruction on the essential content. In order to do that we had to break a Carnegie unit down into 20 parts or 20 segments and identify which of those segments each student must complete in order to complete the program.

At this point I would like to stress that Mariner High School is a very humane school as these others have indicated. When we place a great deal of accountability on the learner we are not forestalling the humaneness of the school. We have found that brings about results.

We have identified in each learning sequence the essential content, whether that sequence be 4 years or a certain semester.

The students are given credit only after they have demonstrated the mastery of the concepts we have identified as essential. We do award variable credit.

The essential content of each subject has been placed on a critical path network. The students call that the "Roadmap to Learning." For the slower students, they will do only the essential content and the faster students will do the essential content plus the recommended plus the in-depth; they are motivated and capable and able to do and we contract for them for more credits. We do award variable credits.

Our graduation requirements are 45 credits which equates to 22.5 Carnegie units. We have had students graduate with 105 credits and others with 45. We do not issue a diploma until all 45 credits have been earned. For some students that takes 5 years and for others it may take less. For those that it takes less, we do not award a diploma until we have accredited and have kept track of their educational progress over the 4 years.

We feel responsible for them for 4 years. Once they have met graduation requirements they can qualify for what we call advanced placement. Advanced placement may be entering a 4-year college or going into the Armed Services. It may be going into the work forces where we monitor their educational program during that year.

Approximately 30 percent of our seniors will be on advance placement programs of one type or another full-time during their senior year. We total about 40 percent of the seniors who have a portion of their school day on advance placement.

We have written our entire curriculum in performance objective terms in order to enhance the continuous growth concept. Our instruction focuses on that essential content.

We do not sentence a student to failure in the next sequential course or the next part of the sequence since they have not been able to complete the previous requirements. In order to enhance continuous growth our staff and community said that A, B, C's do not work. We did a survey in our State of schools our size. We have a student body of 1,700 students. We found 78 percent of the A's and B's given in one school and we found in a graduating class that

same year 26 percent of the grades were A's and B's in another school.

We have done away with A, B, C's and measure students' progress in the quantity of work they have completed. That is measured in the levels. Also the quality of the completed work. That equates to a rank in class.

The support structures that we have for the students is a learning support center. That is manned by teachers and members of our community and students. When a student finds they need remediation, they can volunteer to go to the learning support center or go by their advisor's recommendation in lieu of attending a class.

We have placed a miniterm which is the last 6 weeks of our school year, primarily because the weather in the State of Washington is best at that time, for reinforcement and enrichment, which is for those students who have not completed a full year's work at the time of the miniterm. They are then required to remain enrolled in the courses that they were enrolled in.

If they have completed the work, they can elect from some 300 enrichment-type courses. The college-bound student is able to go for a 6-week course in welding or a group of students can build a house. Those are examples of what has happened during the miniterm.

Most of our enrichment type of activities or exploratory activities occur during the last 6 weeks.

We have a testing center that monitors progress in class. The criteria and reference tests are placed in the testing center for every class monitoring the student as he progresses through the sequence of learning. Students may also go to the testing center on a voluntary basis.

Let me conclude by saying we are very proud of our school, as well as our students, and we have had the ability to maintain standards and insist on mastery of materials. We have an acceptance of tests; that they provide students with many opportunities to objectively and subjectively measure achievement, success and progress.

We have attempted to make Mariner a psychologically safe school where challenging learning experiences encourage students to take advantage of their skills, knowledge, and attitudes.

We believe meaningful and personal education and the counseling that comes from that must be available at all times and that the academic progress must be monitored at all times and reinforced continually.

We feel that the role of the learner must include a share of accountability for achievements or lack of those achievements.

I appreciate the opportunity to present some of the aspects of Mariner High School. I do have a monograph that I will make available to the committee.

[The complete statement of Clifford Gillies follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF CLIFF GILLIES, MARINER HIGH SCHOOL, MUKILTEO SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 6, EVERETT, WASH.

At its inception the Mariner staff established a commitment to provide an educational climate and structure based on a theory called --- The Mariner Seven.

1. Interdisciplinary approach
2. Personalized learning
3. Continuous growth
4. Integrated and sequential program
5. Teaching concepts
6. Coordination and in-service
7. Advisor-advisee program.

Educational decisions made at Mariner are based on these seven concepts. Directions which do not support the seven concepts either specifically or broadly are rejected as unacceptable to the educational program.

Mariner has a highly structured curriculum, the entire curriculum has been written in performance objectives. Lock-step sequences are avoided; Mariner teachers teach concepts rather than teach subjects.

Sequential curricula have been developed on continuous growth levels, based on performance objectives. Students are given credit only after demonstrating mastery of a cluster group of performance objectives. Each student knows what skill, knowledge or attitude is expected to be achieved prior to entering a learning sequence. The requirements, stated in learning objectives, are public. The essential content of each subject is completely identified for both the teacher and the student.

Courses allow for concepts to be learned parallel to each other when mastery of a concept is non-dependent upon the mastery of another concept. When mastery of a concept demands mastery of a prior concept, quality control is exercised--- students are then required to master the concepts in sequence. These learning pathways are pictured by a curriculum critical path network. Course content is sequentially constructed along so that mastery of essential content is the focus of instruction.

Teams of teachers develop for each Carnegie Unit 20 "levels." A level is a cluster of learning objectives with measurable student performance expectancies. Careful analysis of each level for essential concepts and proper sequencing of learning activities continually take place. Even though each course is a part of an integrated sequential program, comprehensively planned within each subject discipline, the most important aspect of the curriculum is its ability to adapt to the personal needs of the student.

Teachers are accountable for prescribing learning experiences. Students are accountable to demonstrate mastery of the material. Neither are accountable for the time it takes to learn the material. Credit is given for progress in the subject, not for time spent studying the subject. True continuous growth is in operation as one student takes two years to finish geometry, while yet another student takes only 5 weeks. Available support services are given equally to the needs of both students.

The student is ultimately responsible for the utilization of time, for what and how they learn. Removing barriers for student progress is a responsibility assumed by the staff. The staff makes available to the student all of the school's resources, but ultimately it is the student's responsibility to do the learning. Academic rewards and consequences are related to achievement and accomplishments.

Support structures and strategies are designed and incorporated to support the curriculum. The most important is the advisor-advisee program, with the designed purpose of providing individual educational counseling. Every student entering Mariner is matched to an advisor by personal interests. The advisor and advisee form a personal relationship lasting four years and in many instances, for many years after the student's high school career is over. Many advisees will never have their advisor as a teacher. Referrals are made to professional counselors when such support is necessary. Any school or community condition which adversely affects the student's educational progress becomes the concern of the advisor.

Advisors are scheduled to meet with their advisees once a week on a formal basis and voluntarily on an informal one-to-one situation several times a week. Advisors have the authority to re-schedule advisee's class schedule on a temporary basis.

A, B, C grades are not given at Mariner High School. In order to receive credit, the student must master the learning objectives. Credit is given for levels mastered. Completed levels are recorded on the transcript. Failure to master the material simply means that students are not given credit. Quality of work is rewarded with honors credit. For example, one student may earn only 4 levels, each completed with high quality, and hence earn Honors. Another student in the same class during the same time span may earn 8 levels but of lesser quality and consequently be awarded credit without Honors. Students are required to demonstrate competency at designated monitoring points in all curricular sequences. If a student has extreme difficulty, because of inadequate background preparation, then other support structures are provided to the student to help them learn the material.

The Learning Support Center is one such support structure. Students having difficulties on a particular level of study may request---or be requested by the Instructor or advisor---to go to the Learning Support Center (LSC). Students needing extra time and help voluntarily substitute attendance in a regular class for individualized help in the LSC. The Learning Support Center operates before and after school, during the lunch periods, and the entire student day.

For Mariner students, learning is not an all or nothing basis. Grouping of people by common interests and ability occurs spontaneously. A carefully selected differentiated staff supports Mariner's philosophy. All people work with students in different capacities and at different times to meet the student's many needs.

An extensive coordination and in-service program has been part of Mariner since its inception. The coordination and in-service program allows the Mariner staff to continually revise, raise standards, and re-structure the curriculum. To meet the changing needs of learners, the staff always goes back to the Mariner 7 as the guidepost for continuity and purpose. The Mariner 7 are continually evaluated.

Mariner has a testing program that starts with a 9th grade placement test in math, science, and humanities. A Junior Assessment Test is taken by each junior in mathematics, humanities, and science to determine their comprehension and retention. Students who do not do well in the Junior Assessment Test, take make-up classes during their senior year as recommended by their advisor. The Mukilteo School District has administered the Iowa Test of Educational Development to grades 4, 6, 8, 10 and 12. Results show that when the students enter Mariner High School, the ITED scores begin to climb. The ITEDs are administered to every student within the high school. It is reasoned from the resulting improvement of ITED growth scale scores that the Mariner program does make a difference.

SATs have climbed each year of our existence. Consistently 1/4 to 1/3 of our students per year take the SATs. Any junior who wishes to take the SAT is encouraged to do so.

Students, as routine means of demonstrating mastery and completion of objectives, use the Mariner Testing Center. Because complete curriculum scope and sequence have explicated student learning objectives, tests are criterion referenced. The testing program is extensive. The consequences to failing a test are remediation and re-examination. Tests in every subject are available at the testing center to be taken as required or voluntarily for self-assessment. Approximately four to five hundred students use the center every day. They take the test, and return to class. Students prepare for tests they trust will show what they have been instructed to study. Tests are not taken with a teacher. Teachers are not in an adversary relationship with the student. Students expect to take tests -- look forward to it as a measure of personal progress and success.

Our students are responsible to Mariner High School for four years. Students do not receive diplomas before their graduating class. Many students who have completed graduation requirements leave our campus for advanced placement, entering universities, the armed forces, or the working field. Some will attend Mariner for five years to gain valid educational experiences which benefit the student.

Mini-term is a rewarding and exciting part of Mariner. During the last six weeks of the school year, students enroll in required mini-term courses for reinforcement for courses not completed, or exploration, in-depth studies and enrichment in place of subjects already completed. Some of the courses offered are Chaucer, sailing, glass-blowing, and the study of World War I. During mini-term, the number of educational experiences available will be approximately 300.

In summary, we are convinced that there are some major reasons why test scores have improved:

-- maintaining standards and insisting on mastery of material;

-- our acceptance that tests provide students many opportunities objectively and subjectively to measure achievement, success, and progress;

-- Mariner is a psychologically safe school where challenging learning experiences encourage students to take advantage of their skills, knowledge and attributes;

-- we believe meaningful and personal education counseling must be available at all times of need and academic progress must be monitored and reinforced continually with appropriate rewards and consequences;

-- the role of the learner must include a share of accountability for achievements or lack of achievements.

HUKILTEC SCHOOL DISTRICT No. 6

HARMER HIGH SCHOOL - PROFILE SUMMARY CLASSES OF 72-73-74-75-76-77

(Compiled by Cliff Gillies)

| ACADEMIC SUMMARY: | | LOWEST | 25%ile | MEDIAN | AVERAGE | 75%ile | 90%ile | #1 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| CREDITS EARNED | (72) | 40 | 46 | 49.5 | 48.52 | 52.0 | 54.25 | 67.5 |
| | (73) | 40 | 43 | 47.5 | 52.28 | 54.0 | 59.5 | 73.0 |
| | (74) | 40 | 43.5 | 48.5 | 49.79 | 58.0 | 60.0 | 69.5/74.0 |
| | (75) | 40 | 43.5 | 49.0 | 48.53 | 56.0 | 59.0 | 74.0 |
| | (76) | 40 | 44.0 | 50.5 | 52.07 | 56.5 | 62.5 | 79.5 |
| | (77) | 40 | 42.0 | 58.0 | 51.42 | 55.5 | 61.0 | 115.5 |
| HONORS CREDITS AWARDED | (72) | 3.5 | 8.5 | 12.5 | 15.4 | 20.5 | 36.0 | 56.0 |
| | (73) | 2.5 | 4.5 | 11.5 | 13.28 | 18.0 | 30.5 | 33.5 |
| | (74) | 3.0 | 4.0 | 9.5 | 12.7 | 28.5 | 38.5 | 60.5/55.5 |
| | (75) | 2.5 | 3.5 | 9.5 | 14.0 | 30.5 | 41.0 | 65.0 |
| | (76) | .5 | 5.5 | 10.5 | 12.4 | 20.5 | 37.5 | 63.5 |
| | (77) | .5 | 5.5 | 8.0 | 16.73 | 22.0 | 36.5 | 102.0 |
| OVER GRADUATION REQUIREMENTS | (72) | 0 | 6 | 9.5 | 8.52 | 12.0 | 14.25 | 27.5 |
| | (73) | 0 | 3 | 7.5 | 12.28 | 14.0 | 19.5 | 33.0 |
| | (74) | 0 | 3.5 | 8.5 | 9.79 | 18.0 | 20.5 | 29.5 |
| | (75) | 0 | 3.5 | 9.0 | 8.5 | 16.5 | 19.0 | 34.0 |
| | (76) | 0 | 4.0 | 10.5 | 12.07 | 16.5 | 32.5 | 39.5 |
| | (77) | 0 | 2.0 | 18.0 | 11.42 | 15.5 | 21.0 | 75.5 |
| FRACTIONAL YEARS OVER REQUIREMENTS | (72) | 0 | .6 | .8 | 0.85 | 1.2 | 1.43 | 2.75 |
| | (73) | 0 | .3 | .75 | 1.23 | 1.4 | 1.95 | 3.3 |
| | (74) | 0 | .35 | .65 | .98 | 1.8 | 2.1 | 2.9 |
| | (75) | 0 | .35 | .9 | .85 | 1.6 | 1.94 | 3.4 |
| | (76) | 0 | .4 | 1.05 | 1.21 | 1.65 | 2.25 | 3.95 |
| | (77) | 0 | .75 | 1.8 | 1.14 | 1.55 | 2.10 | 7.55 |

| | 1972 | 1973 | 1974 | 1975 | 1976 | 1977 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NUMBER OF GRADUATES | 232 | 251 | 289 | 304 | 303 | 329 |
| SOUGHT OR HAD IMMEDIATE EMPLOYMENT | *1/5 | 1/4 | 1/4 | 1/3 | 2/5 | 2/5 |
| ENROLLED IN ADVANCED EDUCATION | *2/5 | 2.2/5 | 2/5 | 1/3 | 2/5 | 2/5 |
| JOINED THE ARMED SERVICE | *1/10 | 1/19 | 1/28 | 1/15 | 1/30 | 1/22 |
| GIRLS MARRIED | *1/10 | 1/14 | 1/21 | 1/21 | 1/43 | 1/33 |
| UNDECIDED OR OTHER, TRAVEL, ETC. | *1/5 | 1/6 | 1/5 | 1/6 | 1/12 | 1/10 |

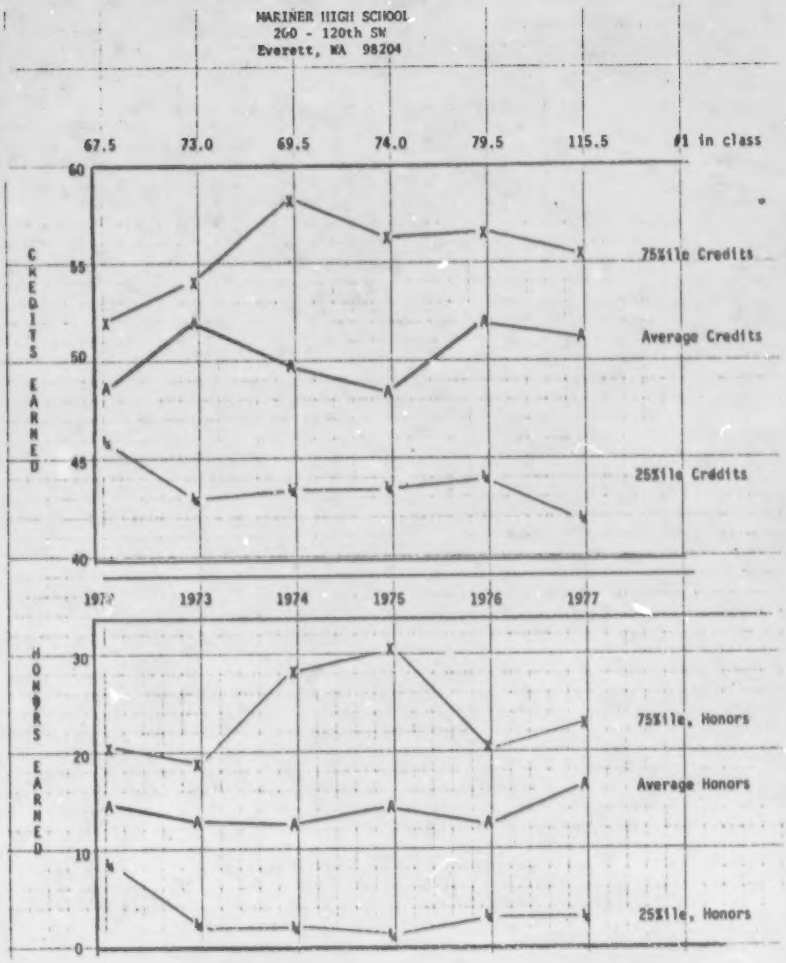
*1/5 represents 1 of 5 students in the graduating class

HARRIER HIGH SCHOOL - PROFILE SUMMARY CLASSES OF 73-74-75-76-77

EIGHTH SEMESTER STUDENT'S RANK - CREDITS EARNED - HONORS CREDITS (no 1972 figures)

| | CREDITS | | | | | HONORS | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| RANK | (73) | (74) | (75) | (76) | (77) | (73) | (74) | (75) | (76) | (77) |
| 1 | 68.0 | 67.5 | 74.0 | 79.5 | 115.5 | 51.0 | 50.5 | 65.0 | 63.5 | 102.0 |
| 10 | 66.5 | 60.5 | 68.5 | 69.5 | 66.5 | 42.0 | 37.0 | 41.0 | 47.0 | 51.5 |
| 20 | 52.5 | 52.0 | 59.0 | 53.0 | 72.0 | 33.5 | 32.0 | 36.5 | 43.0 | 39.0 |
| 30 | 52.5 | 55.0 | 58.0 | 65.5 | 61.5 | 26.0 | 26.0 | 30.0 | 37.0 | 32.5 |
| 40 | 60.0 | 55.5 | 54.5 | 62.0 | 60.0 | 21.5 | 23.0 | 27.5 | 33.5 | 35.0 |
| 50 | 42.0 | 57.5 | 60.0 | 60.0 | 57.0 | 21.5 | 20.0 | 23.0 | 28.5 | 32.0 |
| 60 | 57.5 | 49.0 | 55.5 | 57.5 | 64.0 | 18.5 | 20.5 | 22.5 | 25.5 | 26.5 |
| 70 | 56.5 | 47.5 | 45.5 | 54.0 | 62.5 | 15.5 | 18.0 | 24.0 | 21.5 | 24.5 |
| 80 | 55.0 | 43.0 | 60.0 | 43.0 | 58.0 | 12.0 | 17.5 | 19.0 | 23.5 | 24.0 |
| 90 | 53.0 | 51.5 | 42.0 | 53.0 | 55.5 | 12.0 | 13.5 | 21.0 | 17.0 | 22.0 |
| 100 | 54.0 | 39.0 | 43.5 | 58.0 | 49.0 | 9.5 | 15.0 | 15.5 | 15.5 | 22.0 |
| 110 | 44.0 | 50.0 | 54.0 | 57.5 | 53.0 | 10.5 | 11.5 | 14.0 | 14.0 | 19.0 |
| 120 | 50.5 | 56.0 | 47.0 | 43.5 | 54.5 | 9.0 | 9.5 | 14.5 | 16.0 | 17.0 |
| 130 | 46.0 | 46.5 | 44.0 | 55.5 | 57.0 | 3.0 | 11.0 | 13.5 | 11.5 | 14.5 |
| 140 | 40.0 | 37.0 | 40.5 | 45.5 | 58.0 | 9.0 | 12.5 | 11.5 | 13.0 | 12.5 |
| 150 | 48.5 | 44.0 | 48.0 | 52.5 | 47.0 | 7.0 | 9.5 | 10.5 | 10.0 | 14.0 |
| 160 | 53.0 | 42.5 | 46.5 | 48.5 | 43.0 | 4.5 | 9.0 | 9.75 | 9.5 | 12.5 |
| 170 | 46.0 | 38.5 | 55.5 | 50.0 | 42.5 | 4.0 | 8.5 | 6.5 | 8.5 | 13.0 |
| 180 | 43.0 | 33.5 | 46.0 | 51.0 | 52.0 | 5.5 | 3.0 | 8.0 | 7.5 | 8.0 |
| 190 | 43.5 | 33.5 | 40.0 | 47.5 | 46.5 | 3.0 | 7.0 | 8.5 | 7.0 | 10.0 |
| 200 | 43.0 | 30.0 | 42.5 | 57.0 | 45.5 | 2.0 | 6.0 | 7.0 | 4.0 | 9.5 |
| 210 | 40.0 | 37.5 | 37.0 | 46.5 | 47.0 | 4.0 | 5.5 | 7.25 | 6.0 | 8.5 |
| 220 | 43.0 | 38.5 | 39.5 | 52.0 | 42.0 | 1.0 | 4.5 | 6.0 | 4.0 | 8.5 |
| 230 | 40.0 | 37.0 | 43.5 | 53.5 | 42.0 | .5 | 4.0 | 4.5 | 3.0 | 8.0 |
| 240 | | 27.5 | 43.5 | 47.0 | 40.5 | | 5.5 | 3.5 | 3.5 | 8.0 |
| 250 | | 47.5 | 55.0 | 43.0 | 40.5 | | .5 | | 4.0 | 7.0 |
| 260 | | | 51.0 | 43.5 | 54.0 | | 1.0 | .5 | 3.0 | 3.0 |
| 270 | | | 41.5 | 40.0 | 42.0 | | | 2.0 | 3.0 | 5.5 |
| 280 | | | 38.5 | 40.0 | 43.0 | | | 2.0 | 2.0 | 4.5 |
| 290 | | | 36.0 | 42.5 | 43.0 | | | 2.0 | .5 | 3.5 |
| 300 | | | | 38.5 | 41.5 | | | 1.0 | | 3.5 |
| 310 | | | | | 41.0 | | | | 2.5 | 3.0 |
| 320 | | | | | 46.5 | | | | | 1.0 |

Compiled by Cliff Gillies


MARINER HIGH SCHOOL
260 - 120th SW
Everett, WA 98204
67.5
73.0
69.5
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79.5
115.5
#1 in class
CREDITS EARNED
60
55
50
45
40
75%ile Credits
Average Credits
25%ile Credits
1972
1973
1974
1975
1976
1977
HONORS EARNED
30
20
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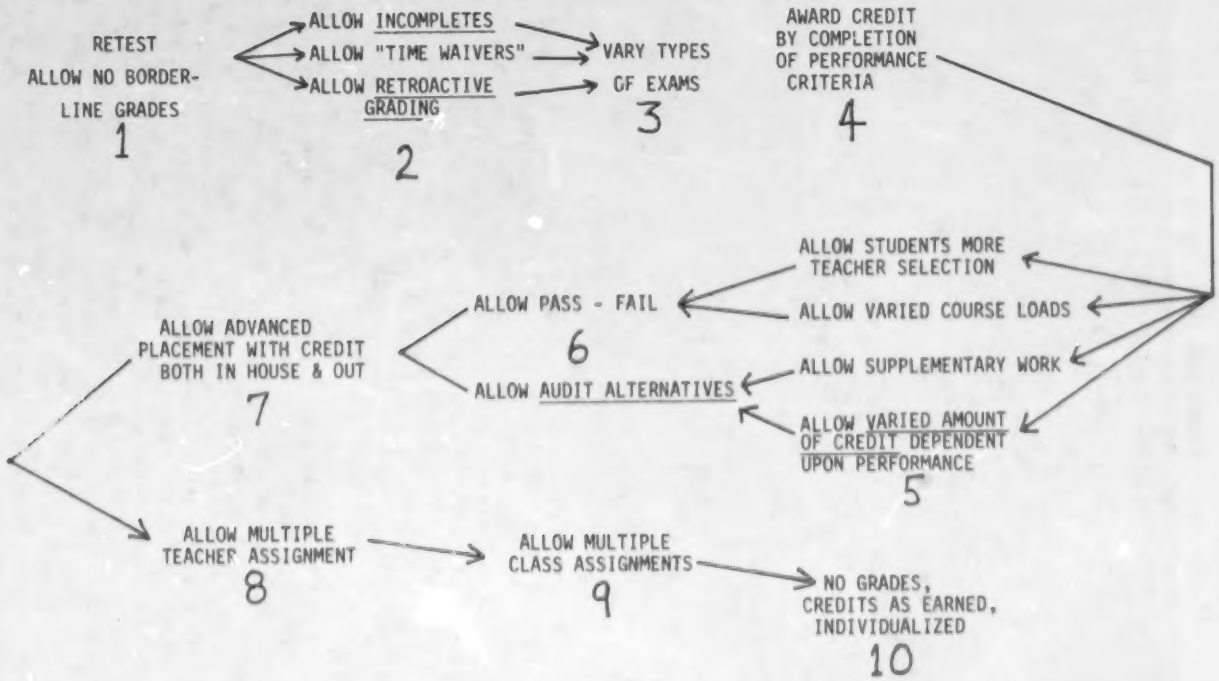
MUKILTEO SCHOOL DISTRICT NO. 6
MARINER HIGH SCHOOL

THE BEGINNING FOR INDIVIDUALIZATION -- A CRITICAL PATH TO NO GRADES



Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much.

Mr. Hawkins?

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think all of the witnesses have been excellent. It is very difficult to know where to begin. Let me begin with the first witness, Ms. Kaeser.

Ms. Kaeser, in several places in the prepared statement you referred to what you consider to be the qualities that make schools good. On page 6 you made a reference to behavior teaching. You said it takes courage, commitment, creativity, and work. Below that in the next paragraph you say successful schools are committed to meaningful parent and community involvement.

I think these themes were referred to by many of the other witnesses. I think any reasonable person would agree with those observations.

How do you get such courage, commitment, creativity and work from the teacher and how do you get that parent and community involvement in a school? What are the incentives looking at it from the Federal level as to what the Federal Government can do in order to get such reaction from the teacher and the schools at the local level?

I think you said it takes more than financial assistance. How do we get accountability and these results?

Ms. KAESER. That is part of the problem. It is not something we can legislate very well. I think we need to first recognize that is what is really important. I think a lot of us are oriented to wanting to find a magical solution or a magical program in place of those things.

We first need to say those are the important things. I think we have a lot of people who come out of school anxious and willing to be teachers and interested in doing well. They go into some schools and they give up. A lot of that creativity and commitment gets lost.

I think there are some things we can do to remove those barriers and those things which grind up teachers and administrators. I think a lot of it has to do with an attitude that the school system does belong to the public. I think partly that requires that the public demand it. I am happy to say in Cleveland we are beginning to get a more organized public that is beginning to demand it.

I think the procedure they have in this district in Maine where they have the community involved in selecting personnel sounds like a very good kind of reinforcement to educators that what they do is important to people. I do not think we have enough ways to let educators know that. That in itself can be a motivation.

I do not want to underestimate the importance of having sufficient support. In the big city districts in Ohio that I have visited there are some real barriers that are drowning out those creative people. Anybody who has any choice to do something other than be in public schools in Ohio right now are leaving public schools in Ohio. Those people with that creativity are leaving.

Largely it is because we do not have an adequate financial support system for public education, so you go for weeks without being paid. Right there that destroys teacher morale. I think teacher morale is a very touchy issue.

We are talking about human productivity. I am concerned about what can be done for it. I think there are some major things we can do to stop destroying that creativity and that morale and that is to have sufficient support and to create some new environments where people have more of a chance to be responsible; the shared management idea, giving teachers more responsibility in a variety of planning and decision making areas.

Those things in themselves can bring out motivation and bring out the best things. I think teachers are just like kids. If you expect a lot of them they will produce for you. We have to find some ways to communicate that expectation.

I would love to say that what the Federal Government should do but I do not know what it is, except to try and provide some support as you did in this district in Maine for developing some of those skills.

Mr. HAWKINS. This is not the first time Federal financial assistance has been discussed. It is an old issue right now certainly in terms of adding onto what has already been made.

Most of the things you indicated are within the local school system itself; you are not suggesting, for example, that by providing financial assistance that is going to motivate the teacher or that is not going to get the local community aroused to demand more of the school system? Those are certainly excellent things to do.

In what way are we at this level going to legislate in some way so as to get those qualities into the school? It is still somewhat a mystery to me. I am not clear on it. I thought maybe you or some of the other witnesses would care to respond to what can be done.

It seems to me we keep saying that another financial program of some kind is going to do what all of the other financial programs have not done. We still do not get the results. Perhaps both need to be done. To do one without the other seems to me as wasteful. It is actually dangerous if we do not get any better results than what we are now getting out of some of the schools.

Ms. KAESER. I think one way around that is simply the difference between blanket grants to all districts and providing some programs where if you have a good idea and you have some innovative people in school districts who are willing to show that creativity and to be able to award that creativity. There are very few outside sources of support to someone who has an idea. That is one way to encourage people with ideas, to have some place for them to go with those ideas.

We have some private foundations in Ohio that give out $2,000, $1,000 and $500 teacher grants to teachers who have a good idea. I find that is a very interesting idea where for a small amount of money you can award someone who has an idea and get them to go somewhere for it.

That is a possibility. I do not think money alone is the issue. It can create some incentive when it is done on a competitive basis for a good idea being rewarded.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you. Dr. Hogans, with respect to the Carver model, it seems to present a great amount of creativity whether or not that leans heavily or depends on Federal financial

assistance in order to direct or motivate or encourage that type of a model that has apparently proved very successful.

Dr. HOGANS. As I said earlier, if I had to talk about dollars and cents, the private sector in the city of Atlanta puts more money into that school than the board of education does.

The plant manager of the Lakewood Division of General Motors and people like this on the board spending time and money. We allocated the same per pupil expenditure at the comprehensive high school as they are at the academic high school across the city wherein we must schedule the same number, 23 to 1, to that comprehensive high school teacher as you do in the academic.

It is very difficult to carry a student across 31 different shops as well as satisfy math, English, chemistry, physics, social studies, science, et cetera, and then do the activities of health, PE and ROTC.

It costs better than $380,000 to just adequately equip a technical laboratory today. We do not have that kind of money. We are talking about replicating and expanding this kind of program to meet the needs of the students in urban cities.

There is a need for some assistance. I am not here saying I need 10 more shops. I am saying we need schools across the city that would better address the needs of students. It is very expensive to run that kind of a school on the same budget and to maintain those shops.

One box of welding rods will cost you $175, and a kid can burn up that box in an hour. If you look at that kind of cost just to maintain one shop compared to 31 and then you look at one school compared to 22 high schools, the question is where do we put our dollars to get the most for them.

If in fact we have better than 350 students working every day earning a minimum income of $3.00 an hour for three hours a day, if we could replicate that across the city, then maybe many of those young people would not be on the welfare rolls but on the tax rolls.

It would cost far less to train than to incarcerate. We have a unit down the street next door to the Atlanta Stadium and it is overcrowded now.

If we do not do something and spend our dollars wisely, we are in for it.

You wonder about my success? I am very optimistic. I believe I am the best salesman in town. When I go for an idea and I know where the money is and the people that can make a difference, I have to sell them on education. That is the backbone of this country.

We know it is the second largest enterprise but we are criticized more than we are complimented. We just need a little support when looking at good, better, and best programs across the country.

I am just an advocate of public education. If I had gotten up in that plane this morning and the pilot said, You know, I went to aviation school down in Louisiana and it was the worst school in the world and I really have some problems, then I would have had some problems in that plane.

We need to feel good about what we are doing. I feel good about it. I think with some additional Federal assistance, I am not drawing a bottom line. It costs to mandate and operate comprehensive; schools and alternative type programs that all of the witnesses have attested to this morning.

Mr. HAWKINS. Are you suggesting this is an unique experience or would you indicate whether or not you believe that this model should serve as a model for the other high schools and all of them should be comprehensive; that there is a unique role for a comprehensive high school to be considered in a complex of high schools and there is no room for the others?

Dr. HOGANS. There is room for others. There are two schools on the drawing board in the city now. Those two schools are comprehensive high schools. The trend in education today is to offer a variety of offerings to young people.

My support would be to favor the comprehensive high school in lieu of the traditional high school. You have more of a variety of offerings but it costs more. The bottom line costs are more.

In order for a school to be comprehensive it must have according to State guidelines five vocational and technical laboratories. You multiply five times $380,000. That will tell you the bottom line just for the shops and I am not talking about operating costs. Then you have the academic program to support those shops.

The population is over 50 percent minorities. If we do not do something, who is going to pay your retirement and my retirement in the next 5 or 10 years if in fact we do not prepare young people to go out in the world of work and feel good about what they are doing.

I think to some extent we are missing the boat. I am thinking about major cities and urban cities. I am not talking about down in Hogansville, Ga., or rural Georgia. I am talking about major cities where you have a population of minorities, Chicanos, Mexican-Americans that come with a laundry list of front-end problems that we have not addressed in public schools today.

I think the comprehensive approach offers an alternative and still gives that child the basic background to make it in life. It is going to cost money, sir.

Mr. HAWKINS. Thank you, Dr. Hogans.

Mr. Chairman, in deference to the other members I will forego any further questions. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you, Mr. Hawkins.

Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Let me say that we have to concentrate so much around here on the things that are wrong that this testimony makes me want to stand up and cheer. It is nice to hear that something is going right somewhere in the world. I want to commend each of you not only for your testimony but also for your leadership.

Maybe we need to clone some people like you as a way of taking care of some of the problems in the country.

In the Federal share of education, we are a limited partner and we certainly need to be a limited partner when it comes to management and control of education, but even in funding we are and will remain a limited partner in this whole matter of education.

As we approach the President's new initiative and as we look at our existing programs do you have any specific ideas as to how we could better use the money we have? I want to hear specifically how you use these Federal programs that are already in existence quite creatively, Dr. Harrison.

I would like to know of any suggestions you have as to how we can better use the limited funds we in the Congress will make available for education.

Mr. HARRISON. Mr. Buchanan, I think one thing I alluded to in my comments is the experience career education program which really had its impetus from Dr. Marlan.

I do not know if it is true but in our State it does not come under the umbrella of vocational education. Dr. Hogans has indicated about a comprehensive high school and certainly within cities that has all the aspects of being quite reasonable.

I think in rural regions there are a lot of little businesses and operations that can really enjoy taking kids. It seems to me that one of the aspects of career education ought to be considered as part of a vocational education. Since the Federal Government does put money into vocational ed, it ought to examine the offshoots of career education and especially the location of these people and students in local communities.

That is one recommendation I think deserves study.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you.

Ms. KAESER. I had another thought in response to Mr. Hawkins' question which is also yours which is what can you do.

It seems to me that Federal policymakers have two choices. They have the carrot or the stick. I prefer to approach it in terms of rewarding excellence and trying to provide some motivation to people to do well. There is a stick that you do also have which is the Office for Civil Rights.

I want to put a plug in for one of my big issues which is children out of school and the excessive use of suspension. Through civil rights enforcement legislation it does give OCR the authority to put some pressure on school districts that are using suspensions improperly particularly in terms of an extra suspension of minority students for the most part.

I think this in itself is some form of stick that we have. If you put some pressure about looking at that behavior of schools as to suspending kids and you say that is a symptom not only of how bad the kids are but possibly of how well you are running your school system, you can then create some of the pressure necessary to get some motivated educators to reward the other kind of people in the school system.

It is a very negative way to approach the issue. Unfortunately in some districts that is the only way to start pressing the importance of serving all children in schools. When you start setting that as a requirement of public education then people down the way start to respond and you start getting people out with innovative ideas of how we are going to do this.

I think the Office for Civil Rights has not been very effective in doing this in the past and it needs a little jolt to do that a little bit better which is the negative approach but it is also an essential tool for trying to get some change in school districts. That is one

way in which the Federal ideals and values about public education can be felt locally.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You mentioned that you wished there were incentives and awards for innovation and creative thinking. I wonder if you could expand on that?

Are you talking about incentive grants like cash?

Ms. KAESER. Yes. I am thinking about this foundation in Ohio that gives out a very small amount of money. You have a small pot of money that you give to someone who has an idea. You can do it on a competitive basis and not have a complicated system.

It is a way to offer more support to people who have a good idea, to say that at least someone cares that you have this good idea and you should go someplace with it. It does a tremendous amount to get notoriety to that person which all of a sudden makes people in the building change their attitudes a little bit and that person has more access to people in the building so they can share their ideas and get the team building started.

I am not completely aware of the tool kit for innovation that the Federal Government has. You have a number of possibilities there. I am aware of the limited role the Federal Government has in terms of education policy particularly at the building level which is where so much of the difference really matters.

All I can think of are carrot ideas that give people a chance to be revived as educators. Maybe we need to start a year away from school program.

My sister is a school teacher. After about 5 years of teaching first graders she has to quit for 5 years because she is so worn out. She gets tired of talking to those little kids.

Maybe we need to create some 1-year being in Washington programs or whatever. We have some great people out there and we lose them because they have that year they have to take off and do something else so they do not lose their minds.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you.

Mr. HARRISON. I have one other suggestion. In the title IV funds that are sent to each State to allocate a certain portion of those funds for training staff members, middle management personnel on the implementation of change.

I think there is very little money that really goes for planning. The money goes for ideas. I think that is terrific. What happens is the idea gets gobbled up and lost. I really think there is a need for some of that money to go to the classroom teacher in how to manage change; how to manage curriculum change; how to manage the implementation; how to evaluate it so that there is a more professional training that person receives or experience has been given to them when they are embarking upon in their district a change in curriculum.

That might be another consideration the committee could think about as far as taking a certain portion of the title IV funds that are allocated to have a certain small percentage to go for management training to the classroom teacher as well as people like department heads; curriculum supervisors et cetera.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Mr. Gillies?

Mr. GILLIES. I would like to echo that. I think if I had 2 days to meet with these other four people, I think it would make a differ-

ence in our school. I also would say if the current research is accurate where it says the administration or the principal or the administrators of a learning site do make a difference, I think we could get some incentives to get together and do something about it.

I would love to meet with you for 3 or 4 more days. We are so similar in our programs.

Dr. HOGANS. I would echo that. I was fortunate to do my internship here in Washington, D.C. 5 years ago at the Washington Technical Institute. I understand it has changed names or compositions.

I would not have been able to survive at this school that I am presently working at now had I not had those hands-on kind of experiences working at all levels with the President at that time who is now in the city of Atlanta and president of Atlanta University.

We have a very unique tie-in there. I do feel we need some more help mandated in terms of training programs and working with young and aspiring administrators. One of the things we try to do and we need some help is to work with Georgia State University and Atlanta University and try to refine the Carver model so that we can package it and move it from one sector of Atlanta to another or one sector of the country to another.

We have some people coming in from Indianapolis this week looking at our model. Our model is not totally together. We cannot just give you the total package because it is in bits and pieces. It is going to take some money and some time. We have about six professors working with us now trying to really put it together.

How do you get four full-time ministers to come and provide services in a community working in conjunction with the school? Everybody cannot do that. Some would not feel comfortable. We have many students who are back in school doing well because of that kind of minister counseling that I am not capable of doing. That is where my limitations end and someone else's begin.

That is the kind of thing I see the young lady saying in terms of innovations. I would suggest we look at this. If we do not, we are going to be in serious trouble in this country. Our dollars ought to be well spent in terms of programs.

Ms. KAESER. I would like to speak to finding some ways to promote community involvement in schools. The people at this table seem to understand the importance of that and when you understand the importance of it you find a way to do it.

I know we have a serious problem in a lot of our city districts of having a lot of parents who are very much turned off by their school experience who feel inadequate around school people and who are insecure and who do not know how to cope with the school system. That is a real problem. Their ability to be involved in schools is limited by that.

I feel it is very much the responsibility of educators to reach out and try to open the doors for those people and try to do something to help them know they are welcome in the schools but short of people who do that the title I program allows for community advisory councils.

A lot of the programs mandate some level of citizen involvement which is the foot in the door parents need. We have a lot of parents who serve on those councils who still do not know how to do it very well and still are not comfortable navigating their school systems.

We did a program in Ohio, the citizens' council, where one of our staff members worked with a title I group in Dayton for about 6 weeks teaching those parents some skills in how to help their kids learn. There was incredible participation. Seventy-five people would come out at night in a neighborhood no one wanted to be out in at night, both black and white and they were involved. It was very clear from that experience that parents really care about what happens to their kids and they are willing to lend their support when they know that is going to help their kids learn.

That is one thing we have learned from it. We need to create some more situations to convince people or give them meaningful ways to help their kids.

I think part of the experience with the title I program shows if there were a little bit more support in training parents in how to participate in situations that guarantee their participation, we would then have more effective participation which would follow kids not just at the elementary level but then they know how to use their school system and they will then begin to be that community that demands excellence out of their school system.

Mr. BUCHANAN. You anticipated my next question. I wonder if anyone else has a reaction to parents' advisory councils and their roles? We do mandate that in title I.

Dr. HOGANS. This is our first year working with title I at the high school level. It has been a learning experience having to move students between classes and on the hour and having to get staff adjusted to that.

We have an excellent parent involvement program going on and that is the only way we can operate in this particular kind of community. Either you cooperate with the parents or you go out on your head. It is one of those things.

I think many administrators and I say this without reservation, are not comfortable when parents come into the environment. They set a tone that parents do not feel comfortable. I think that goes back to training background and whether or not you have your head screwed on right or your feet on the ground.

We have to develop some models or some workshops or training sessions to let people feel good and feel comfortable about what it is they are doing. You are never too busy to stop and meet the parents and make the parents feel at home.

That is not easy to do sometimes because of many other things going on in that environment. If parents feel that way about the program you are going to get better support.

In 3 years in the housing project that we primarily serve I have never had a parent to refuse to come and talk about her child. My word to that parent is this is the most precious possession you own and it is yours and I need your help. I have never had a parent say to me, and not because of my athletic ability and my track record but I have never had a parent say I am not coming and check on Johnny. Poor parents are concerned and love their kids. You are looking at the best dressed poverty in town and that is me. I

represent the kid that grew up on the other side of the tracks; six girls and five boys and no daddy.

Parents do care. We have to make them feel like they are somebody. We have to make them feel wanted in that environment. If it were not for the parents we would not have a school.

How do we create that model? How do we feel comfortable when they come into the environment and make the maximum use of the dollars that we are getting?

I think title I is a good example. That is one step into the door. We do not have enough parent involvement through title I. We just have enough to satisfy the Federal mandate and that is it.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Miller? Mr. Kildee, do you want to go first?

Mr. KILDEE. Thank you, Mr. Miller, for yielding.

I think the question all of us are asking is what the Federal Government can do to encourage the replication of the various factors that have made your schools successful. That is basically our role. Education is fundamentally a local operation and certainly a Federal concern.

I would really like to have you think more and inform this committee about what we can do to bring people together first of all to share the ideas that have made their schools successful; and second, to bring these ideas into other, less successful schools to make whatever changes may be needed.

We should seriously think about various programs that the Federal Government could initiate to establish some type of forum where there can be an exchange of ideas.

I have been in very good schools and I have been in some very bad schools. I taught school for 10 years before I got into this profession.

I would like to have this committee explore means of establishing that forum. Any ideas you may have that you can share among yourselves and with those schools who are not doing quite as well. I think that is very important.

I think that it is also extremely important to restructure to a great extent education in this country. We restructure many things in this country. We spend money for restructuring, but sometimes we are worried about the cost of just restructuring and there is a cost.

I think we have to share those ideas. I would ask that we think about that.

Father Leahy, has your school undergone through the years a rather profound student body profile change? How did you adjust to that change?

Father LEAHY. It has undergone a drastic change. We have adjusted to it and not in the best way possible. We closed for a year in 1972 and then reopened because of several difficulties.

When the school first began in 1868 it was dealing essentially with German immigrants. It went from German to Irish and Irish to Italian and in the late 1960's with the city of Newark changing, it went from Italian to predominately black and is now 70 percent black and 10 percent Spanish speaking.

We really got to do what we are doing because we took a chance and we had a lot of help from community people. Our experience in the private sector has been similar to the one in Atlanta. I think we get an incredible amount of support from the business community in the city who are interested in producing people who can be of help to them.

Newark has a great deal of difficulty keeping people to work after 5 p.m. at night because people are concerned about getting out. From the railroad station to the nearest office building there is this gigantic umbilical cord where people walk from the train station across this bridge into the office buildings and never have to contact the city.

There are certain of those difficulties that I think the business community is interested in trying to alleviate. They have been a great help to us.

We have also learned what to do through a lot of our parents. We have a significant parental involvement in the school. It is relatively common to have parents in there every day sitting in a classroom or talking to me and meeting faculty or advisers. That has been really helpful.

Our experience has also been that most of our parents are one parent families. You have to have the parents involved to make the thing successful.

Mr. KILDEE. Did you change your curriculum much or did you have the students adapt to the existing curriculum?

Father LEAHY. Our curriculum from September until the end of April is very classical. We have done more to try to help the kids to deal with that. We have not changed a great deal within that part of the school year.

In the month of May and the first week of June we run totally on an experiential basis. We stop. We have final exams at the end of April and the whole student body is out of the building maybe shadowing an attorney downtown or working in an architectural firm or doing group projects in the courthouse in the history of the city. We try to get them out in hands-on kinds of experiences as much as possible.

We go to school in the summer again with intensive courses.

We have a variety of experiences for the kids. If you walked in to St. Benedict's at this time of the year you would probably think you were in a time warp and you were back in 1950 or something in terms of the approach to education in the classroom.

Mr. KILDEE. The students have fit into that curriculum and have performed successfully within that traditional curriculum?

Father LEAHY. Yes.

Mr. KILDEE. You addressed a question to the committee about what our idea of schools that work is. I think there are probably many ideas. I think part of it as I perceive it is to have a student perform successfully while having a good feeling about him or herself. I think there is an important role for affective education as well as cognitive education.

I think it is extremely important for educators to respect their own dignity and the dignity of other people. I think that respect means that the discipline is not just discipline for discipline's sake.

Father LEAHY. I think one of the things with regard to the question of the finances that we always have to be careful of is that we do not make judgments on schools or programs on the basis of grades students achieve. It seems we sometimes fall into that trap with things like accountability and those kind of questions that are all crucial issues but you do not want to fall into the trap of making the judgments on only that the students got such-and-such a grade.

I agree with you. There are certain studies that are now showing they are trying to develop norms to evaluate those affective learning situations. We have been involved with one out of the University of Minnesota trying to get a tool to evaluate the experiential education. It is very difficult to do. We have been working on trying to develop one that might be helpful to other people in the country.

Also with regard to finances, it seems that the people that have done the most exciting things, should at some point to get together and hear how these programs we spoke about this morning began.

Most of the programs that have been exciting and have gotten a lot of student involvement and parent involvement probably are the ones that when they began had the least money.

Mr. MILLER. Would the gentleman yield for a moment?

Mr. KILDEE. Certainly.

Mr. MILLER. On that point, the programs that have been outlined in your respective schools and school districts under the theme "Schools that Work," have been successful, it appears. How can we replicate them? What is the Federal model for mass producing these successful programs? For weeks now we have heard about all of the troubles in the schools across the country.

However, you seem to work with the same paperwork requirements as the school down the road. You work with the same Federal guidelines as the school down the road. You work with the same State laws and local laws. Yet you are able to create this.

My question is, "Why have not other schools done this?" You went out into the community and you found the business community and people in the business community. You have gotten the parents involved.

What is it that has prohibited others from doing this? It is not like there is a lack of literature. Either you four and the people you work with in your programs are far more special than any of us realize or the other part of the population is much worse than we had ever thought.

I have to wonder why in the district in which I represent this is not being done and in fact in one case it is being done. One of the real model vocational work programs is in my district.

What is it that causes one district to be so lethargic that they cannot get parental involvement?

You mentioned a good number of your students are from one-parent families. That is supposedly a tragedy in some areas in my district. That means you cannot do anything because there are not two parents in the home. You are telling us you can do a lot.

You are talking about something at the building level.

My premise has been through these hearings that I do not know if there is much the Federal Government can do at the building

level because there are so many strainers before anything we put in the top would ever get there.

Why not replication at the local level? Why would it be Federal?

Father LEAHY. I think I am going to let somebody from the public sector respond to that. From my point of view it seems that a lot of what we have done as in the name of equality has created mediocrity. Somebody can have a great program and be doing a great job and somebody down the road or in the next school in a city or in the next district may be doing just what has to be done but the flow of money and the resources are essentially the same.

There is no difference so there is no incentive to do a super job. I think people who do the outstanding job tend to be doing it because they just happen by nature to be very committed and sometimes bullheaded and determined that they are not going to fail. I think that tends to be the case a lot of times. You just go at it.

In the end in terms of what you can do and where you get the money to keep doing it, there is no difference between you and the next school.

Mr. MILLER. I have a community college. They spent $600,000 on astroturf and they were still 0 and 11 at the end of the next season. Obviously that did not produce greater athletes. It meant they could run in the rain.

We can provide all that money but if you do not have this kind of committed individual, and Ms. Kaeser has talked about how you keep people committed, I worry that the people in the school district just say you cannot do it.

I am worried that reaction sets in.

Mr. HARRISON. I think you made one statement and that is about the committed individual. I think probably in all of our schools in the screening and staffing selection that we try to really find committed individuals.

I think there are a lot of copouts in education. I think people throw up their hands and turn around and say it cannot be done and I just do not accept that. They throw up a lot of barriers.

I have a fear that in our adviser-advisee system which I spoke about which I think is really personalized, a real feeling about kids and the relationship that a neighboring school district was interested in looking at. They gave it up because they got so tied into union negotiations as far as how much more money and how many more hours am I going to get paid for this and everything else like that and they dropped it.

I think one thing a district has to do is establish the environment that when you accept a job in that district, this is what is expected from you. I think this is exemplified from what I have heard from each of the districts.

I agree with you. It is the local framework that establishes really the environment as to how you really operate. There are a lot of roadblocks that institutions throw up, meaning educators, teachers, unions, departments of education, and everything else. I think it really gets back into establishing that environment and saying if you are going to come to work for us, this is what is expected from you.

We have excellent teachers and always have had. We have mediocre teachers and we have some terrible teachers. The excellent

teachers make that commitment and that is what you have to look for and that is what you want to make sure you employ.

Ms. KAESER. I have some concerns about the notion of establishing the right program and then trying to get it replicated everywhere.

I think the one thing I learned from visiting 30 schools that I felt were doing good jobs is there is not one best way. The major thing that has to be transmitted is that commitment you have to serve all the kids and you have to find some good way of doing it. When you have that commitment, then that creativity sets in and finds the solution.

If you come out and say this is the program you are going to do, it is not going to work because you have right then and there taken away the option of being a creative administrator.

After sitting in enough principals' offices for enough days, I think the job of principal could be incredibly boring. You deal with very petty issues a lot of the time. That in itself can grind you out. You stop thinking that what you are doing is very important.

We have to leave for principals and building level people some things about which they really need to be leaders. I would be very careful about suggesting the Federal Government ought to come up with a program that is going to be able to teach all the kids.

What the Federal Government needs to do is convince people out there they have a responsibility to do that and you have enough confidence in them that they will be able to deliver.

Dr. HOGANS. I think the kind of innovations we are talking about really lend themselves to the individual. If you want to look at my kind of job, my job is a 16 to 18 hour a day job, 7 days a week. I only get paid for 8 hours a day. When I equal it out it is about $2.50 an hour. It is a matter of dedication.

What we have attempted to do within the last 2 months in Atlanta is to look at what we can do at the university level to retool and retrain some administrators. That is the linkup we have hooked up with Georgia State and Atlanta Universities. It is interesting because I have a couple of my colleagues in one of my classes.

Two of the five comprehensive high school principals have signed up for class and want to look at other models and work on some things.

At the local level I think we have a commitment but local bureaucracy gets to be kind of bad because the district superintendent cannot give you $10 more or $100,000 more than he gives me because if he does, he is in trouble and he is on his way out.

You have to be very careful with this. You want all schools to look good. It is very difficult because down the road you may have an administrator that is tired and he has reached his Peter Principle and he is on his way out and he is counting the days.

What do we do as a collective body to encourage innovation and motivation on the part of staff, faculty, support personnel, et cetera? I think we just have to go back to the university and look at some ways and some models of retooling and retraining administrators so we will do what Conant said. We will have good, better and best schools down the road and stop turning thumbs down on public education.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Kildee?

Mr. KILDEE. I just have a concluding remark. I think just bringing you together here today has been a great service to the republic. I think we do some good things around here at times.

I feel, like Congressman Buchanan, much more optimistic when I see what is right in education. I would encourage you to keep in contact with one another. You were brought here for that special reason.

Also keep in contact with the new teacher centers authorized and funded by the Federal Government which should be geared up fairly soon. Get involved with those teacher centers so you can share not only your ideas but also your enthusiastic motivation. I think you have to blend those two things together.

You can have great ideas on how to teach but unless you have enthusiastic motivation, teaching with all its pressures can burn teachers out. I think it is possible to stir teachers up again to realize how important their role is.

I think the teacher centers do offer that opportunity to share both ideas and enthusiasm. I would encourage you to keep in contact with one another and get involved in the teacher centers.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Erdahl?

Mr. ERDAHL. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I would echo the comments of our distinguished colleague, Mr. Buchanan. It is refreshing to hear from such exciting innovators today.

One of the truths we have had underscored for us is that young people rise to the level of our expectations. How do we create this mood of high expectancy and maintain it? Would someone care to respond?

I think all of you have said that in different ways. How do we create this mood?

Mr. HARRISON. I would respond very quickly. I think a lot of schools operate on the basis of very strong authoritarian types of situations and operate really on the basis of fear.

I think the principal and the staff sets a tone and tend to be suspicious. I think one assumption you have to accept when you open the doors of a school is every kid is trustworthy. It is really appreciative to hear how a private school in Newark operates like that.

I can think of just one example that when our doors opened in 1976 we had a student who had been expelled from a high school and came to us for hitting the assistant principal. We have a rather unique principal and I think leadership is one thing but he gave Chris the keys and said take the kids around and show them the school.

Trust is a very important factor in terms of the environment that you create within that school. There are all types of things you can look at but it boils down to trusting students so they can be responsible for their behavior.

He was a senior. It took him 6 years to finally get through school. He came to us as a senior. He never was suspended and never was expelled. He really did an outstanding job. It was just by the very fact that the leadership and also the leadership did a little

work with the staff as far as how do you deal with that student and how do you work with that individual.

If you put him in a corner he is going to rebel and lash out and call you names. Part of that is knowing how to deal with kids, again that type of personal understanding that can take place.

Mr. ERDAHL. Does anyone else wish to respond?

Mr. GILLIES. I would like to respond to the part about raising the standard of expectancy for students. I think first you have to identify what the essential content is prior to the student going into that learning sequence instead of telling them at the end of the sequence what they should have learned. That is too late.

You need to identify the essential content first and then I think you can raise standards by measuring how well the student has achieved or accomplished those expectations that we had for the students in the essential content itself.

To try to teach everything that is available, recommended, experiential and everything else is not raising the quality of teaching.

The other thing I think we need to evaluate students differently now than we have been evaluating them in the past. The assembly line education is ended. The industrial revolution was great in everything including education at the time it was there but we do not send them all out at the end of the assembly line painted the same or with the same education any more.

We must be able to award and recognize and reward what students have achieved on achievement and performance rather than time regardless of what the States say. Our State says you have to have 120 hours of available seat time to award a Carnegie unit. We have ignored that in our school and have said we will do the equivalent in program time and curriculum time to 120 hours of seat time.

I think some of the barriers we have are self-imposed.

Mr. ERDAHL. Does the State pretty well accept that?

Mr. GILLIES. Yes. As a matter of fact they encourage us now. Originally 12 years ago it was difficult because some of our colleagues were even telling us we could not do that.

Mr. ERDAHL. Another point, Mr. Chairman, with all due respect to this very articulate panel, we really have not heard in 5 days from the most important people involved. I am going to ask unanimous consent if these two young men would be permitted to ask a few questions.

May I do that, Mr. Chairman?

Chairman PERKINS. Yes.

Mr. ERDAHL. Would you please provide your names for our information and for the court stenographer.

Mr. EDELEN. John Edelen.

Mr. BLAKE. Carl Blake.

Mr. ERDAHL. One of the things I think Father Leahy has emphasized is—your school works. Why does it work?

Mr. BLAKE. It works because the teachers really care about the students and they help them. I had a lot of difficulty when I first came to St. Benedict's because I came from a public school and the teachers did not really take the time to help me out.

When I came to St. Benedict's they gave me the extra time I needed and helped me when I needed help. Sometimes I am still

around school at 10:00 p.m. at night doing homework. I even got locked in one time studying.

The teachers were there and they would help me. They were priests and they lived there. They stuck around and helped me as long as I needed help and it made me want to do the work. I really did not like doing work at all. They helped me and they said, you should do it.

I saw how it would help me if I did do it and I did it just because I saw how it would help me.

Mr. ERDAHL. Do you have any observations you care to share with us?

Mr. EDELEN. It is like Carl said; I think being personally involved with the student is very important. At our school the teachers work on a one-to-one basis if any student is having trouble. It seems that everyone is responsible for themselves and each other in the school.

If something goes wrong, everyone is pointing the finger. As Father Ed says, the old Chinese proverb states, don't point the finger at someone else because you have three pointing back at you.

You have to be responsible for yourself and you have to see the need to be involved and the knowledge that people are depending on you. Many times you look and you say, who really needs it if I am no good. I think that is what gets across to people, especially teenagers, when you do not do assignments and everybody says slap your hand and tell you that is bad.

You tend to get the idea that it is bad because you did not do it and you cannot do it not because there was a weakness involved. It has to be more personal.

Mr. ERDAHL. What involvement do the students have as far as some of your policies in your school, for example, dealing with curriculum or do you pretty much do what Father Ed tells you?

Mr. EDELEN. With studies, we think the teachers know best. They teach their courses the way they see fit. With the running of the school like lunch programs, attendance and everything else, it is the responsibility of the students.

As Father Ed mentioned we have the 14 groups. We have 14 group leaders which range from the upper division in the senior year. It brings up leadership. That is the whole idea, to have leadership and the commitment.

If any problem or crisis arises, the 14 group leaders and myself and my assistant, Asmore Ali, meet and we try to discuss and see what decisions can be made. I think that is the important thing that we can make decisions and adults are not the only ones who can make decisions.

It has to be not programed but a cross set. The teacher is not going to be the only one who is going to make the decision that if you do not do the homework you are going to get an F. Many times we can accept that and say the F does not really mean anything but in our school it does mean something. It is the whole point of just trying to succeed and achieve, to keep up with the tradition that our school has and that makes it different.

Mr. ERDAHL. Carl, do you have some observations about the student participation in your operation? Are you one of these group leaders?

Mr. BLAKE. No, I am not. I notice the group leaders like John. He is like the leader of the school. Whenever we have a problem or something happens, he is always right there and he takes care of the matter.

They have this boardroom where they all meet. They discuss everything. Father Ed would say, I am not going to take care of that; you will. They will meet. Sometimes the whole school will stay after school until the problem is solved.

Mr. ERDAHL. I will yield back my time, Mr. Chairman. I put these young men on the spot but I knew they could do it. We had high expectations and obviously they performed.

Thank you very much.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much, Mr. Erdahl.

Mr. Miller?

Mr. MILLER. In your various programs, do students fail or flunk out of St. Benedict's?

Father LEAHY. I would not say students flunk out. Students do fail. Sometimes I do not think you can look at that just from the point of view of students failing as much as we have all failed.

I would like to tell the kids a lot of time that we are all riding in the same boat and you cannot afford the luxury of sitting in the front and saying, I am glad the leak is in the back. If the boat goes down, we all go down together.

There are failures. We are not perfect in the system.

I think most of our students that have left us have left because at this particular point in their life they just do not seem to be interested and we do not seem to be able to get them to accomplish what needs to be done to be at St. Benedict's.

I do not think I have ever asked anyone to leave outright. I have suggested to some students and have even helped them to take 6 months to do something else and come back. Sometimes you need a distance from something to get an idea of why you are not performing.

There are failures.

I think one of the things that we find important is not to do anything for a student or a young person that the young person can do for himself.

Mr. MILLER. Yesterday we got into a discussion with some of the teachers on behalf of teacher organizations and themselves. One of the points brought up was this lack of respect by students for the teachers and the schools which occasionally takes the form of vandalism.

I would wonder why a student in one of the schools that fails would respect that institute? If you can go along and you can get a D and you can still go from 9th to 10th grade; if you can flunk this and it is a cumulative thing and you find out at the end you cannot pass the test but you are going along for the ride for 4 years if they can pull the wool over all these young peoples' eyes and move them along, why would you respect those people?

As I listen to these two young men, I think it is more of an understanding that there are these various hurdles that you have to jump. There is a group participation. It is a group activity.

I think you are quite right. A student does not fail and there is more to it than that; more responsibility.

I wonder how you achieve that. In my own case my son has just started at Gonzaga. He has a much different attitude than he had before. I do not think it is fear. I think it is seeing other students have a sense of accomplishment and a desire to get things done.

Father LEAHY. I think one of the things that came out here this morning that is very important and I think a lot of schools in the country may have lost sight of is we have gotten locked into a timeframe, that you are in grade school for 8 years and you are in high school for 4 years. I think what you have heard this morning is that has been largely thrown out by most of us.

If it takes a particular student in Washington 5 years to complete what the educators feel needs to be completed then it takes 5 years. I think what that does is it gives everybody the sense that we are in the business and in this process together and we are not going to quit on you and you should not quit on us.

That takes a lot of personal involvement.

Mr. MILLER. It takes a lot of pressure off the student also. All of a sudden it does not matter whether you went through college in 4 years or 5 years or 6 years. You find out that is not important.

In this confusing time of your life when you are 14 or 15 or 16, if you do not do it in 4 years you blew it.

Father LEAHY. I think you have to change some language and some jargon to do that. In our school we do not use traditional freshman, sophmore, junior, and senior. You may have picked that up from John and Carl.

We have freshmen and we have an upper division which would be the normal 10th and 11th grade and then we have seniors. Someone can be in the upper division for 2 years which would be the normal case or 3 years. The assumption is when you become a senior you can finish the requirements to graduate in 1 year so you do not have this thing of repeating your sophmore year.

We can have some students who may be young or may not be prepared to go to school or to work right away and we can say spend another year in the upper division. That seems to have worked out.

The other thing that happens with successes that I think came out clearly today is that most of the young people today especially if they come from families that are one-parent families, most of the successes come because there is a significant relationship developed with an adult.

In Maine it is because there are 14 students and there is an adult that is responsible for those 14 kids. With us it works with the group system, with the 18 students in a group and there are two adults responsible for those kids.

You can stay on a guy or girl going through school all the time. That is really crucial for kids today in my opinion.

Mr. GILLIES. I would just like to echo that.

We take a survey every year of our adviser-advisee program; what is good and what is bad. We also take a survey of our

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students; what are rewards to them and what are consequences to them.

No. 1, for the last 10 years in the reward category is to have a meaningful conversation with an adult. When you provide that in the program you are offering a reward to youth at least in our school.

The other thing I would like to echo is the statement that kids can tell us an awful lot if we ask them. Sometimes we do not ask.

Mr. MILLER. Ms. Kaeser?

Ms. KAESER. I think you were describing some of the games that go on in schools. You were describing kids wondering why do it because of whatever.

I think one of the things we do is underestimate how smart kids are. They know when a game is being pulled on them. They know when a lot of the punishment that is offered in response to misbehavior is a game. They know if you want to get out of school, you get truant so you can get suspended.

They know what has happened in an awful lot of cases is it boils down to playing this dumb game and unfortunately educators play right into the game.

I think the thing successful schools have in common is they just cut that all out. They acknowledge that kids are very smart and they are very perceptive about knowing when you are failing and all the things you do to cover up your failures. They stop the game and they start saying, let's challenge these kids and find some way to get them to be responsible for themselves and then the games end.

Mr. GILLIES. I feel we educators are absolutely famous for ignoring our own research. We can no longer say that some students cannot learn. We can only say it takes some students longer and they need more help to learn what the top student can learn.

Mr. MILLER. Do you think that the basic resources at the local level are sufficient for other schools to follow successful models and to achieve that kind of involvement with students and those sorts of attitudinal changes?

Ms. Kaeser, you question whether we can legislate. You say "Unfortunately, the things that make schools work cannot be legislated. Federal laws can however help create opportunities."

Ms. KAESER. I guess I am a basic optimist. I believe all people can learn. I believe people who run schools are committed and they want to succeed. People want to do a good job.

I guess I think the resources are there because I think what it takes is wanting to be able to do it and it takes knowing how to learn. You may know you have a problem and all you need to do is get some ideas of who to go talk to who will give you some ideas about how to solve it.

Yes, at heart I believe the resources are there. In some school districts we have some basic financial resource problems and as long as that is a problem it interferes with anything else happening.

We also know there are districts that have all those financial resources in place are not necessarily doing a good job either.

I think the human resource is really there when there is that kind of commitment and will.

Mr. HARRISON. I would concur. I think the human resources are there. I think the one thing yesterday and I do not know where the answer lies but certainly the cost of energy may begin to curtail some of the financial resources at the local level to support the types of things that are going on in the schools.

In our district we travel about 200,000 miles a year as far as our daily runs and after school activities and all of our cocurricular at $1.06 a mile now for the cost of a bus. I am not sure how much longer the local level can sustain the high cost of operating that type of transportation system.

The human resources are there. The environment is there. The nibbling away that may take effect on the things we do certainly can spin off as a result of the high cost of energy that we are all facing which I really do not have any answers to.

In our school system this year we have had a 35 percent reduction in our energy usage. Because rates are higher we are still spending more money than what we spent a year ago. I think we have reached a limit as to how much of a savings we can make it.

This is not really being addressed at the state level. I think it is something local levels will need some assistance on or else we will see some of our programs and resources cut back because we need the energy in order to operate.

Mr. MILLER. Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me thank the entire panel. You have been most helpful to the committee. I will refrain from asking any questions since the other members of the committee have directed very important questions to you.

You have been an excellent panel. We appreciate your appearance here this morning. We hope to see you again.

We have another panel consisting of Dr. Keith Goldhammer who is dean of education for Michigan State University and Dr. James Phillips who is director of secondary education for St. Paul Public Schools, Minnesota.

Your statements will be inserted into the record.

[The prepared statement of Keith Goldhammer follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF KEITH GOLDHAMMER, DEAN, COLLEGE OF EDUCATION, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

"How to live? That is the essential question for us, not how to live in the mere material sense only, but in the widest sense, the general problem which comprehends every special problem is -- the right ruling of conduct in all directions under all circumstances. In what way to treat the body? In what way to treat the mind? In what way to manage our affairs? In what way to bring up a family? In what way to behave as a citizen? In what way to utilize those resources of happiness which nature supplies? -- How to use all our faculties to the greatest advantage of ourselves and others?"

From Herbert Spencer, "What Knowledge is of Most Worth?" (1861)

Secondary education is not as bad as the popular press would have us believe. Nor is it as good as the youth of this generation have a right to expect. There are many excellent junior and senior high schools in this country today. There are also a large number of very poor schools, some of which scarcely deserve the designation of educational institutions. In spite of the fact that a large number of adolescents attend exceptionally fine junior and senior high schools, one of the tragedies facing this nation is the number of youth who have available to them educational programs and facilities which make little or no attempt to respond to their aspirations and needs.

The people of our nation have never faced up to four realities about our secondary schools which have contributed to the present dilemmas. Until or unless we are willing to do so, we cannot expect the fundamental changes which are needed to occur.

First, the basic and generally provided curriculum in our secondary schools was inherited from the past, based upon an elitist intellectual tradition and a convenient structure of scholarly studies. For the most part, the curriculum is based neither upon the needs of youth nor the requirements of the society in which they will live out their lives. Consequently, the central attention of the program of studies in secondary schools is upon the knowledge to be acquired, not the capacitation of youth for the effective performance of their roles as members of their communities.

Second, since its establishment in the latter part of the 18th Century in the United States, the American secondary school has been confronted by an immense diversity of demands to which it has responded, but in the response to these demands, the differentiation of purposes and functions which have been encompassed within them have never been reconciled or synthesized into a coherent program. As a consequence, the school is made

up of numerous, unrelated and, in some ways, conflictual elements -- a sort of smorgasbord of left-overs. Enrolling in senior high schools, in particular, is like going to a shopping mall and picking whatever attracts your eye without a view for the unity or harmony which might result. It is dedicated to serving all purposes, and, without careful guidance, the student may not be well served at all.

Third, as the enrollments of the secondary schools have expanded to include all American youth, rather than an original intellectual elite, the standards and levels of expectations have been lowered to accommodate the reduction in the level of intellectual capabilities of the students. Grades have been inflated, and standards for passing courses for graduation have been reduced. The result has been that students have sometimes achieved recognition for graduation from high school even though they may not have acquired the skills normally expected or are not as broadly knowledgeable as they should be. The lowering of levels of expectations has relieved the high school personnel from the development of programs which would meet the needs of students with mild learning disabilities. Special education programs are provided almost exclusively for students with severe limitations. School personnel are not entirely to blame for this dilemma, since, in part, this situation is a response to the demand of parents that their children get through school with good grades, irrespective of accomplishment or the acquisition of the necessary disciplines, so as to be eligible for admission to college.

Fourth, the reality of the school has been divorced from the reality of the community, and students have been required to participate in activities in school for which there is relatively little legitimation outside of school. Unlike the children who attend elementary schools, who can easily be captivated by meaningful activities provided for them irrespective of their significance to the realities of the broader society, high school

students are constantly looking at the ways in which adults participate in the activities in which they are required to engage. They are expected to read while the adults, whom they wish to emulate, watch television. They are required to do homework, while their adult models find escape in the corner tavern or some other recreational activity. They read Shakespeare and Chaucer, irrespective of the fact that there isn't much legitimation for such reading outside of the English classroom. About the only thing that is fully legitimated in the broader society is the emphasis upon interscholastic athletics and the recognition and rewards which are given to it by the community. It is ridiculous for us to expect the youth of this nation to find great motivation to engage in activities which are not a part of the life style of their homes and of the adults whom they most seriously emulate.

These realities of the contemporary secondary school give rise to at least five crises which must be resolved if the schools are to become all that we want and expect them to achieve for the youth who are enrolled:

First, there is the crisis of relevance. There has been little endeavor to look at the fundamental learning needs of children and adolescents which relate specifically to their understanding themselves, the environments of which they are a part, the world of affairs in which they must engage, and the values and beliefs which must guide their existence. Unless we acquire the capability for developing a meaningful program of studies related specifically to the immediate and long-range needs of youth, the American high school cannot expect to achieve a high level of motivation among at least half of its students.

The second crisis is that of the high school's inability to help students deal effectively with the human and social problems facing them. The high school is a part of the life of every student, and only to the extent that it is related to the total life of the student and helps him to cope with

the issues and problems which he faces outside of the school, will it take on meaning and significance to him.

The third crisis is the crisis of values and aspirations which confront youth in our society. The values which have been legitimated in school are those of the American middle class, and not necessarily of that large number of students who are concerned about immediate needs and are generally both disinterested in and have low ability to master complex intellectual issues. We should face the reality that the values which are prized in the school are shared by probably not more than 25% of the children and youth, as well as their parents. Hence, the values of the majority of the students are neither legitimated nor taken into consideration in the development of the programs in the system of rewards the school has to offer.

Fourth is the crisis in the recognition of human diversities. With the advent of universal secondary education, the population attending secondary schools was representative of the complete range of characteristics of the total population, whereas all of the traditions that grew up surrounding secondary schools have been developed for a relatively small part of the population. Neither educators nor the population-at-large, even to this day, have become fully equipped to deal with the broad range of diversities of secondary school students. It has, consequently, been a matter of forcing many students to go to schools which were designed to change the ways of life of their families. This discordance between home and school has frequently constituted an affront to the students and their parents and has given rise to some of the serious issues of the secondary schools today.

The fifth crisis is that of leadership and professional competence in the schools. A broad range of studies has shown that the effectiveness of schools is dependent upon the quality of leadership within the schools,

as well as the professional competence of the teachers for dealing with the students' needs. In the vast array of secondary schools in this nation, we have broad diversity in the ability of school personnel to manage and resolve their problems. Not all high school principals have been appointed to their posts because they are effective educational leaders, nor because they can constructively handle the problems of adolescents. Many have acquired tenure in position in spite of the fact that they can't cope with the problems of maintaining leadership and providing effective school operations under the conditions which prevail today. Although schools and colleges of education have been criticized for the inadequate preparation of high school teachers, it must be recognized that throughout this nation schools and colleges of education have had precious little to do with the preparation of high school teachers. They have been prepared under systems where they major in departments of their academic majors and have had few, if any, of the courses which would help them deal with and achieve understanding of the problems of children and youth. They have taken on the values of their academic professors and think of themselves as experts and scholars in their respective fields more than as specialists for adapting content and instruction to the needs of different students.

Sixth is the crisis of public indifference toward the needs of children and youth. To a considerable extent, the adult society doesn't bother much about the needs of adolescents unless they constitute a threat to peace and stability of their communities. Few parents of high school students join parent organizations or participate in school activities with their young people. Few parents have become actively involved in efforts to reshape the high school in accordance with the needs of their offspring. The secondary schools of this nation will never be any better than the citizens of this nation are willing to exert themselves to help them become.

## Agenda for the Future

During the past two decades, there have been a number of able and valuable studies on the reform of secondary education. Insofar as the specific details are concerned, I think I could add relatively little to them. These reforms have included recommendations to make schooling more relevant to the life-role needs of students, to further the career education of students, to emphasize family life education, and to broaden vocational education. They have proposed greater attention to the health needs of students, the development of physical fitness education, preparation of worthy use of leisure time, extension of counseling and guidance services, and even job placement. All of these recommendations have a certain amount of validity to them and certainly should be a part of a master plan for the reform of junior and senior high school education.

In his excellent review of attempts to reform secondary education in this century, Professor Harry Passow[1] of Teachers College, Columbia University, points out that some reforms did occur, but change has proceeded at almost glacial speed. He might also have pointed out that fundamental changes, those getting at the heart of the problems of our secondary schools, were a threat to vested interests and beyond the capability of educators to install. The improvement of schools results from both a public and professional desire to implement change and a professional competence to install and operate other than accustomed programs.

One of the problems of looking at these individual recommendations for reform is that they seem frequently to be considered in isolation from one another, rather than in terms of the total needs of high schools in our society for the adaptation of programs to the pressing needs of youth and the requirements of the society in which they live. An adequate agenda for the reform of

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[1]See A. Harry Passow. Secondary Education Reform: Retrospect and Prospect. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1976.

secondary education in the 1980's must give attention to some of the larger problems which must be resolved if we are to be able to incorporate the specifics of reform into successful plans of action. I would like to suggest what I think some of the more fundamental and over-arching items on this agenda should be:

1. We will be providing placebos rather than true remedies if we do not help the public to decide what the functions and objectives of secondary education in the United States should be during the 1980's. Special interests make all sorts of pleas regarding what it should or should not be, but no agency of the private sector or of government has given the analysis that points the way toward the basis upon which the public can adequately decide whether individual proposals for reform are consistent with modern needs and aspirations.

We once had a great Educational Policies Commission in the United States, financed by professional organizations. When these professional organizations became more interested in the economic welfare of their members than the resolution of the basic problems of education, they withdrew their support from this Commission. During the 30's, 40's and the early 1950's this Commission made significant contributions to the public debate on what we could and should expect of our educational systems and how it should be adapted to meet the changing societal needs of children and youth. No proposal for the reform of secondary education in the United States has pierced the essential problems of reshaping the high school to conform with the needs of both youth and the society in which they live than Education for All American Youth, first published by the Educational Policies Commission in 1944, and resurrected in 1951. Perhaps it was a victim of both the war and the post-war Sputnik hysteria, but America's youth have been ill-served by our inability to grasp its significance.

Perhaps, today, only the Federal Government could reconstitute such a

body to provide the direction which this nation needs. At this time, such a body might be constituted as a national public-professional board of education to serve as a policy-directing agency for the new United States Department of Education as well as authorizing objective studies to give direction to schools for facing up to their responsibilities toward the youth of this nation.

2. In the light of what we see as the objectives and expectations which the American public has for its high schools, a complete analysis of the current curriculum, standards, graduation requirements, and structure of the schools should be made to determine the degree to which they constitute the proper means through which the schools can best serve the needs of youth growing to maturity in contemporary society. The nation must forthrightly declare if it expects its high schools to be primarily an agency for keeping kids off the street during the daylight hours; if it wants the schools to be primarily agencies for the dissemination of knowledge and skills in the various academic fields; if it wants the schools to help youngsters become effective participants in their communities, to help them play all of their life roles effectively as they contribute to the healthy functioning of the communities of which they are a part. The fundamental questions which must be answered are whether or not what we teach, how we teach, how we organize the support and services within schools are directly related to the accomplishment of the missions for which we have allocated vast amounts of our society's wealth in the interests of children and youth.

3. It goes without saying that if we are to rebuild the high schools so as to accomplish new and relevant missions with respect to the needs of youth and the resolution of the societal problems which plague our communities, then we must see that we have professional staffs who have the knowledge and skills essential for performing the professional work we expect of them. The <u>uses</u> of knowledge about how children and youth learn,

how content can be adapted to help them mature, how to use test data diagnostically, how to develop individual educational plans, how to identify learning disabilities -- and many more-- are professional skills involving professional knowledge and discipline on the part of educators and cannot be learned just through experience or the taking of courses to prepare one to become a mathematician, a scientist, or a literary critic. The vitality, the relevance, the coherence of secondary education depend upon the professional knowledge and capability as well as the dedication of principals and teachers to adapt instruction to the needs of the children whose interests they serve. Unless we have available better professional development on both the pre- and the post-certification level, we are not very likely to achieve the level of professional capabilities we need for our contemporary schools.

4. The American public must face the reality that either our school system will be based upon solid knowledge about teaching or learning, derived from adequate research and the implementation of the findings of research, or we will continue to operate on myths, rules of thumb, half-truths, and the whims of teachers which arise out of the vagaries of personal experience. To build the professional competence which we need in education today requires our enlarging upon our knowledge about teaching, learning, the management of educational enterprises, and improving our ability to develop the strategies through which that knowledge can be implemented into workable systems. The revolution in medical science which took place in the early part of the 20th Century would never have occurred had there not been an emerging body of scientific knowledge to guide medical practitioners. Industrial technology would today be primitive and obsolete with respect to the human needs of our population without an emphasis over the years upon basic, scientific and technological research. We cannot expect the improvements in education to take place unless we have a stronger and a more solid knowledge base upon which to establish our educational practice and to identify where our knowledge

needs to be extended so as to better motivate the learning of our students.

5. Schools will generally be ineffective unless that they attempt to do is consistent with the values, aspirations and practices of the home, and there is a mutual reinforcement between the home and the school. In part, the problems of the secondary schools are a reflection of the problems of homes and family life in the United States today. To strengthen the school necessitates that efforts be made to close the gap which exists between the home and the school and, in turn, suggests that emphasis must be placed upon parental and family life education.

6. Neither can the secondary schools achieve their purposes in isolation from the communities in which they are located, nor do they have to. American communities are rich laboratories for the learning of students; but, for the most part, the program of studies of the schools has failed to utilize even an appreciable part of the resources within the communities to assist students in accomplishing their educational objectives. We have tended to teach about government through textbooks, rather than have the students experience first-hand the workings of local governmental officials and bodies. We have taught about the world of work through the printed word, rather than have the students actively engage in experiences within the economic life of the community. We have had the students read the literary classics, but have not taught them how to utilize the aesthetic and appreciative facilities and agencies within their communities. The secondary schools have done little to adapt their program to the fact that there are different styles of learning among children and youth. Some learn readily from the printed word. Some have difficulty in learning from the printed word. Some will learn best by direct involvement through experience. Some will learn best by being told. The effective secondary school of the future must incorporate within it diverse modes of instruction by utilizing to the fullest extent possible the opportunities afforded within the world of affairs, the

resources within the community that can easily be used to extend the instructional effectiveness of the schools. These community resources can be procured at a pittance in comparison with what other more expensive and less effective materials would entail.

7. For too long, we have tended to compartmentalize our thinking about what schools should do. We have divided the school day into several unrelated units, each an end in itself. There has been little emphasis placed upon the students' application of good language in classes or activities outside of the English course. There has been a persistent controversy between general education and vocational education. There have been strong adherents and opponents to career education. We have tended to overlook the fact that students must be helped to understand the nature of all of the environments in which they live and cope with them. Students must be helped to find their places in society as contributors and participators in the life of our communities. Students must be helped to understand and to employ skills in the worlds of human affairs and work. If schools can't help them in these matters, we'll have to find another institution which will. There can be no question but that schools must help students to understand better the social, political, economic and cultural heritages of the country in which they live. But it must also equip them with the attitudes and skills necessary for engaging in the world of work and being constructive, knowledgeable, and skillful family members. All of these objectives are essential elements, as Spencer suggests, of living effectively. These are the things we have to help secondary schools achieve in a systematic and orderly way, concentrating upon the student's achieving competence as the community's contribution to his or her fulfillment as a human being.

Obviously, this is not a complete agenda for what needs to be done. It is a skeleton or an outline, but I feel that if we can accomplish these

ends, the specific details of the agenda can relatively easily be filled in. As I indicated earlier, most of the needed ingredients have already been proposed, and our job is to put them into the proper perspective and to build the capabilities through which they can be achieved.

This is not an easy agenda to achieve. It is far easier to deal with specific details than with the fundamental and persistent issues. The point remains that the educational welfare and opportunities of children and youth have long been subordinated to the interests of various special interest groups within the nation. We have rarely asked how children and youth will better be served either by maintaining the status quo or by making significant alterations. The schools have been tossed and buffeted by those who would profit from particular measures. Wherever we turn to deal with the critical issues of education today we are told that the needed, fundamental reform is, nevertheless, politically unrealistic. With no lobby to speak for their interests, children are the by-product rather than the central concern of much legislation to change education. Our society is not that much interested, seemingly, in solid information nor professionally relevant analyses which would discommode some interests in order to give priority to the essential needs of children and youth. Yet, within this nation we have most of the capabilities we need to reform our schools if we actually will to do so.

## STATEMENT OF KEITH GOLDHAMMER, DEAN OF EDUCATION, MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

Mr. GOLDHAMMER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

My name is Keith Goldhammer. I am the dean of the College of Education at Michigan State University.

In my prepared statement I have dealt at some length with a number of the problems of secondary schools and I think I will just skip some of those problems and deal with the section in my statement relating to the agenda as I see for the future in order to improve the quality of secondary schools.

As you have had demonstrated this morning, there are good secondary schools and good high schools in the United States. There are also a large number of youngsters who go to schools which are extremely poor and our problem is to see that we can build upon the good schools and to eliminate the poor.

I think it must have been apparent to you in the testimony you have had during the last several days that one of the most critical problems facing secondary education is the lack of direction. Secondary schools just grew up. They have created all sorts of func-

tions. They developed all sorts of programs and nobody has ever really attempted to put it together again.

One of the most critical problems facing this nation with respect to its secondary schools is the development of some consensus in leadership in defining what schools should do in the latter part of the 20th century and what should they strive to accomplish both for the students who attend those schools and for the society of which they are a part.

Many years ago when I was first becoming indoctrinated into education we had a national organization known as the Educational Policies Commission. It was created by the professional organizations in order to analyze the most critical problems facing education and to set an agenda for activities for educators and government in order to deal with those most fundamental problems.

When the national professional organizations became more concerned about the economic well being of their members rather than the critical problems facing education they withdrew support from the Educational Policies Commission and consequently it died and has never been replaced.

I suggest to the committee that you ought to look at a publication of the Educational Policies Committee first written in 1944 and later revised in 1951 entitled "Education for All American Youth." That document is one of the most seminal statements of how to reorder and how to restructure secondary education in the United States in order to meet the needs of youth and how to provide secondary education appropriate to the needs of society.

It has been a tragic failure for youth that we have failed to heed what that document suggests as imperatives for our consideration.

May I suggest that one agenda for this committee which would help to set direction and establish goals would be to create some national agency such as a National Board of Education or a new Department of Education whose function would not only be to set policy for that department but also to secure the resources necessary to deal with the critical problems.

Chairman PERKINS. How are we going to deal with that problem and leave out Federal interference?

Dr. GOLDHAMMER. Because you attempt to give leadership and direction and set the chart. I do not think there would be any more interference, Mr. Chairman, in the progress of education than there is for instance in providing money that stimulates the development of appropriate programs.

In other words the Federal Government has to identify critical needs and help to formulate approaches to how those needs can be met without developing specific kinds of policies that the local school districts must follow.

We have a Council of Economic Advisers to the President. We do not have a council of educational advisers to the President. Yet the provision of educational advice to deal with these critical problems on a national level is of utmost importance.

A second item on the agenda as Mr. Kildee suggested in a discussion earlier is the fact that we need to remodel the high school curriculum. The high school curriculum is based upon the medieval quadrivium and trivium and has had some additions to it but basic the medieval concept of what should constitute a program

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of studies still prevails in spite of the fact that youth are considerably different as well as society.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me ask you a question. I have been a classroom teacher. I thought I got along mighty well. The adjoining school system to mine in the early 1930's, in my opinion, had a very poor school system. That was just my own viewpoint.

This success depends altogether on the leadership in the school and the local community.

I have always believed in diversity of the curriculum throughout the country, I would hate to think that the Federal Government had to assume the leadership of trying to tell the States what should be involved in that curriculum.

I have sat here many years and advocated Federal aid to education from the day I came to Congress in 1949, because I grew up in a poor community and I had seen all of their good teachers leave after World War II because of inadequate funding and so forth.

I am just wondering how you are going to comment on the questions I have raised.

Dr. GOLDHAMMER. I think your questions are extremely pertinent, Mr. Chairman. You are extremely familiar with educational needs as well as educational possibilities.

The Federal Government does not have to dictate the nature of the curriculum. Let's look at the history of two very vital aspects of our educational programing in the United States today which we take for granted.

One is special education, that education for children who have learning disabilities. Up until the time there was intervention by the Federal Government in order to provide programs to assist local districts in providing for those children there was precious little special education in American schools.

Up until the time we first developed the Smith-Hughes programs, the vocational education programs, there was precious little vocational education in the American public school systems.

One fundamental responsibility of Federal Government, if you look at the charge that was given to the U.S. Office of Education back in the days of Abraham Lincoln when the Office was first established, it was to assess the condition of education within the country and to propose ways in which the educational function in the United States could be improved.

Those local communities that you speak of need leadership. They need to have some ideas about the directions in which education can go. They need to have resources whereby they can improve the quality of professional performance within their schools by the educators whom they hire.

You saw here a panel of individuals who are very exciting school administrators. Unfortunately you cannot pass a law saying that all school administrators and all school teachers shall have the charisma necessary in order to advance and to maintain innovative programs.

You can provide professional development money that based upon the assessment of need in this country for educational leadership and for educational direction that will help to prepare educators who can deal more adequately with their programs.

A second point in response to your question, Mr. Chairman, is it seems to me rather peculiar that in a field as fundamental as education in this country, when you want to assess effective programs, you bring in a group of highly charismatic individuals who did a marvelous job to give testimonials rather than to look at the scientific knowledge that exists on what makes the difference between a school program that stimulates adequate learning on the part of the child and what does not.

We have not learned as in medicine how to use scientifically derived information effectively in order to improve what happens to boys and girls within the classroom.

It would have been interesting just to have taken the testimony that the first panel this morning presented and to have demonstrated the degree to which those people are not only charismatic leaders but they are also educational scientists. What most of them had to say is well established in the research.

Our problem is to develop a research capability not up on cloud nine but down at the level where that research and that knowledge can be generated into strategies of education programs that will help us meet the needs of children in our schools.

If you have looked at my written testimony you will note in the front of it is a quotation from Herbert Spencer, from his very brilliant essay on "What Knowledge is of Most Worth?" He summed up in 1861 a concept of education. He says in his essay that we can have two types of education; that which is just ornamentation to the mind or that which helps individuals live effectively and to have the capability to deal with the problems they confront in life.

Last night there was a great and very disturbing program on CBS on teenage sex. An Arkansas doctor said there is an epidemic of teenage pregnancies. He described his patients in this particular clinic as pregnant children.

Where do we deal effectively with those problems of youngsters growing to maturity in our society who have to be able to carry on the great traditions of this nation in the future?

One of the agendas I think we have to have is to develop a curriculum that helps teenagers deal with the problems and the social realities that confront them. One of the problems is to be able to help them live effectively as teenagers in this complex society.

In our rural and urban centers one of our problems is to get them to know how to use their communities effectively; how to be able to navigate through some of the jungles of our communities as well as to utilize the great contributions that our communities can make to them.

We have always thought of family life education as something peripheral to the schools in spite of the fact that every child grows up in a family and lives all his life in a family and at some time soon and unfortunately at this time it is happening sooner than it ought to, becomes a parent and has to give direction to a family.

Every child in our society needs to have the ability to render services for pay. Every individual in our society either is going to have to be a part of the world of work or an economic ward of the State and yet we have more high schools in our country today that

do not provide salable skills to youngsters before graduation than those that do.

Mr. Chairman, I think these are the things we need to put on our agenda for the future. We do not need Federal programs that dictate but we do need Federal programs that identify what must be done in the national interest.

Some years ago you helped to formulate a National Defense Education Act. That act had some remarkable impacts upon the improvement of education with respect to specific goals. We had direction. We had purpose in education. It was not merely carrying on the rituals that needed to be performed.

I would urge this committee at this particular critical time in our history to look at our schools from the standpoint of what they must accomplish in order to help us rear youngsters who can go out and perform effectively as you saw demonstrated about a few schools this morning; youngsters who can meaningfully carry on the mission and role this Nation has among the free peoples of the world.

Thank you.

Chairman PERKINS. Thank you very much for a good statement.

Dr. Phillips, we will now hear from you.

## STATEMENT OF JAMES E. PHILLIPS, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT, SECONDARY EDUCATION, ST. PAUL PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MINNESOTA

Dr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee of the Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, I am very pleased to be a participant in this hearing on American secondary education.

Many of us in Minnesota wonder why the real twin in the Twin Cities is often overlooked. As a representative of the St. Paul Public Schools I am particularly flattered by your invitation. Thank you for this expression of confidence in St. Paul.

My assignment today deals with the needs of secondary education in the 1980's. Before proceeding with this topic it might be helpful for you to know some of the assumptions upon which my comments are predicated.

I believe there is general agreement although it may not be unanimous about the purposes of public schools. Because these schools are public they must be operated in a manner consistent with the Constitution of the United States.

Since representative democracy is the chosen form of government in the United States the public schools should attempt to educate youth in those values inherent in a democracy. It is to these schools that our society has given the responsibility for providing educational opportunities for all of the children of all of the people. No other society on the face of the globe shares this distinction.

Second, there has been an increase in the diversity of the school population and this increase has added greater complexity to the educational process than has been previously experienced. The consideration of such factors as race, color, creed, sex, national origin, ability, parental status, marital status and socio-economic status

are important in considering equal educational opportunity. In addition handicapping conditions, language and culture must receive equal attention.

Third, the basic skills include more than reading, writing and arithmetic. They include speaking, listening, observing, thinking, planning, problem solving, decisionmaking, self-understanding, learning to get along with others, accepting and respecting all kinds of people and cultures and coping with uncertainty and ambiguity.

As crucial as the three R's may appear to be they are not sufficient in and of themselves for survival in a highly technological and interdependent society.

The evaluation of all educational outcomes requires the use of traditional and nontraditional measuring devices. If one is going to look for evidence of knowledge acquisition and ability to apply such basic skills as have just been enumerated the usual standardized test will not suffice.

If one is seeking information about attitude and values then observational techniques, rating scales, checklists and other devices are more appropriate.

The fact that these kinds of instruments tend to have lower reliability and validity than tests in the area of fact acquisition is not a good reason for ignoring these outcomes.

I believe forces beyond the control of school officials are limiting our ability to carry out our responsibilities. I am referring primarily to energy costs declining enrollment, and the nature and scope of the negotiations process.

In light of these assumptions, what are the needs of the secondary schools in the 1980's? There is a need for a national dialog about the purposes of secondary education.

Such discussions ought to take place in every community and region of this Nation culminating hopefully in a national consensus. These discussions ought to include educators, noneducators, parents, nonparents, theoreticians, and practitioners.

What does a diploma mean? What should it mean? Why is discipline in our schools continuing to be the No. 1 problem reported in the Gallup poll? Does this response suggest that the public would like to see educators work on some educational outcomes other than the three R's?

I am told that if you want to get rid of discipline problems put the ninth graders in senior high and get rid of the junior high and middle schools. Wouldn't it be wonderful if the answer to the problem was that simple?

What about the nature of the youth we serve? Shouldn't that have some influence on educational practice? What about the changes in our society and in other parts of the world? Certainly these changes should influence the experiences provided in the schools. Yes, a national dialog about purpose is essential.

There is a need to deal with the reality of diversity in secondary schools. For the first time in the history of American education educators have an opportunity to get some idea of what it costs to educate all of the children of all of the people.

The passage of the bill, Public Law 94-142, which requires a free appropriate education for children who are deaf or hard of hearing;

blind or partially sighted; who have speech defects; are physically impaired, educable or trainable mentally retarded; emotionally disturbed or possess a learning disability or special behavior problem, has made it possible for all of the children to be in school.

This is a tremendously important piece of legislation and I commend you for your wisdom. Activities required by this legislation are bringing about improvements for all children.

In St. Paul we have tried to respond to the diversity of our children and youth. We have established elementary, junior, and senior high learning centers in the areas of career exploration; science; business; transportation; horticulture; media; art and the performing arts.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me interrupt you and state that both Mr. Buchanan and myself must go over and vote. There is a vote immediately following this one. It may be about 20 minutes before we get back and we will get back as soon as we can.

Thank you.

[Whereupon, the subcommittee recessed for a vote on the floor at 12:28 p.m. to reconvene this same day at the call of the Chair.]

AFTER RECESS

The subcommittee reconvened at 1 p.m., Hon. Carl D. Perkins, (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. BUCHANAN. Gentlemen, regrettably we have kept you waiting, and I have a markup bill which is to be amended in another committee at 1 p.m. With your permission, the chairman will be here momentarily, and we can resume.

Dr. PHILLIPS. I think because of the lateness of the hour I will hit some highlights of the rest of my presentation.

As you recall just as we were interrupted I was simply discussing some of the ways in which St. Paul has attempted to respond to the diversity of the young people in our school district.

I would want to add that there is a need for a variety of personnel and alternative programs within secondary schools to deal with the whole spectrum of ability. Districts are just struggling to maintain the programs that I was enumerating.

At the time they are trying to keep those programs, suddenly they discover they have an unanticipated need such as a latino student who is a non-English speaker or who possesses limited English proficiency and suddenly you have to provide for that student.

I think the congressional response very recently to the appropriation that was provided for the Indo-Chinese students is an excellent example of what you have been trying to do.

There is a need and I will not detail this but there is a need for the comprehensive high school to become more comprehensive.

Contrary to what has been proposed by many national study groups, I would advocate increasing the compulsory attendance age to at least 18. I think there is so much that we have to do to prepare young people to be citizens in the world in which we live in right now that the school is obligated to help make this possible.

For example, if we are going to make young people life-long learners then additional time is needed to deal with various facets

of continuous learning; just teaching about the future and being able to reason systematically about it is missing from most secondary schools.

It seems to me if we are going to ask young people to vote at age 18, the school has some responsibility to help them get acquainted with the political issues, teaching them how to research those issues, participation in the political process, registering to vote and then voting. These kind of activities should be encouraged by secondary schools.

You have heard from the other members of the panel previously about the tremendous need for inservice programs in the schools, not just for teachers but for all professionals.

It is interesting to note that many of the teachers are discovering today that the desegregation program of the school district has resulted in changes in ethnic, cultural, and linguistic composition of their classes. The adjustment problems that relate to that are tremendous and have added to the complexity of teaching.

There is a great need for a tremendous inservice program for all personnel in the school and not just teachers.

There is a need for continuous research on ways of evaluating all outcomes of education. There is a need for financial assistance to school districts to deal with the high costs of energy as we have heard previous speakers discuss.

The loss of revenue related to the decline in enrollment has had a tremendous impact on educational opportunities for youth of all school districts. For example, in the whole question of declining enrollment, usually the result in trying to respond to that problem is staff being reduced which affects the program; younger staff must be terminated and this can often involve continuing innovative programs.

Large enrollment losses can lead to school closings or consolidations and all of us are aware of the community unrest that is associated with trying to close a school and how this can affect the educational climate often in a negative way.

There is the issue of collective bargaining and the influence it can have on making changes in secondary education in the 1980's. The right to bargain economic issues is not being questioned in this comment but the nature of the process and limitations on the scope of the issues to be bargained can ultimately determine what changes will be made in secondary schools.

Both management and teacher organizations and other negotiating groups will need to be sensitive to this problem as they seek to bargain in good faith.

Your support of many of these needs of secondary education for the 1980's is implicit in your request to hear about them today.

I would urge you to appoint task forces to study and recommend legislation where appropriate. I hope you will continue to conduct hearings on educational problems. I hope you will pass new legislation and support requests of the new Department of Education and provide funding formulas which will assist local districts and encourage grant-awarding agencies to synchronize funding with school calendars and award those grants on a multiyear basis.

You have been and continue to be responsible for one of the most unique educational systems in the world, the public school system

of the United States. Your actions serve to revitalize the public's interest in and perception of public education in the Nation.

You know as I do that the hopes and dreams and aspirations of many people are linked with an effective public school system.

Thank you very much.

[The complete statement of Dr. Phillips follows:]

PREPARED STATEMENT OF DR. JAMES E. PHILLIPS, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT, SECONDARY EDUCATION, ST. PAUL PUBLIC SCHOOLS, ST. PAUL, MINN.

Mr. Chairman and members of the Subcommittee on Elementary, Secondary, and Vocational Education of the Committee on Education and Labor of the House of Representatives, I am very pleased to be a participant in this hearing on American secondary education. Many of us in Minnesota often wonder why the real twin in the Twin Cities is often overlooked. As a representative of the Saint Paul Public Schools, I am particularly flattered by your invitation. Thank you for this expression of confidence in St. Paul.

My assignment today deals with the needs of secondary education in the 1980's. Before proceeding with this topic, it might be helpful for you to know some of the assumptions upon which my comments are predicated.

First, I believe there is general agreement, although it may not be unanimous, about the purposes of public schools. Because these schools are public, they must be operated in a manner consistent with the Constitution of the United States. Since representative democracy is the chosen form of government in the United States, the public schools should attempt to educate youth in those values inherent in a democracy. It is to these schools that our society has given the responsibility for providing educational opportunities for all of the children of all of the people. No other society on the face of the globe shares this distinction.

Secondly, there has been an increase in the diversity of the school population, and this increase has added greater complexity to the educational process than has been previously experienced. The consideration of such factors as race, color, creed, sex, national origin, ability, parental status, marital status, and socio-economic status are important in considering equal educational opportunity. In addition, handicapping conditions, language, and culture must receive equal attention.

Thirdly, the basic skills include more than reading, writing, and arithmetic. They include speaking, listening, observing, thinking, planning, problem solving, decision making, self-understanding, learning to get along with others, accepting and respecting all kinds of people and cultures, and coping with uncertainty and ambiguity. As crucial as the three R's might appear to be, they are not sufficient in and of themselves for survival in a highly technological and inter-dependent society.

The evaluation of all educational outcomes requires the use of traditional and non-traditional measuring devices. If one is going to look for evidence of knowledge acquisition and ability to apply such basic skills as have just been enumerated, the usual standardized test will not suffice. If one is seeking information about attitude and values, then observational techniques, rating scales, checklists, and other devices are more appropriate. The fact that these kinds of instruments tend to have lower reliability and validity than tests in the area of fact acquisition is not a good reason for ignoring these outcomes.

Finally, I believe forces beyond the control of school officials are limiting our ability to carry out our responsibilities. I am referring, primarily, to energy costs, declining enrollment, and the nature and scope of the negotiations process.

In light of these assumptions, what are the needs of the secondary schools in the 1980's? There is a need for a national dialogue about the purposes of secondary education. Such discussions ought to take place in every community and region of this nation, culminating in a national consensus. These discussions ought to include educators, non-educators, parents, non-parents, theoreticians, and practitioners. What does a diploma mean? What should it mean? Why is discipline in our schools continuing to be the number one problem reported in the Gallup Poll? Does this response suggest that the public would like to see educators work on some educational outcomes other than the three R's? I am told that if you want to get rid of discipline problems, put the ninth graders in senior high and get rid of the junior high and middle schools. Wouldn't it be wonderful if the answer was that simple? What about the nature of the youth we serve? Shouldn't that have some influence on educational practice? What about the changes in our society and in other parts of the world? Certainly, these changes should influence the experiences provided in the schools. Yes, a national dialogue about purpose is essential.

There is a need to deal with the reality of diversity in secondary schools. For the first time in the history of American education, educators have an opportunity to get some idea of what it costs to educate all of the children of all of the people. The passage of the bill - P.L. 94-142 - which requires a free appropriate education for children who are deaf or hard of hearing, blind or partially sighted, who have speech defects, are

physically impaired, educable or trainable mentally retarded, emotionally disturbed, or possess a learning disability or special behavior problem, has made it possible for all of the children to be in school. This is a tremendously important piece of legislation, and I commend you for your wisdom. Activities required by this bill are bringing about improvements for all children.

In St. Paul we have tried to respond to the diversity of our children and youth. We have established elementary, junior, and senior high learning centers in the areas of career exploration, science, business, transportation, horticulture, media, art, and performing arts. We have found these centers to be one of several ways to promote school desegregation and expand curricular offerings at the same time. Specialized schools, such as the St. Paul Open School, the Webster Magnet School, The Benjamin Mays Fundamental School, and Career Study Centers offer additional options to interested parents. Within regular school programs, there are schools within a school, programs designed for gifted students, such as Bravo in music, Quest in humanities, and Nova in all areas, a resident poet in the classroom, and professional dance, theater, and opera companies providing workshops for students. The availability of a 600-acre outdoor education laboratory at Belwin in Afton, Minnesota, and an unusual planetarium owned by the school district permits all schools to expand the dimensions of their students' learning experiences. The provision of workshops for teachers in the area of law and citizenship education has resulted in these areas being included in some classrooms.

The additional diversity created by the children and youth from other countries who bring a different language and culture has compounded the problem of responding to student needs, interests, and abilities. In responding to students with language interference problems, an elementary, junior, and senior high school center for teaching English to speakers of other languages has been established. We have children and youth representing thirteen different languages studying in this center, and this does not include the various languages spoken by the Indo-Chinese students.

There is a need for a variety of personnel and alternative programs within secondary schools to deal with the whole continuum of ability. Districts are struggling to maintain programs such as I have enumerated because they must provide for unanticipated needs, such as the Latino student,

who is a non-English speaker or possesses limited English proficiency. Your recent response in the form of an appropriation to deal with the problems of Indo-Chinese students is most appreciated.

There is a need for the comprehensive high school to become more comprehensive. To do this will require different organizational arrangements than are presently in existence in most high schools. The rigid departmental lines based on specific subjects such as math, science, English, industrial arts, etc., would be abolished. New inter-disciplinary arrangements suggested by such areas as communications, human relations, aesthetics, and technology would be created. Teachers in the traditional subject areas would be required to develop new inter-disciplinary courses as a result of collaborative and cooperative planning. In addition to the math-science focus of the technology area, the arts, global education, vocational education, and futurism would be given additional emphasis in all of the new departments.

Utilizing agencies in the community that are also engaged in educational activities will permit a variety of experiences to be offered to students. The sharing of personnel, space, and equipment can enrich arts programs. Work study programs can be made available to all students. Exit and re-entry privileges under the auspices and direction of the school can provide students with a realistic understanding of the world of work. Internships with organizations involved in international activities or travel experiences in other countries can serve to give students some understanding of the interdependent nature of our society.

Providing guidance services by implementing an advisor/advisee system which permits each student to belong to an advisory group consisting of twelve to fifteen students and a staff person can help students make appropriate choices. This program, augmented by a counseling staff, can result in more meaningful experiences for students.

Contrary to what has been proposed by many national study groups, I would advocate increasing the compulsory attendance age to at least eighteen. There is so much to know and apply that time is needed. If we are hoping to develop lifelong learners, then additional time is needed to

deal with various facets of continuous learning. Just teaching about the future and being able to reason systematically about it is missing from most secondary schools. Becoming acquainted with political issues, researching the facts about them, participating in the political process, registering to vote, and voting are indicators of affirmative citizenship and should be encouraged by secondary schools.

There is a need for a major continuous in-service program for teachers. This in-service is needed for the teachers under contract and those on lay-off who are likely to be recalled. Since most districts are not hiring many new teachers because of declining enrollment, it is very necessary to provide assistance to teachers who find their years of experience inadequate. Many of these teachers find that the desegregation program of the school district has resulted in changes in the ethnic, cultural, and linguistic composition of their classes. The personal adjustment problems for teachers, teachers and students, and students and students can add many traumatic experiences to the very complex task of teaching. Requests from mental health clinics, foster homes, drug treatment centers, and the welfare department to either assign a student to a particular school or to transfer a student occurs frequently in St. Paul. Add to these requests handicapped students who are to be mainstreamed and the newly-arrived student with a different language and culture, and the magnitude of the in-service need becomes evident. Teachers must be assisted in planning for and working with the specific youth who are present in their classrooms. Since in-service budget cuts do not result in job terminations, they are often chosen as an item to reduce. Considerable financial support is needed in this area.

There is a need for continuous research on ways of evaluating all outcomes of education. If we are seeking to produce knowledgeable citizens who are able to apply what they know in their daily lives and who are also responsible, self-reliant, cooperative, dependable, compassionate, and committed, then new kinds of evaluation techniques must be used or developed.

There is a need for financial assistance to school districts to deal with the high cost of energy. Instructional programs are having to be cut to absorb the increased costs of energy.

The loss of revenue related to the decline in enrollment has a tremendous impact on educational opportunities for the youth of any school district. Staff reductions are generally required, and this affects the program. The younger staff must be terminated, and this can often influence innovative programs. Supplies are also reduced. Large enrollment losses can lead to school closings or consolidations. The community unrest associated with trying to close schools can affect the educational climate in a negative way.

Finally, there is the issue of collective bargaining and the influence it can have on making changes in secondary education in the 1980's. The right to bargain economic issues is not being questioned. The nature of the process and limitations on the scope of the issues to be bargained can ultimately be the determining factors as to what changes will be made. Both management and teacher organizations will need to be sensitive to this problem as they seek to bargain in good faith.

Your support of many of these needs of secondary education for the 1980's is implicit in your request to hear about them. I would urge you to appoint task forces to study and recommend legislation where appropriate. I hope you will continue to conduct hearings on educational problems. I hope you will pass new legislation, support requests of the new Department of Education, provide funding formulas which will assist local districts, and encourage grant-awarding agencies to synchronize funding with school calendars and award those grants on a multi-year basis.

You have been and continue to be responsible for one of the most unique educational systems in the world - the public school system of the United States. Your actions serve to revitalize the public's interest in and perception of public education in the nation. You know, as I do, that the hopes, dreams, and aspirations of many people are linked with an effective public school system.

Thank you very much.

Chairman PERKINS. Mr. Buchanan?

Mr. BUCHANAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to thank you both for a most valuable contribution to these hearings. You do have some specific recommendations of which we will take note.

I am a little frustrated, Mr. Chairman, because I must go to the markup. I would welcome a dialog, at least on my part, with you as we pursue ways and means by which the Federal Government can better play its limited but, I think essential role at this point in history in funding for education and in giving some leadership, at least, in education.

I would certainly welcome a dialog with you on that subject and will be pursuing it hereafter.

Dr. GOLDHAMMER. We would be glad to dialog with you on it.

Chairman PERKINS. Let me compliment both of you distinguished gentlemen. Your suggestions, Dr. Goldhammer, have been very constructive and likewise the suggestions of Dr. Phillips.

I feel your statements speak for themselves. They were directly to the point and the committee will easily understand your suggestions. I do not feel it will serve any useful purpose for me to continue to prolong the hearings.

I feel confident that we have not had more constructive hearings during my tenure as chairman of this committee than we have had today.

I will see and urge all the members of the full committee to read your statements. I want to thank you for coming and hope to see you again.

The committee will now adjourn.

[Whereupon, the subcommittee was adjourned at 1:08 p.m., to reconvene at the call of the Chair.]

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